GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

CLASS

CALL NO. 913.005 Arc
Vol. 93

D.G.A. 79.

ARCHAEOLOGIA

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON

VOLUME XCIII

(SECOND SERIES, VOLUME XLIII)

14719.

4014

913.005
Arc

PRINTED AT OXFORD
BY CHARLES BATEY FOR
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
AND SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON
M CM XLIX

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY NEW DELHI.
Acc. No. ....
Date. 14-11-49.
Call No. 913.40/S.A.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I.—*The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography. By* I. A. RICHMOND, *Esq., LL.D., F.B.A., Vice-President, and* O. G. S. CRAWFORD, *Esq., F.B.A.* 1

II.—*English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama. By* DR. W. L. HILDBURGH, *F.S.A.* 51

III.—*St. Oswald and his Church at Zug. By the* REV. E. P. BAKER, *M.A., F.S.A.* 103

IV.—*The Ghost or Shadow as a Charge in Heraldry. By* H. STANFORD LONDON, *Esq., F.S.A.* 125

V.—*On Some Recent Discoveries in Westminster Abbey. By* SIR CHARLES PEERS, *C.B.E., F.B.A., Hon. Vice-President, and* LAWRENCE E. TANNER, *Esq., M.V.O., F.S.A.* 151

VI.—*The Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna. By* J. B. WARD PERKINS, *Esq., F.S.A., and* MISS J. M. C. TOYNBEE, *D.Phil., F.S.A.* . . 165

Index 197

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.
Acc. No. 4014.
Date. 13. 1. 56.
Call No. 913.005/Arc.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography:

Maps I and II . . . 6
Maps III and IV . . . 7
Maps V and VI . . . 8
Map VII . . . 9
Maps VIII and IX . . . 10
Maps X and XI . . . 11
Maps XII and XIII . . . 12
Map XIV . . . 14
Map XV . . . 16

I. Part of the Peutinger Map, showing the south coast of Britain
II. Cod. Vatican Urb. Lat. 961, fol. 45 *v.* and 46 *r.*
III. Cod. Vatican Urb. Lat. 961, fol. 46 *v.* and 47 *r.*
IV. Cod. Paris Lat. 4794, fol. 29 *v.*
V. Cod. Paris Lat. 4794, fol. 30 *r.*
VI. Cod. Paris Lat. 4794, fol. 30 *v.*
VII. Cod. Basil F. V. 6, fol. 107 *r.*
VIII. Cod. Basil F. V. 6, fol. 107 *v.*
IX. Cod. Basil F. V. 6, fol. 108 *r.*
X. Cod. Basil F. V. 6, fol. 108 *v.*
Between 50 *and* 51

English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama:

XI. *a*, *b*. Nativity with adoration of the kings; *c*. Nativity; *d*. Ascension of our Lord
XII. *a*, *c*. Assumption and Coronation of our Lady; *b*. Assumption of our Lady; *d*. Ascension of our Lord.
XIII. *a*. Dedication of our Lady; *b*. Betrothal of our Lady; *c*. Purification of the Virgin; *d*. St. Catherine in prison
XIV. *a*. Entry into Jerusalem; *b*, *c*. Agony in the Garden; *d*. Carrying of the Cross
XV. *a–d*. Betrayal of our Lord
XVI. *a*. Decollation of St. John; *b*. St. John before Herod; *c*. Christ before Herod; *d*. Christ before Caiaphas
XVII. *a*. Mocking of our Lord; *b*. Flagellation of our Lord; *c*. The Crowning with Thorns; *d*. The Nailing to the Cross.
XVIII. *a*, *b*. The Crucifixion
XIX. *a–d*. Entombment of our Lord
XX. *a*, *b*. The Just enter Heaven; *c*, *d*. Harrowing of Hell
XXI. *a*, *d*. Resurrection of our Lord; *b*, *c*. Appearance to the Magdalen.
Between 101 *and* 103

St. Oswald and his Church at Zug:

XXII. *a.* Merian's view of Zug (1652); *b.* The Berthold Missal; *c.* The Missal of Henry the Sacristan . . . . *facing* 103
XXIII. *a.* Quire stalls; *b.* Reliquary; *c.* Statue on façade, St. Oswald, Zug . *facing* 114
XXIV. *a.* Statue on chancel buttress, St. Oswald, Zug; *b.* John Eberhard. Picture in St. Oswald, Zug; *c.* St. Oswald kneeling before the Cross, St. Oswald, Zug; *d.* St. Oswald. Picture in Priest's House, Zug. . . *facing* 114
XXV. *a, d.* Stained-glass panels, The National Museum, Zürich; *b, c.* Stained-glass panels, The Cloister, Wettingen . . . . . . *following* 114
XXVI. *a.* Reliquary, The Cathedral, Solothurn; *b.* Silver coin of William IV, Count of Berg; *c.* Coins and medals, bearing the image of St. Oswald . *facing* 115

The Ghost or Shadow as a Charge in Heraldry:

Fig. 1. Trazegnies 133
Fig. 2. Hembize 133
Fig. 3. Overbrakele 133
Fig. 4. Florenville 133
Fig. 5. Cocqman 133
Fig. 6. Monpaulbon 135
Figs. 7 and 8. Courtraisin 136
Fig. 9. De Gravynne 136
Fig. 10. Woestine 137
Fig. 11. Esklebecke 137
Fig. 12. Seals of Isabelle de la Woestine, *c.* 1290 139
Fig. 13. Shields of Scrope in York Minster 141
Fig. 14. Filkyn 147
Fig. 15. Unnamed shield (Randle Holme's Book, f. 60 *v.*) 148
Fig. 16. King of Macedonia 148
Fig. 17. King of Syria 148
XXVII. *a.* Crux molendinaris umbrata; *b.* Crux florida patens umbrata; *c.* Crux umbrata et perforata; *d.* Leo umbratus; *e.* Lyon in umbre; *f.* Lyon rampant; *g.* Trazegnies; *h.* Ebrard de St. Sulpice; *i.* Woestinen; *j.* Steenhuse; *k.* Wedergrate; *l.* Florenville . . . . *facing* 150
XXVIII. Seals of, *a.* de Steenhuse; *b, c, d, e, f, g, j, k.* de Trazegnies; *h, i.* Scrope *following* 150
XXIX. *a, b, c.* Sir Henry, 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham; *d.* Premarin; *e, g.* Boynton of Sedbury; *f.* Schwarzach; *h.* Beauchamp of Binnerton; *i.* Sir Moinehalt of Ireland . . . . *following* 150
XXX. From 'La Mêlée' in the 'Livre des Tournois' by King René of Anjou . *facing* 151

Some Recent Discoveries in Westminster Abbey:

XXXI. The Bohun tomb: *a.* West end; *b.* Arcading; *c.* South side . . *facing* 152
XXXII. *a.* Monument of Dean Goodman; *b.* The same, with prayer desk removed; *c.* Coffins of Humphrey and Mary de Bohun . . . *facing* 153
XXXIII. Thirteenth-century heraldic glass now in St. Nicholas's Chapel; *a.* Cornwall; *b.* Provence; *c.* England . . . . . *facing* 160

The Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna:

Fig. 1. Plan of building before modification 168

Fig. 2. Vault of room 10 171

Fig. 3. Pompeii, Stabian Baths. Detail of Caldarium Plunge 176

Fig. 4. Room 17. Painted wall-decoration of Period (*a*) 189

XXXIV. Room 2 (Frigidarium): detail of mosaic in semi-dome of east plunge, south side . . . . *facing* 165

XXXV. The Hunting Baths, during excavation . . . . . *facing* 196

XXXVI. *a–d.* The Hunting Baths, before and after restoration; *c.* Bath Building, near the House of the Orpheus Mosaic . . . .

XXXVII. *a.* Room 4, showing original vault truncated by enlargement of plunge, and junction with room 19; *b.* Exterior of west apse of Frigidarium; *c.* The south-east caldarium range; *d.* The south-west caldarium range, showing vaults and vent-holes; *e.* Room 20, the south-east angle, showing detail of vault . . . .

XXXVIII. *a.* Furnace, room 7: arches to house boiler and *testudo* and outlet duct from plunge; *b.* Furnace, room 7: housing for boiler and stokehole and inlet- and outlet-ducts; *c.* Furnace, room 7: arches to house boiler and *testudo* and water inlet-duct; *d.* Furnace, room 7, showing floor of plunge; *e.* Outlet-ducts and drain from rooms 7 and 8 . . . .

XXXIX. *a.* Room 2 (Frigidarium): east plunge; *b.* Room 7 (second Caldarium): east wall and plunge . . . .

XL. *a.* Vault of room 1, showing three successive periods of painted decoration; *b.* Vault of room 4, showing original stucco coffering, and three successive coats of plaster; *c.* Vault of room 4, showing painted decorative scheme of period (*c*); *d.* Painted imitation marble panelling of latrine . .

XLI. *a.* Room 2 (Frigidarium): mosaics in semi-dome of east plunge, north side; *b, c.* Room 2 (Frigidarium); mosaics in semi-dome of east plunge, south side . . . . *following* 196

XLII. Room 2 (Frigidarium): painting of leopard-hunt on south wall . .

XLIII. *a, b.* Room 2 (Frigidarium): detail of painting of leopard-hunt on south wall . . . .

XLIV. *a.* Room 3 (north plunge of Frigidarium): Nilotic painting on south wall; *b.* Room 3: Nilotic painting on east wall . . . . .

XLV. *a.* Room 2 (Frigidarium): painting in vault of south apsidal niche; *b.* Room 6 (first Caldarium): lavabo; *c.* Parts of floor mosaics in Room 12 (Apodyterium) and Room 12 (Annex to Apodyterium); *d.* Floor mosaic in doorway between Rooms 7 and 8, and part of floor mosaic of Room 8 .

XLVI. *a.* Room 17: remains of wall-decoration of periods (*a*) and (*b*); *b.* Room 17: detail of floral work in wall-decoration of period (*a*); *c.* Room 7 (second Caldarium): detail of floor mosaic; *d.* Sabratha, Museum Baths. Housing for boiler and *testudo* . . . .

XLVII. Lepcis Magna: The Hunting Baths. Plan of the central block .

XLVIII. The same. Plan of central block shown with main vaults restored .

XLIX. Sections A–A and B–B . . . .

L. Sections C–C and D–D . . . .

LI. Sections E–E, F–F, and G–G . . . . . .

The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography[1]

By I. A. RICHMOND, Esq., LL.D., F.B.A. *Vice President*, and
O. G. S. CRAWFORD, Esq., F.B.A.

[*Read 28th January 1937*]

I. INTRODUCTION

THE compilation of the Ravenna Cosmography, as we have it, belongs to the late seventh century. It was done by a cleric of Ravenna, for one Odo, whom he describes as 'dearest brother' and 'friend', and the object of the work is to furnish a list of the countries, towns, and rivers of the known world, compiled from Greek, Roman, and Gothic authors. The author, who nowhere states his name, observes that a list was chosen as the form for the work, for brevity's sake (i, 18), in preference to a map or an itinerary; and its composition was governed by the Judaic version of the division of the world, as prescribed in the tenth chapter of Genesis, in order to harmonize with contemporary Christian belief. The authorities cited are divided (i, 5) into *sancti patres* and *huius mundi philosophi*, in an attitude of humane tolerance expressed by the phrase, *adiuvante Christo cum munimine philosophorum*.

The sources, real or alleged, form a remarkable group. The principal authority cited is Castorius, whose work covered all Asia, much of northern Africa, Italy, Spain, Burgundy, and Septimania. For the rest of Europe various sources are quoted. Dacia is derived from one Sardatius; Illyricum and Dalmatia from Maximus; Saxony, Albis, Pannonia, Valeria, Carneola, and Liburnia from Marcomir the Goth; Francia, Thuringia, and Gascony from Athanaric; Suebia and Francia Rhinensis from Anaridus; Brittany and Spanish Gascony from Eldebald. No author is given either for the British section or for Gaetulia or for Tingitana. This inability to cite an author for every section might seem to imply that such authors as are mentioned are not invented, but genuine; but the fact that they are otherwise wholly unknown has normally been taken to imply that the tendency to invent sources, prevalent among late Roman writers, also influenced the author of this work. Yet, whether the authors are real or fictitious, it remains abundantly clear that the original source of the material, however transmitted, was a Roman itinerary. Granted this point, sources become of no more than algebraical significance in the principally geographical inquiry here contemplated, and only to the student of history do they become of deep and significant interest as a group. The whole collection forms a conscious testimony, all the more striking if a pure invention, to Ravenna as the home of three cultures, Roman, Gothic, and Greek, united by force of circumstances. This new home became the birthplace of a new line of thought, which dignified pagan authors by the name *philosophi* and shaped their testimony to suit the new world of Christendom and the authority of the *patres*. Social institutions and artistic creations, such as the great Ravennate architecture, have long been taken to imply this union. The Cosmography takes it as established, looking upon the cosmos which it is describing as the formal continuation of the Roman world, even as geographically defined, though freely admitting that racial movements had contributed new names or led to confusion here and there. This attitude is not to be dismissed as fanciful archaism, divorced from contemporary thought and facts, even if such criticism might indeed seem particularly invited by the inclusion of Roman Britain, then lost to the Empire beyond recall. For, whatever later events were to prove, it was not incorrect in the seventh century to assert that the framework of the Roman Empire, as described by pagan geographers and considered to be ordained by the Scriptures, still remained a reality in men's minds. Englishmen have good reason to recall that it was this very line of thought, sponsored by the Church, which had inspired Pope Gregory's mission to England in 597. The body politic of the Western Empire might be dead, but its framework was recognized and put to real use: 'out of the strong came forth sweetness'. Churchmen believed with passionate sincerity that an organized Christendom might give new spiritual life to the old form by accepting its newer features. Thus, the Ravenna Cosmography, as reflecting this outlook, falls into place as a work in step with contemporary ideals, forming part of the seventh-century expression of the need for human brotherhood. On these grounds alone the work commands attention and respect.

---

[1] The origin of this work was a paper written by the first-named writer upon the Ravenna list for Britain based upon personal study of the Vatican codex in 1922. When this paper was ready, communication with Mr. Crawford revealed that he possessed photographs of all three manuscripts. Those of the Vatican and Basle manuscripts are here reproduced, but new photographs of the Paris manuscript have been obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale. Notes by both writers on individual names were then pooled and submitted to Professor Ifor Williams, whose valuable comments upon each name, often amounting to a wholly new contribution, have been embodied in a third section. While this paper was in the press, J. Schnetz's study of sources in *Sitzungsberichte d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1942, *Heft* 6, has become available. It is interesting to find him in substantial agreement as to date and individuality of sources. His edition, in *Itineraria Romana II*, has been seen through his personal kindness.

A very different but no less useful side to the work is represented by its function as a list of place-names. In preserving over 300 of these, the British portion of the Cosmography far surpasses any other Roman source in the quantity which it contains. The Antonine Itinerary and Ptolemy's geography furnish respectively 113 and 126 place-names or names of rivers and islands. Etymologically, the record is of great interest, and much remains to be done in this field. The explanations here furnished are for the most part due to Professor Ifor Williams, whose qualifications require no introduction. The results remarkably confirm the principle laid down with characteristic vigour by Samuel Johnson, in discussing the name Ainnit in Dunvegan: 'The name is exhausted by what we see. We have no occasion to go to a distance for what we can pick up under our feet . . . it turns out to be a mere physiological name.' The names are, in fact, mostly related to physical features, and this fact can be of real assistance in giving them their place on a map.

The connexion of the Cosmography with itineraries can very easily be appreciated by taking Parthey and Pinder's edition of the work and comparing it with the Antonine Itinerary or with Müller's compendious *Itineraria Romana*. There are few groups of names mentioned by the Ravenna list in any part of Europe which do not correspond with the order of the Antonine itineraries, and fewer still that do not then occur in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The remainder also fall into well-marked geographical groups.

Some, as in Francia Rhinensis or Suebia, are derived from post-classical sources; others, in the Istrian peninsula, are due to immediate local knowledge of the district, which lay at the very doors of Ravenna. But the inference to be drawn from these facts by students of the British section is important; namely, that unless a given section can be shown to embody post-Roman material, it may be taken to rest upon Roman road-books in list or map form, resembling, in other words, either the Antonine Itinerary or the Peutinger Map (pl. I).

Apart from the order of the names, the composition of the continental sections also retains specific traces of dependence upon itineraries. This derives from a difficulty inherent in compiling a list from road-books or maps. A list is to quote a name only once, while a road-book may repeat it many times as the starting-point or terminus of different routes. The Spanish section of the Cosmography reveals the difficulty which its composer felt by employing the formula, *iuxta suprascriptam civitatem* A, *est civitas* B. This device, which so clearly denotes a road-book or map as the original source, appears once in the British section, at Exeter (*Isca Dumnoniorum*). In Italy three famous trunk roads are actually mentioned by name. In many sections of the Cosmography, however, a break is marked only by the formula *iterum est civitas*, or *iterum sunt civitates*; while in Pannonia or Gaul, changes from route to route take place without any sign whatever. These unmarked changes may be due to the material having been gathered at second hand, or further distorted in transmission. For example, if a map was used—once more not necessarily at first hand—it may have been purposely elongated, as was the well-known Peutinger Map, and other types of distortion are possible.

Turning now to the British list in particular, we may first note that it exhibits no trace of post-Roman influence. Indeed, the reference to the arrival of the Saxons in the preamble to the description emphasizes their establishment as late-comers. As Professor Haverfield long ago stressed, the list contains features which are quite without significance when divorced from the Roman province. These are, firstly, the definition of *coloniae* by their official titles, and the distinction of cantonal capitals by their tribal suffixes; secondly, the honorific attributes of London and the legionary fortresses; thirdly, Roman administrative terms, such as *statio* and *praesidium*, or Roman compound names, such as *Caesaromagus*. One group of names which might seem distinct from the Roman province is a short miscellany appended to the main list and described as *diversa loca*, which seem to be connected with Scotland; it stands quite apart from the main section, which is derived from sources of unimpeachably Roman stamp. Later, however, we shall see that there are good reasons here too for thinking that this list also reflects a Roman arrangement.

Another interesting point in the British list is its evident connexion with a Greek source. No fewer than twenty-five names from all parts of the list still retain a Greek inflexion or case-ending. While others are so spelt, or mis-spelt, as to suggest that they were derived from an original written in Greek.

In comparing the list with Roman material, correspondences to the Antonine Itinerary or to the British fragment of the Peutinger Map must form the starting-point.

1. The most striking of these are centred about London (*see map* VII):

(*a*) ITIN. VI, II.	RAVENNA LIST
Ratas	*Ratecorion*
Venonis	*Eltavori*
Etoceto	*Lectoceto*
Lactodoro	*Iaciodulma*
Verolami	*Virolanium*
Londinium	*Londinium Augusti*

(*b*) ITER V.	RAVENNA LIST
Londinio	*Londinium Augusti*
Caesaromago	*Cesaromago*
Colonia	*Manulodulo colonia*

2. The Channel ports (*see map* IV) are enumerated in the same way:

(*a*) ITER III.	RAVENNA LIST	PEUTINGER MAP
Dubris	*Dubris*	*Dubris*
Duroverno	*Duroaverno Cantiacorum*	*Duroaverus*

(*b*) ITER II.	RAVENNA LIST	PEUTINGER MAP
Ritupis	*Rutupis*	*Ratupis*
Duroverno	*Duroaverno Cantiacorum*	
Durolevo		*Burolevo*
Durobrivis	*Durobrabis*	*Roribis*

3. The western road (*see map* I) also appears:

ITER XIV	RAVENNA LIST
Cunetione	*Cunetzione*
Abone	*Punctuobice* (= *Portu Abone*)
Venta Silurum	*Ventaslurum*

4. The North Wales coast road (*see map* V) also occurs:

ITER XI	RAVENNA LIST
Segontio	*Seguntio*
Conovio	*Canubio*

5. The north road from York (*see map* XII) is recognizable:

ITIN. I & II.		RAVENNA LIST
Vinovia	*Lavatris*	*Vinovia*
Cataractoni	*Caturactoni*	*Lavaris*
Eboracum		*Cactabactonion*
		Eburacum

6. The tail-end of *Iter* XV, *Muridono–Isca Dumnoniorum*, is introduced with the phrase *iterum iuxta suprascriptam civitatem Scadoniorum est civitas quae dicitur Moriduno*; this arrangement matches the corrupt but recognizable *Iscadidunoniorum* and *Riduma* of the Peutinger Map (pl. 1).

7. The Itinerary or Peutinger Map are not the only documents to be cited. In the north, the order of the names connected by the Cosmography with Hadrian's Wall (*see map* XIII) corresponds, as has long been noted, with that of the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the Rudge Cup.

8. Again, the Cumberland coast (*see map* X) yields, in the names *Cantiventi*, *Iuliocenon*, and *Gabrocentio* a doublet of the *Gabrosentum*, *Tunnocelum*, and *Glannibanta* of the *Notitia*.

There are thus eight indubitable instances of correspondence between documents and the Cosmography. These reveal that there is an order about the British section of the Cosmography so well related to the road-system as strongly to confirm the view that this section is derived from an itinerary or road-map, as are those dealing with the other European sections.

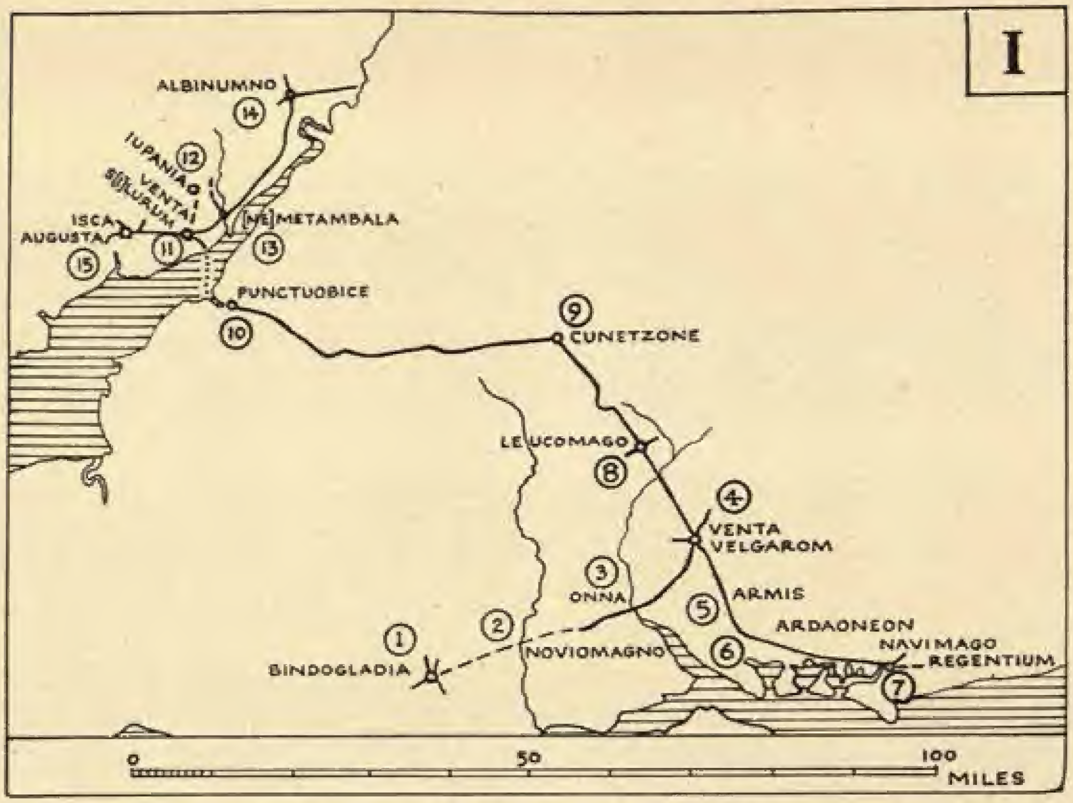
On applying this hypothesis to regions where the road-system is reasonably well known, further points in its support emerge.

9. In Cumbria, a land of insignificant hamlets and of forts with large extramural settlements, the sequence *Valteris–Bereda–Lagubalium*, *Magnis–Gabaglanda–Vindolande* corresponds to the forts connected by road with the linked centres of *Braboniacum*, mentioned in another section as *Ravonia*, and *Magna* (*see map* XI). Indeed, it must be emphasized that only the assumption that the names were taken from a map will explain this order at all.

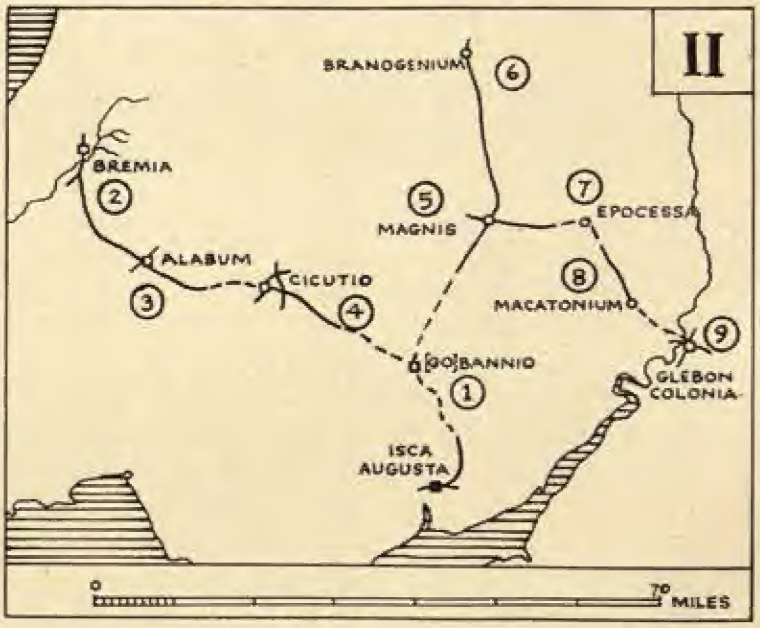
10. In the High Peak, the names *Navione*, *Aquis Arnemeze*, *Zerdotalia*, and *Mautio* explain themselves as the Roman forts corresponding to Brough-on-Noe, Buxton, Melandra, and Manchester, as connected by road (*see map* IX).

11. Finally, the sequence *Glebon colonia*, *Argistillum*, *Vertis*, *Salinis*, *Cironium Dobunorum*, *Caleba Arbatium* introduces another principle. A branch road is inserted at the point where it diverges from the main route (*see map* III). The three names inserted between *Glevum* and *Cironium* are otherwise unknown, but cannot be explained as stages between those two places since there are no salt-springs or salt-pans thereabouts. The name *Salinae* enables us to fit them in as stations on the road from Gloucester to Droitwich, whose salt-springs were famous in antiquity (*see below*, pp. 7, 17, 44–5).

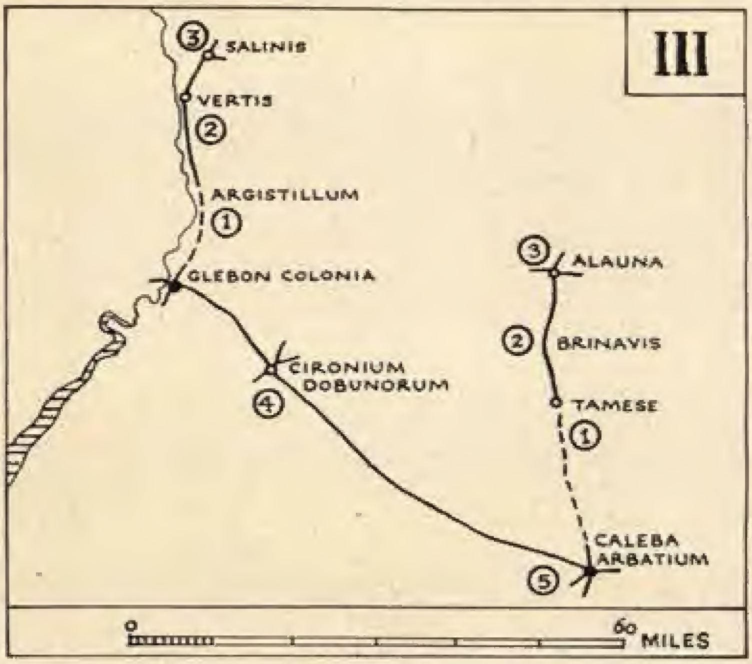
These accumulated examples suffice to demonstrate beyond cavil that the British list is closely connected with the road-system. We are now in a position to apply the principle to names associated with recognizable centres. The first of these (*map* I) is *Venta Belgarum*, where in the names *Bindogladia–Noviomagno–Onno–Venta Velgarom* we may suggest that the route mentioned is the alternative road between *Vindogladia* and Winchester, by way of the New Forest. It may similarly be postulated that *Armis* and *Ardaoneon* are points otherwise unknown on the road between Winchester and Chichester. It seems evident that the list then returns to Winchester again and, by way of *Leucomago*, makes for *Cunetione*, on the road between Winchester and *Venta Silurum*, which it reaches by crossing the Bristol Channel at *Portus Abonae*. The three names between *Venta Silurum* and *Isca* must belong to a branch road, presumably leading away from Venta and possibly the road back to Gloucester; while those between (*Go*)*bannium* and *Magna* will represent the road which branches from


I
ALBINUMNO
⑭
IUPANIAGO
⑫
VENTA
[SI]LURUM
ISCA
AUGUSTA
⑮
⑪
[NE]METAMBALA
⑬
PUNCTUOBICE
⑩
⑨
CUNETZONE
LE[UC]OMAGO
⑧
④
VENTA
VELGAROM
③
ONNA
⑤
ARMIS
ARDAONEON
②
①
NOVIOMAGNO
⑥
NAVIMAGO
REGENTIUM
⑦
BINDOGLADIA
0
50
100
MILES

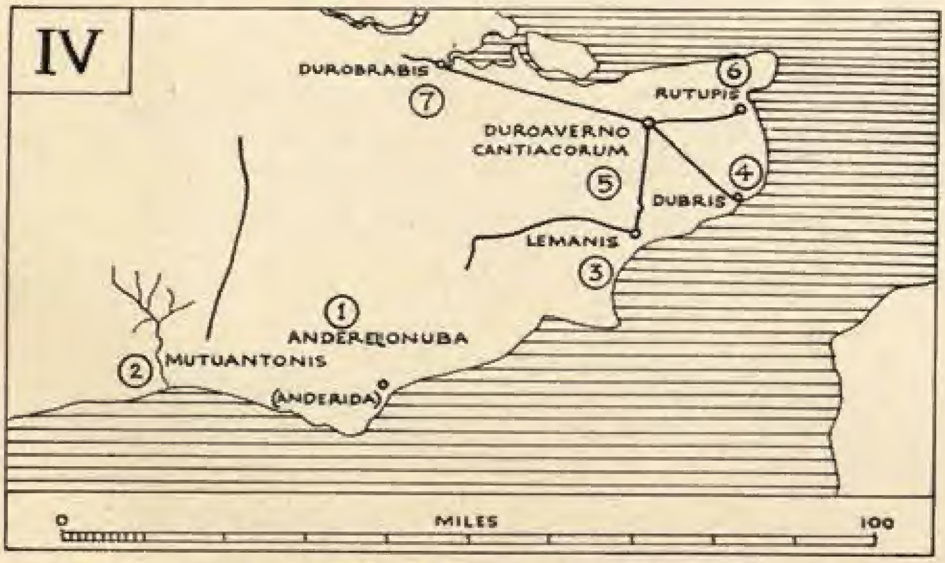
Abergavenny into Brycheiniog. This district, however, like Cumberland, is again a land where forts are the principal centres (*map* II). The three names might thus be expected to fit Llanio (*Bremia*), Llanfair-ar-y-bryn (*Alabum*), and Brecon (*Cicutio*),


II
BRANOGENIUM
⑥
BREMIA
②
⑤
MAGNIS
⑦
EPOCESSA
ALABUM
③
CICUTIO
④
⑧
MACATONIUM
⑨
[GO]BANNIO
①
GLEBON
COLONIA
ISCA
AUGUSTA
0
70
MILES

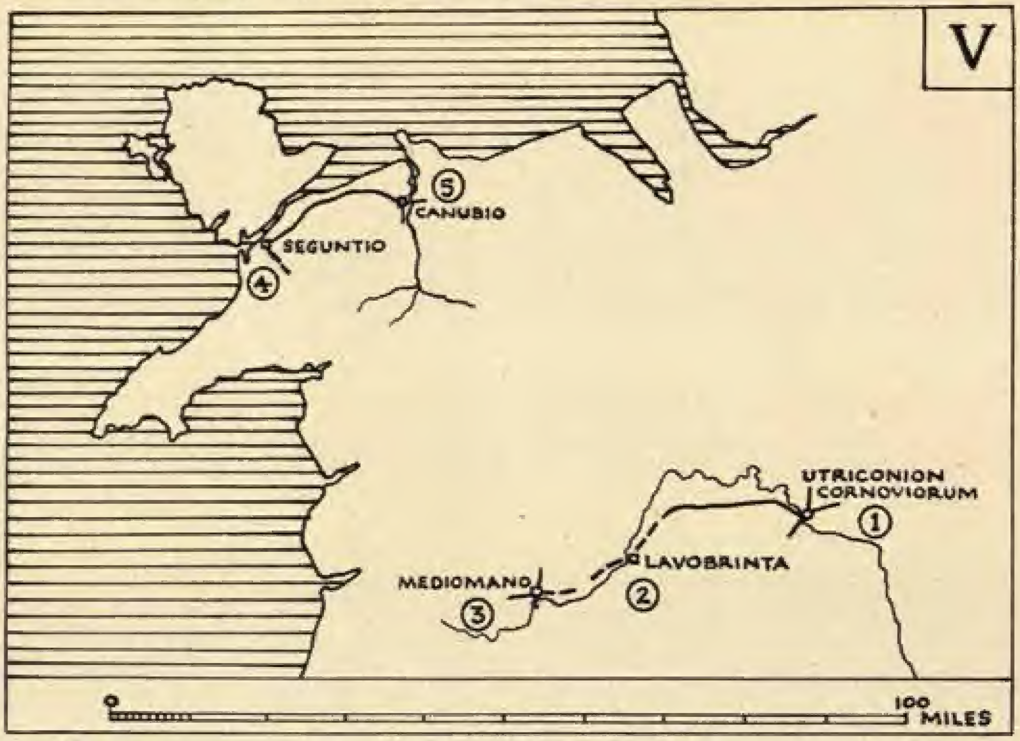
and the formal connexion of the name *Bremia* with Afon Brefi at Llanio goes far to confirm the attribution. The list now returns to the south-east by way of the Marches, Gloucester, and Cirencester. The equation *Salinae* = Droitwich, which suggested Ryknild Street, occurs at this point.

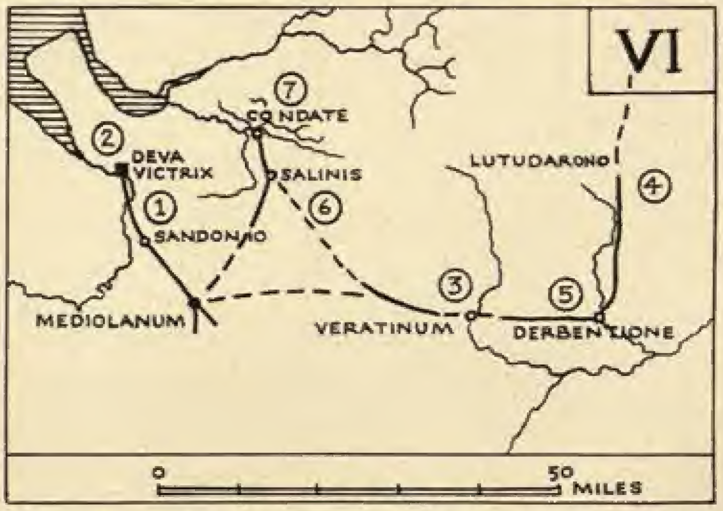

III
③ SALINIS
VERTIS
②
ARGISTILLUM
①
GLEBON COLONIA
CIRONIUM DOBUNORUM
④
③ ALAUNA
② BRINAVIS
TAMESE
①
CALEBA ARBATIUM
⑤
0
60 MILES

Having thus disposed of the main West road and its ramifications in South Wales, the author proceeds to tackle the Sussex coast (*map* IV), previously reached at *Noviomagno Reg*(*n*)*entium* (Chichester), and to make for the Kentish ports, the whole group being clearly recognizable. The situation of the next group is less clear: the names *Tamese–Brinavis–Alauna* should represent the Oxfordshire road linking Silchester with Ryknild Street (*see map* III), and studded with little towns at Dorchester-on-Thames (*Tamese*) and Alchester (*Alauna*) and an intermediate trading-centre at Woodeaton, perhaps *Brinavis*. That being so, *Landini*, which precedes


IV
DUROBRABIS
⑦
⑥
RUTUPIS
DUROAVERNO CANTIACORUM
⑤
④
DUBRIS
LEMANIS
③
①
ANDERELIONUBA
② MUTUANTONIS
(ANDERIDA)
0
MILES
100

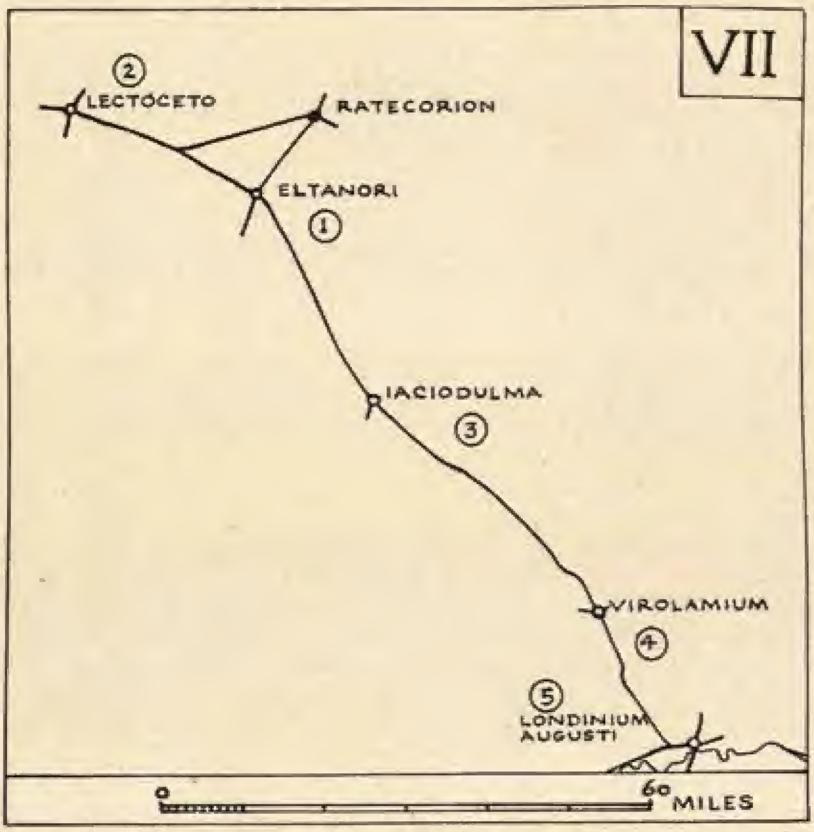
them, should fall between Silchester and the Thames. Wroxeter (*Viroconium Cornoviorum*) then follows (*map* V), separated by a couple of names from the North Wales coast road. These two names are thus all that remain for Central Wales, whither a main road led from Wroxeter by Caer Flos to Caersws; and it is tempting to connect *Lavobrinta* with the former, *Mediomanum* being particularly suited to Caersws, which is the centre of Montgomeryshire and the central pivot of the Welsh road-system.


V
⑤
CANUBIO
SEGUNTIO
④
UTRICONION
CORNOVIORUM
①
LAVOBRINTA
MEDIOMANO
②
③
0
100
MILES

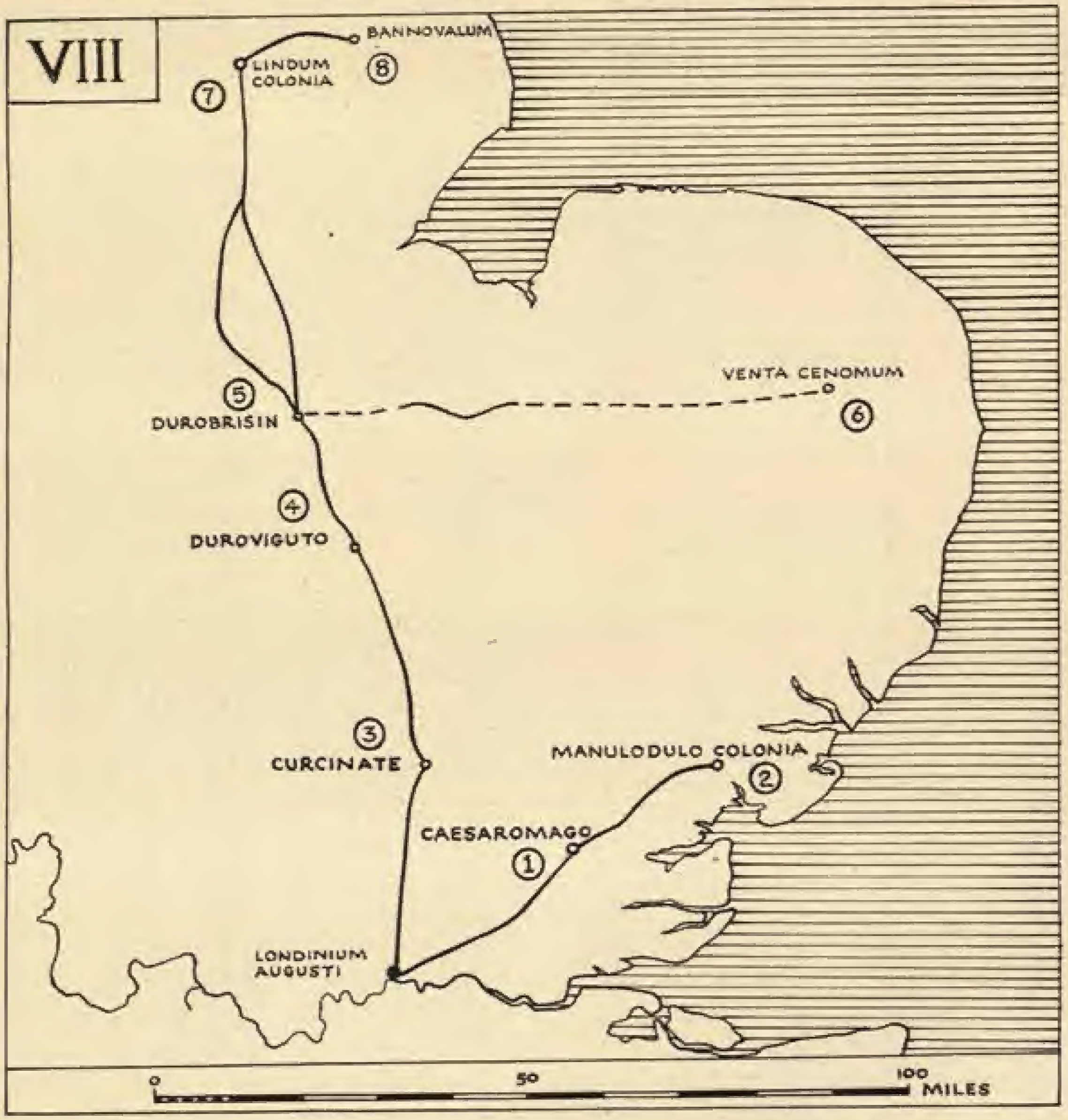

VI
⑦
CONDATE
②
DEVA
VICTRIX
SALINIS
①
⑥
SANDONIO
LUTUDARONO
④
③
⑤
MEDIOLANUM
VERATINUM
DERBENTIONE
0
50
MILES

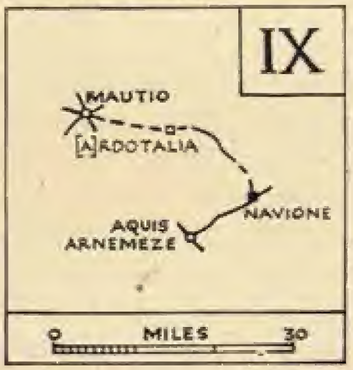
The description of this corner of the province is then rounded off by linking Wroxeter with Chester, *Mediolanum*, in the centre of the Cheshire plain, being the nodal point, as in the Antonine Itinerary (*map* VI). The order of the names would suggest that three roads were centred upon *Mediolanum*, the first leading by *Sandonium* to Chester

(*Deva Victrix*), the second by *Veratinum* to *Lutudarum* (near Matlock) and Littlechester (*Derbentione*), and the third by *Salinis* (Nantwich) to *Condate* (Northwich). This arrangement brings an otherwise unintelligible ordering of the names into line with the main road-system of Cheshire. It also leads naturally to *Ratae Coritanorum* (Leicester) and the south-east Midlands, which form the next section (*map* VII) considered above (p. 4). Some names in association with London have also been noted. But in view of the tendency to cluster groups of names about an important road-centre (cf. *Venta Belgarum*), it may be suggested that the names *Curcinate* and *Duroviguto*, following Colchester, really go with London and belong to Ermine Street (*map* VIII), going north to Castor, *Durobrisin* (= *Durobrivis*), and forking there for *Venta Icenorum* (Caistor-by-Norwich) and *Lindum colonia* (Lincoln).

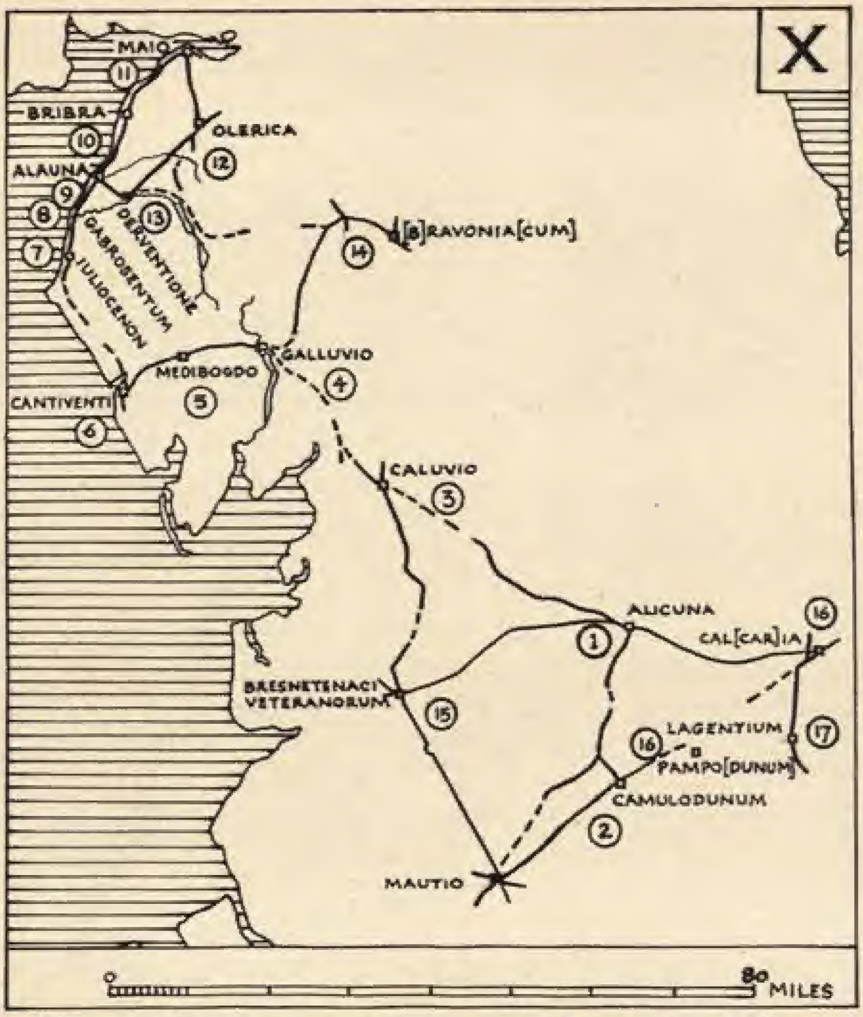


The names of the Peak district have already been discussed. Next, the equation of *Mautio* with Manchester (*Mamucio*, Itinerary) and the correspondence of subsequent names with the Cumberland coastal forts of the *Notitia Dignitatum* offer some guidance in an otherwise dark section (*map* X). *Mautio* (= *Mamucio*) is followed by two Yorkshire place-names mentioned by Ptolemy, *Olicana* (here *Alicuna*), Ilkley, connected with Manchester by a famous road, and *Camulodunum*. Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*), which is reserved for a later place, might then have been mentioned: for the two very similar names which follow, *Caluvio* and *Galluvio*, presumably correspond to *Galacum* and *Galava* (Ambleside) of Iter X. *Galluvio* is separated from *Cantiventi*, which is *Glanoventa* or *Glannibanta*, by *Medibogdo*, which in turn can hardly


VIII
BANNOVALUM
LINDUM COLONIA
⑦
⑧
⑤
DUROBRISIN
VENTA CENOMUM
⑥
④
DUROVIGUTO
③
CURCINATE
MANULODULO COLONIA
②
CAESAROMAGO
①
LONDINIUM AUGUSTI
0
50
100
MILES

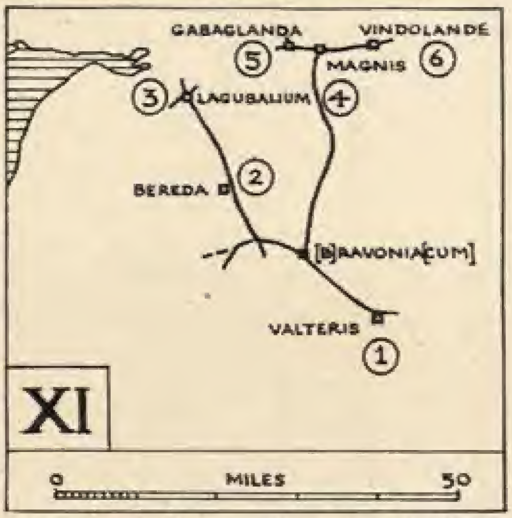

IX
MAUTIO
[A]RDOTALIA
NAVIONE
AQUIS ARNEMEZE
0
MILES
30

be other than Hardknot Castle, on the accepted interpretation of that *Iter*. The list then begins to run up the Cumberland coast, where a fixed point should be provided by *Alauna*, indubitably to be placed on the river Ellen. Accepting this, the five places specified after *Glanoventa* (Ravenglass) should correspond to the Cumberland coastal forts in geographical order; a lost site at the Ehen, Moresby, Ellenborough, Beckfoot, and Bowness. The next names take us inland to *Olerica*, perhaps Old Carlisle, *Derventione*, presumably Papcastle-on-Derwent, and *(B)ravonia(cum)*, Kirkby Thore. We then return to Manchester, whence the section started, and are connected with *Bresnetenaci Veteranorum*, which is *Bremetennacum*, Ribchester; while *Pampocalia*

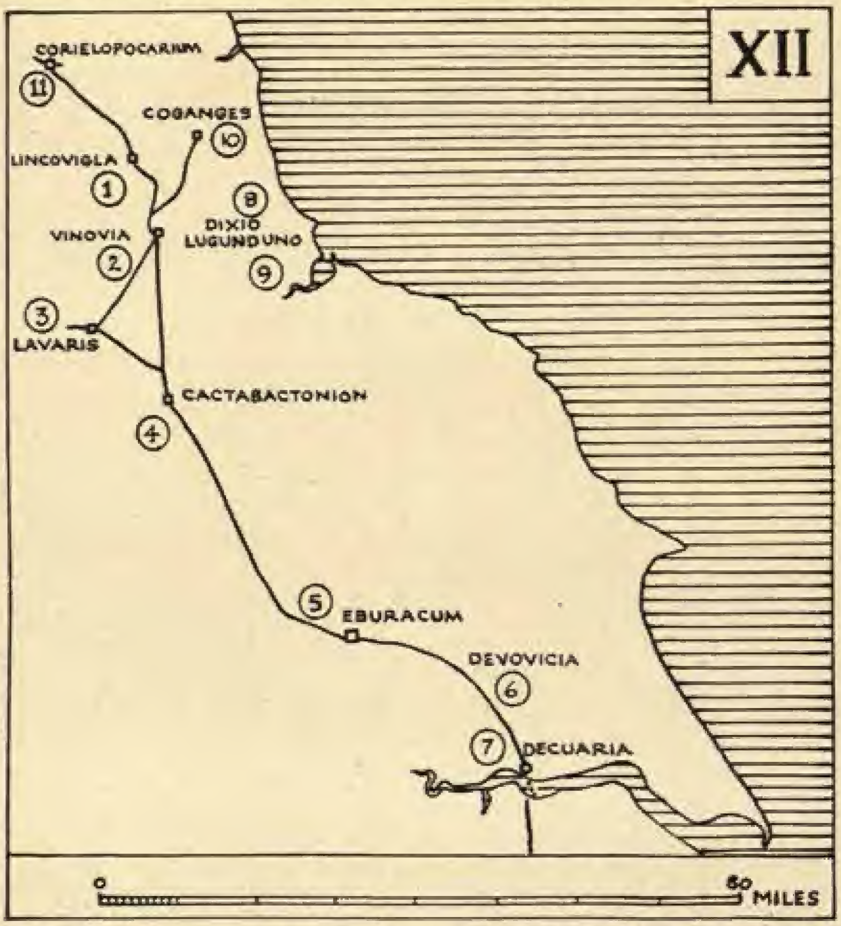

X
MAIO
⑪
BRIBRA
⑩
OLERICA
⑫
ALAUNA
⑨
⑧
⑬
DERVENTIONE
GABROSENTUM
IULIOCENON
⑦
[B]RAVONIA[CUM]
⑭
GALLUVIO
MEDIBOGDO
⑤
④
CANTIVENTI
⑥
CALUVIO
③
ALICUNA
⑯
CAL[CAR]IA
①
BRESNETENACI VETERANORUM
⑮
LAGENTIUM
⑰
⑯
PAMPO[DUNUM]
CAMULODUNUM
②
MAUTIO
0
80 MILES

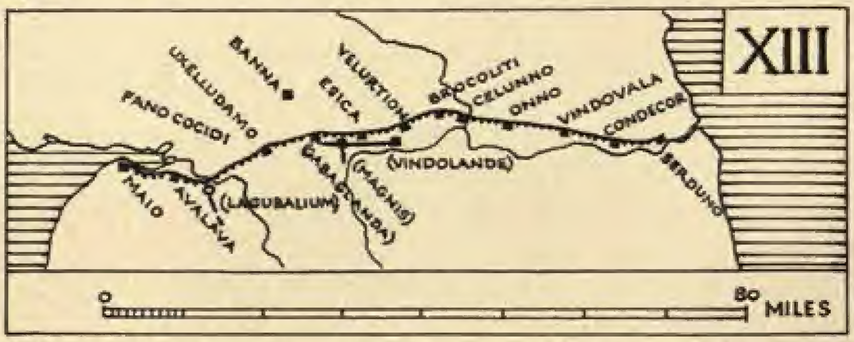
and *Lagentium* will link Manchester with the east, *Lagentium* being equated with the *Lagecium* of Iter VIII, and *Pampocalia*, meaningless as it stands, being recognizable as an accidental fusion of the Itinerary names *Campodunum* and *Calcaria*.

The next centre after Manchester is *Braboniacum*, already mentioned, and therefore not repeated, whence roads radiate to Brough, Carlisle, and Hadrian's Wall (*map* XI); and, as has been already observed, the order is here hardly explicable unless the points were read from a road-map. There follows the road (*map* XII) from Hadrian's Wall to York, and thence to the Humber (*see* pp. 12, 18), where we are again in close touch with the Itinerary.


GABAGLANDA
VINDOLANDE
⑤
MAGNIS
⑥
③
LAGUBALIUM
④
BEREDA
②
[B]RAVONIACUM
VALTERIS
①
XI
0
MILES
50

Only one group of names now remains (*map* XII) south of Hadrian's Wall, comprising *Dixio*, *Lugunduno*, *Coganges*, and *Corielopocarium*. Here the *Notitia* forts of *Dicte* and *Concangium* seem to be represented and etymology seems to provide good reason for linking *Concangium* with *Cuncaceaster*, the oldest name for Chester-le-Street. Chester-le-Street is the fort nearest Lanchester (*Longovicium–Lincovigla*), which the list has already mentioned; beyond which lies *Corstopitum*, the corrupt name of Corbridge, of which a more correct form may conceivably be represented by *Corielopocarium*, if the name of a sub-tribe is involved. We may compare *Curia* *Otadinorum* and *Curia Textoverdorum* in the same district, neither of which, however, appears to be the *curia* in question.

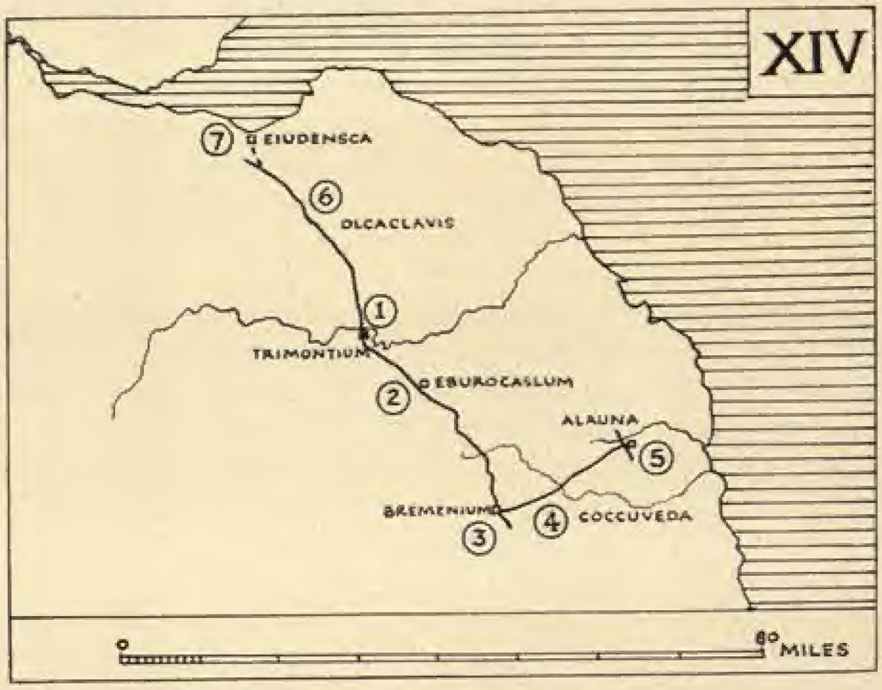

XII
CORIELOPOCARIUM
⑪
COGANGES
⑩
LINCOVIGLA
①
⑧
DIXIO
LUGUNDUNO
VINOVIA
②
⑨
③
LAVARIS
CACTABACTONION
④
⑤
EBURACUM
DEVOVICIA
⑥
⑦
DECUARIA
0
80
MILES


XIII
BANNA
UXELLUDAMO
FANO COCIDI
ESICA
VELURTION
BROCOLITI
CELUNNO
ONNO
VINDOVALA
CONDECOR
SERDUNO
(VINDOLANDE)
(MAGNIS)
GABAGLANDA)
(LAGUBALIUM)
AVALAVA
MAIO
0
80
MILES

The forts of Hadrian's Wall itself present an old topographical crux (*map* XIII). Critics are agreed that the cosmography list coincides with the *Notitia* and with known forts westwards along the Wall as far as *Aesica* (*Esica*), only omitting the minor fort of *Pons Aelius*, at Newcastle. West of *Aesica* the next two forts, *Magna* and *Camboglanna*, have already been mentioned; but it is not clear at first sight whether the list continues to cite forts on the Wall. There are, however, three reasons for thinking that the names from *Aesica* to *Maia* are those of Wall-forts. In the first place *Maia*, as already noted, seems to lie in north-west Cumberland and to be identifiable as Bowness. Secondly, all the Cumberland forts except those on the Wall have already been mentioned. Thirdly, the order of the names agrees, if *Camboglanna* (already mentioned) is included, with that of the names on the Rudge Cup, upon which, as shown elsewhere, the names are not only geographically connected, but actually linked with a continuous castellated border, indicative of a specific chain of forts. As for the names in particular, *Banna*, from its close connexion with Birdoswald (*Camboglanna*) on the Rudge Cup, must be Bewcastle, while the remaining three names ought to represent the three large forts at the western end of the Wall, Castlesteads (*Uxellodunum*), Burgh-by-Sands (*Aballava*), and *Maia* (Bowness): of the other two forts, Stanwix (*Petrianis*) can be omitted, because its place in road-books is taken by *Luguvalium* (Carlisle): while Drumburgh was a subsidiary fort resembling Newcastle (*Pons Aelius*), which the list also omits. This solution involves, indeed, discarding some long-standing equations, such as that of Ellenborough to *Uxellodunum* or Papcastle to *Aballava*; but the solution proposed above for the Cumberland coast has already provided these places with names of very particular reference, based upon the rivers which flow beneath their walls, while the current equations rested upon indecisive points. After *Maia*, the Cosmography appears to leave the Wall, for the next site is *Fanum Cocidi*, whose exact position is unknown, though a distribution-map of the dedications to Cocidius suggests that it lay in the Irthing valley (see p. 34).

It is now abundantly clear that, starting from comparisons with the Antonine Itinerary, a good case can be made out for the connexion of the British section of the Cosmography with a road-book, probably in map form, so long as other evidence is available as a guide. The list is shown to be intimately connected with the road-system wherever it can be tested. Due weight must therefore be given to this consideration when identifications for names otherwise unknown are proposed, especially when those names occur within districts known to have possessed a road-system. It is otherwise, however, with certain parts of the province. In the south-west, the territory of the Dumnonii in Devonshire and Cornwall, ignorance of the Roman road-system may be recognized as the principal reason why it is possible only to pose the problem rather than to offer a solution. In the farthest west, something has been done to sketch out the road-system by showing that much Roman traffic went coastwise and used short roads running up the valleys of Cornwall from the sea-ports to mining-settlements. Consonantly, at least one of the names west of the Tamar, *Elconio*, suggests a river as the basis, but *Tamaris* could, and perhaps should, be a river-crossing just as well as a port. The main course taken by the list remains completely obscure. It may only be suggested that *Uxelis*, not very far from *Isca Dumnoniorum*, was in the basin of the Axe. There must, indeed, have been a road running towards the Axe valley and north Devon, always the most profitable part of the county, where the Roman government thought it worth while to provide coastal signal-stations; and it may be suspected that the names near Exeter belong to this district. But no further step can be safely taken. Two names, *Statio Tamaris* and *Statio Deventiasteno*, seem certainly to refer to an office (*statio*) of the *fiscus*; but it is idle to attempt to fix the position of the second until further field-work has more clearly defined the possibilities.

Roman Scotland divides sharply into two zones, the Lowlands, mostly south of the Antonine Wall, and the Highlands beyond it. The mere quantity of names, seventy-two in number, is impressive. But it must be borne in mind that only ten out of the nineteen forts on the Antonine Wall are mentioned and that it is impossible to determine whether the others are hidden in another part of the list, as are some forts on Hadrian's Wall, or whether smaller forts are omitted. In the land between the Walls, *Praesidium* must certainly have been a Roman fort. But only in the sector *Trimontium–Bremenium* does the list come into recognizable contact with the Roman fort-system (*map* XIV). *Maromago*, 'the great plain', suggests that the list may be working down to *Trimontium* from the plain of the Esk, for large plains are very rare in Scotland, while *Coritiotar*, a little earlier, may well be *Curia Otadinorum*. Again, the 'yew' which is the first element in the name *Eburocaslum*, between Newstead and High Rochester, should attach the name to Cappuck, since the reference is to trees that did not flourish in the alternative position of Chew Green. The following three names, *Bremenium*, *Coccuveda*, and *Alauna*, seem to refer to forts in the valleys of the Aln and the Coquet. *Eiudensca*, however, sometimes equated with *Habitancum*, is almost certainly Inveresk, known to Bede as *Urbs Giudi*. On the other hand, some names have definitely non-Roman connotations. *Locatreve*, 'lake-dwellers', *Carban-*

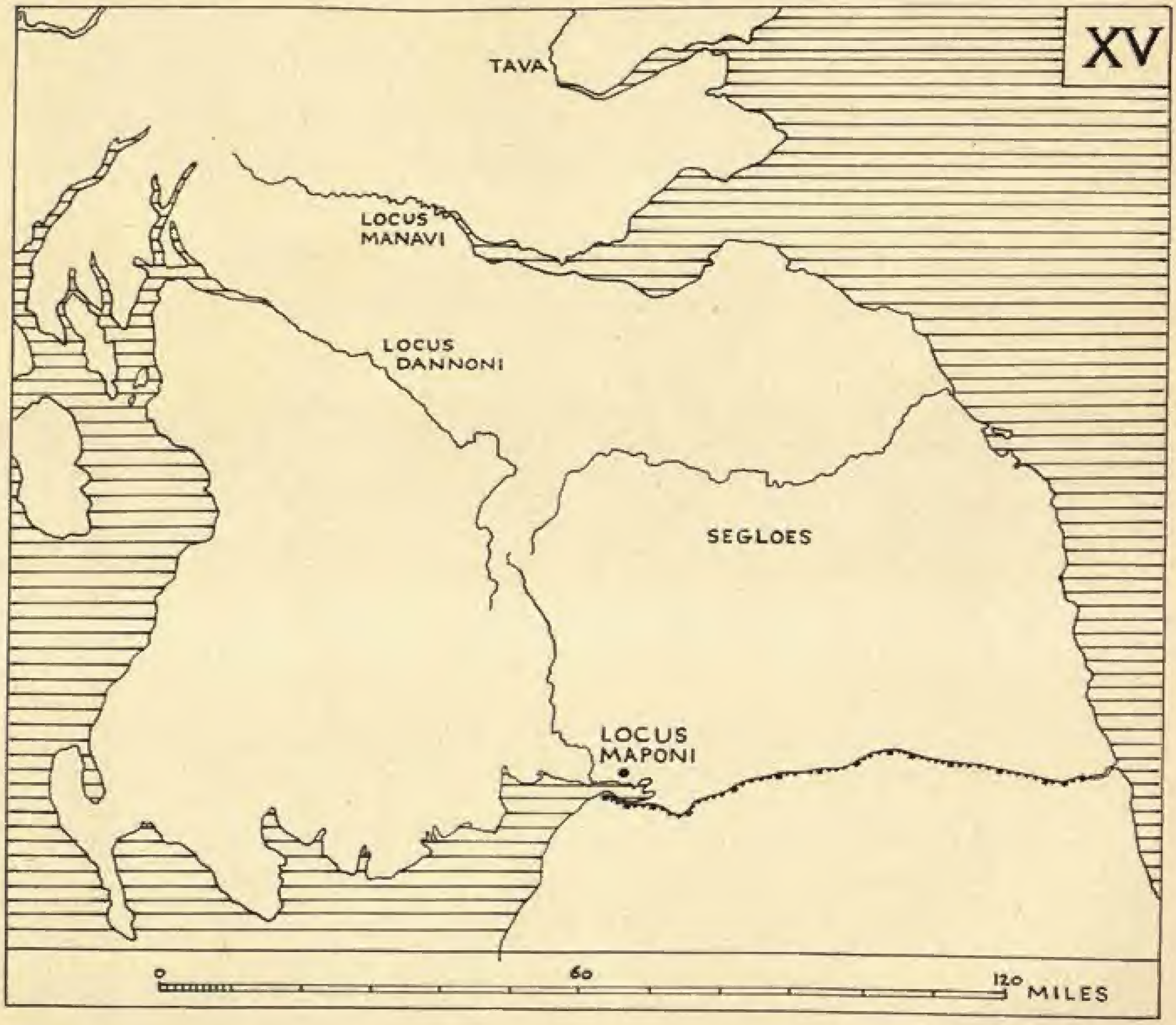


t(or)i(t)um, 'wagon-ford', not only exhibit Celtic roots but refer to habits or objects definitely un-Roman in character. This might suggest that not only Roman forts or posts but also native places of importance occur in the List, without detracting from its official character, especially if the native places were tribal centres. *Medionemeton*, on or near the Antonine Wall, reads like such a spot with sacred associations.

North of the Antonine Wall, similar features occur. *Pinnatis*, *Poreo classis*, *Victoriae*, are names of Roman significance, presumably applicable to forts. Names like *Tuessis*, *Demerosesa*, and *Cindocellum* recall rivers and coastal features. *Litinomago*, 'broad plain', must lie this side of the Grampians. *Devoni* and *Memanturum* seem definitely referable to Aberdeenshire. None of the names suggests, by affinity with Ptolemy or otherwise, that the List refers to any point north of the River Spey, the *Tuessis*; and this agrees with the main direction of Roman trade. A systematic study of Scottish river-names may some day enable further identifications to be made.

Then follow eight names, classified not as *civitates* or *flumina* but as *loca*. Nowhere else in the Cosmography is there a class of this kind, the nearest approach being *patriae*, used for countries. The application seems to be to meeting-places, and the last four names, *Taba*, *Manavi*, *Segloes*, and *Dannoni*, have a clear connexion (*map* XV) with the ancient names *Tay*, *Manau Gododin*, *Selgovae*, and *Damnonii*, in the Lowlands of Scotland. On the strength of this, it has been suggested that the first name of all, *Maponi*, referred to the *Clochmabenstane*, which was the site of a megalithic monument and the great traditional meeting-place of early medieval folk on the western March. Greek sources suggest that *locus* was the term applied by Rome to such tribal or religious meeting-places; and these Scottish examples may well have been the places of lawful assembly recognized by Roman treaty or frontier regulation, perhaps in the third century, when the Lowlands were patrolled rather than garrisoned by Roman troops.

The river-names form a curious list, not free from obscurity though the general trend is clear. The names begin in Hampshire, and work round to Wales, with the *Traxula* (Test?), *Axium* (Axe), *Mavia* (Meavy), *Sarna* (unidentified), *Tamaris* (Tamar), *Naurum* (unidentified), *Abona* (Avon), *Isca* (Usk), *Tamion* (Taff), *Aventio* (Ewenny), *Leuca* (Loughor), *Iuctius* (Ystwyth). Then follow the *Leugosena*, *Coantia*, *Dorvantium*, and *Anava*. The last two have in the past been identified as the Derbyshire inland rivers, Derwent and Noe; but it is unwise to conclude that here the list has exceptionally forsaken the coast, although, in the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to be sure that no inland river is mentioned. Together with the *Coantia*, they may equally well represent the Cumbrian Kent and Derwent, and the Scottish Annan. If the next name, *Bdora*, is a corruption of *Boderia*, the list then seems to start again on the east coast; but the names which follow are obscure, until *Durbis* and *Lemana* are reached. Some notable river-names are missing, as, for example, the Thames (*Tamesis*), Severn (*Sabrina*), Mersey (*Seteia*), Eden (*Ituna*), and Yorkshire Ouse (*Abus*); and the reason for their omission is not apparent, unless the source was a list of lesser rivers, a list of main rivers having been omitted. On the other hand, the apparent omission of the coasts of north Devon, north Wales, and western Scotland suggests a map distorted somewhat violently, like the Peutinger Tablet. It will be noted that, according to Roman convention, the coasts in such maps are all northward and the British coasts may have been squeezed against the top of the space available.



Much more unexpected than the river-list is the list of the Western Isles. Very few of these are now to be identified, as reference to the individual names will demonstrate. But twenty-seven are mentioned, in two groups, the first clearly the Hebrides, the second probably Irish; and their very appearance, unmatched in any other source, is a remarkable testimony to the thoroughness of knowledge about the lands beyond the frontiers which the Roman fleet had gained. Four other islands, among which Thanet (*Taniatide*) and Wight (*Vectis*) are certainly to be recognized, occur in a list of Oceanic isles, divorced from the British List at large.

II. TEXT

De insula quae dicitur Britan(n)ia in oceano

In oceano vero occidentali est insula quae dicitur Britan(n)ia, ubi olim gens Saxonum, veniens ab antiqua Saxonia cum principe suo nomine Anschis, modo habitare videtur. Quamvis insulam, ut diximus, quidam Grecorum philosophi quasi '(he)micosmin' appellaverunt. Nam nos tam magnam insulam neque in suprascripto mari magno, neque in praefato oceano dilatissimo, neque in quo praediximus sinu oceani legendam nullo modo repperimus. In qua Britan(n)ia plurimas fuisse civitates et castra legimus, ex quibus aliquantas designare volumus. Id est:

P omits title; *V* has *Britania* in margin. *occidentale*, *V*. *elongens*, *B*; *olim gens*, *P*. *Anschis*, *V*. *in ea habitare*, *P*. *phylosophi*, *P*. *mirosmi*, *V*; *micosmi*, *P*; *macosmin*, *mycosmin*, in margin. *B*. *ullo*, *B*. *legimus civitates et castra*, *P*. *magna insula*, *V*. *sino*, *V*, *P*.

THE WEST COUNTRY, TO EXETER. 1–16

Giano. Eltabo. Elconio. Nemeto[s]tatio. Tamaris. Purocoronavis. Pilais. Vernilis. Arduaravenatone. Devionisso. Statio Deventiasteno. Duriarno. Uxelis. Vertevia. Melamoni. Scadum Namorum.

Gianoeltabo, *V*, *P*. Nemetotacio, *P*. Purocoronains, *B*. Vernalis, *P*. Ardua. Ravenatone, *B*. Statio deventiastene, *P*; Stadiodeventiasteno, *V*; Statio deventiasteno, *B*. Melarnoni, *P*. Scadumnamorum, *V*; Scadamnamorum, *B*.

EXETER TO THE NORTH-EAST. 17–22

Termonin. Mestevia. Milidunum. Apaunaris. Masona. Alovergium.

Apannaris, *B*.

EXETER TO WINCHESTER. 23–41

Iterum iuxta suprascriptam civitatem Scadoniorum est civitas quae dicitur Moriduno. Alauna silva. Omiretedertis. Lindinis. Canza. Dolocindo. Clavinio. Morionio. Bolvelaunio. Alauna. Coloneas. Aranus. Anicetis. Melezo. Ibernio. Bindogladia. Noviomagno. Onna. Venta velgarom.

Scadomnamorum, *B*. Cança, *P*. Clavinia, *B*. Alatina, *B*. Aramis, *V*; Araniis, *B*. Meiezo, *P*. Blindogladia, *B*.

WINCHESTER TO CHICHESTER. 42–4

Armis. Ardaoneon. Navimago reg[n]entium.

Navimagoregentium, *V*.

WINCHESTER TO CAERWENT. 45–8

Leucomago. Cunetzione. Punctuobice. Ventas[i]lurum.

Leucumagno, *B*; Leucumagna, *V*.

SOUTH WALES AND CAERLEON. 49–52

Iupania. [Ne]metambala. Albinumno. Isca Augusta.

Iupavia, *B*. Isca angusta, *B*.

FROM CAERLEON TO KENCHESTER AND GLOUCESTER. 53–62

[Go]bannio. Bremia. Alabum. Cicutio. Magnis. Branogenium. Epocessa. [Ypocessa.] Macatonion. Glebon Colonia.

Bamnio, *P*, *B*. Brano. Genium, *codd*. Glebon. Colonia, *V*, *P*.

FROM GLOUCESTER TO *SALINAE*, CIRENCESTER AND SILCHESTER. 63–7

Argistillum. Vertis. Salinis. Cironium Dobunorum. Caleba Arbatium.

Cironium. *Dobunorum*, *V*, *P*. *Caleba*. *Arbatium*, *V*, *P*.

THE SOUTH-EAST LITORAL. 68–74

Anderelionuba. Mutuantonis. Lemanis. Dubris. Duroaverno Cantiacorum. Rutupis. Durobrabis.

Mantuatonis, *B*; Mantuantonis, *V*. Duroaverno. Cantiacorum, *V*, *P*.

THE MIDLANDS. 75–8

Landini. Tamese. Brinavis. Alauna.

WROXETER AND WALES. 79–83

Utriconion Cornouiorum. Lauobrinta. Mediomano. Seguntio. Canubio.

Utriconion. Cornouiorum, *V*; Utriconion. Cornoninorum, *P*. Seguncio, *B*.

CHESHIRE AND SOUTH DERBYSHIRE. 84–91

Mediolano. Sandonio. Deva uictrix. Veratino. Lutudaron. Derbentione. Salinis. Condate.

Mediolana, *V*. Saudonio, *V*, *P*; Sandonie, *B*. uictris, *codd.* Derbencione, *B*.

LEICESTER TO THE NORTH-WEST AND TO LONDON. 92–7

Ratecorion. Eltanori. Lectoceto. Iaciodulma. Virolanium. Londinium Augusti.

Ratetorion, *B*. Eltavori, *V*, *B*. Lecto. Ceto, *V*. Londinium. Augusti, *P*.

LONDON TO COLCHESTER. 98–9

Cesaromago. Manulodulo colonia.

Cesoromago, *V*, *P*. Manulodulo. Colonia, *P*.

TO CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH AND LINCOLN. 100–5

Durcinate. Duroviguto. Durobrisin. Ventacenomum. Lindum colonia. Bannovalum.

Limdum celonia, *B*. Bannovallum, *P*.

THE HIGH PEAK DISTRICT. 106–9

Navione. Aquis Arnemeze. [Ze]rdotalia. Mautio.

Arnemeza, *V*, *P*; Arnemeya, *B*; Mantio, *P*, *B*.

MANCHESTER TO ILKLEY AND CUMBERLAND. 110–23

Alicuna. Camulodono. Caluuio. Galluuio. Medibogdo. Cantiventi. Iuliocenon. Gabrocentio. Alauna. Bribra. Maio. Olerica. Derventione. [B]ravonia[co].

Alunna, *V*, *P*. Colunio, *B*. Medebogdo, *B*. Cantaventi, *V*, *B*.

MANCHESTER TO RIBCHESTER AND THE WEST RIDING. 124–6

Bresnetenaci Veteranorum. Pampocalia. Lagentium.

Bresnetenaci. Veteranorum, *V*, *P*. Laguentium, *V*.

THE EDEN VALLEY, AND THREE FORTS OF HADRIAN'S WALL. 127–32

Valteris. Bereda. Lagubalium. Magnis. Gabaglanda. Vindolande.

Lagubalumi, *V*, *P*.

THE NORTH ROAD, FROM COUNTY DURHAM TO YORK. 133–7

Lincouigla. Vinouia. Lauaris. Cactabactonion. Eburacum.

Vinonia, *B*.

THE EAST RIDING. 138–9

Decuaria. Deuouicia.

Deuouitia, *V*; Denouicia, *B*.

TOWARDS THE EAST END OF HADRIAN'S WALL. 140–2

Dixiolugunduno. Coganges. Corielopocarium.

Dixiolugunduno, *V*; Dixiolugundino, *P*. Ceganges, *V*. Corie. Lopocarium, *P*.

HADRIAN'S WALL, EASTERN HALF. 143–50

Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britan(n)ia quae recto tramite de una parte in aliam, id est, de oceano in oceanum existunt, ac dividunt in tertia portione ipsam Britan[n]iam.
Id est:—
Serduno. Condecor. Vindouala. Onno. Celunno. Brocoliti. Velurcion. Esica.

alia, *V*, *P*. in oceano, *V*, *P*. et sistunt. iaci, *V*; et sistuntiaci, *P*; existunt. Iaci, *B*. tercia, *V*, *P*. porcione, *P*. Serdeduno, *B*. Celumno, *V*; Celiunno, *B*. Velurticorum, *B*; Velurtion, *P*.

HADRIAN'S WALL, WEST-END, AND A CUMBERLAND SITE, 151–5

Banna. Uxelludamo. Avalava. Maia. Fanococidi.

Uxeludiano, *P*. Avalana, *V*. Fanocodi, *P*; Fanococidi, *V*, *B*.

THE LOWLANDS, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST TO NEWSTEAD. 156–83

Brocara. Croucingo. Stodoion. Smetriadum. Clindum. Carbantium. Tadoriton. Maporiton. Alitacenon. Loxa. Locatreve. Cambroianna. Smetri. Uxela. Lucotion. Corda. Camulossesa. Presidium. Brigomono. Abisson. Ebio. Coritiotar. Celovion. Itucodon. Maromago. Duabsissis. Venutio. Trimuntium.

Stodoyon, *B*. Alithacenon, *V*, *B*. Lucocion, *V*. Duabsisis, *P*, *B*. Triminitium, *V*.

FROM NEWSTEAD ACROSS THE CHEVIOT. 184–90

Eburocaslum. Bremenium. Coccuveda. Alauna. Olcaclavis. Eiudensca. Rumabo.

Triminitium, *V*. Cocuneda, *P*; Coccimeda, *B*. Olciclavis, *P*; Oleclavis, *B*. Evidensca, *B*.

THE ANTONINE WALL. 191–200

Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britan(n)ia recto tramite una alteri connexae, ubi et ipsa Britan(n)ia plus angustissima de oceano in oceanum esse dinoscitur. Id est:—
Velunia. Volitanio. Pexa. Begesse. Colanica. Medionemeton. Subdobiadon. Litana. Cibra. Credigone.

retro, *P*. conexa, *P*. uni alteri, *B*; una alterius, *V*. in oceano, *codd.*

NORTH OF THE ANTONINE WALL. 201–27

Iterum est civitas quae dicitur: Lano. Maulion. Demerosesa. Cindocellum. Cerma. Veromo. Matovion. Ugrulentum. Ravatonium. Iberran. Pinnatis. Tuessis. Lodone. Litinomago. Devoni. Memanturum. Decha. Bograndium. Ugueste. Leviodanum. Poreoclassis. Levioxava. Cermium. Victorie. Marcotaxon. Tagea. Voran.

Iano, *P*; Lirio, *B*. Manlion, *B*. Pumatis, *B*. Ranatonium, *P*. Liutinomago, *B*. Leviodanium, *B*; Levioxana, *B*.

VARIOUS PLACES. 228–35

Sunt autem in ipsa Britan[n]ia diversa loca, ex quibus aliquanta nominare volumus, Id est:
Maponi. Mixa. Panovius. Minox. Taba. Manavi. Segloes. Dannoni.

aliquantas, *P*. Mixa, *omittit P*. Panonius, *V*. Manani, *B*. Daunoni, *P*.

RIVERS IN DEVONSHIRE AND SOMERSETSHIRE. 236–42

Currunt autem per ipsam Britan[n]iam plurima flumina, ex quibus aliquanta nominare volumus.
Id est:—
Traxula. Axium. Mavia. Sarna. Tamaris. Naurum. Abona.

Sarva, *P*. Naurarum, *B*.

RIVERS IN WALES. 243–8

Isca. Tamion. Aventio. Leuca. Iuctius. Leugosena.

Tainron, *V*; Tamson, *B*.

RIVERS IN CUMBRIA. 249–51

Coantia. Dorvantium. Anava.

Coancia, *B*. Anava, *omittit P*.

EAST COAST RIVERS? 252–64

Bdora. Novitia. Adron. Certisnassa. Intraum. Antrum. Tinea. Liar. Lenda. Vividin. Durolavi. Alauna. Coguveusuron.

Certisnassa, *V*, *B*. Bdora–Intraum, *omittit P*.

SOUTH COAST RIVERS. 265–71

Durbis. Lemana. Novia. Raxtomessa. Senua. Cunia. Velox.

Raxtomessasenna, *P*, *V*, *B*.

Finitur autem ipsa Britan(n)ia. A facie orientis habet insulam Thile, ultra insulas Dorcadas; a facie occidentis, ex parte provinciae, Galliam et promunturium pyrenei; a facie septemtrionali insulam Scotiam; a facie meridiana Germaniam antiquam.

autem, *omittit B*. et et insulam Dorcadas, *B*. provinciam Gallicam, *B*. promuturium, *V*, *P*. punurei, *V*, *B*. septemtrionalis, *P*, *B*. insula Scotia, *V*, *P*. Germania antiqua, *V*, *P*.

IRELAND

Iterum in eodem oceano occidentali post ipsam magnam Britan(n)iam, simulque et amplius longius ut diximus quam omnes insulae, altra magna, finita parte septemtrionali, magis ex ipsa occidentali est insula maxima quae dicitur Ibernia; quae, ut dictum est, et Scotia appellatur. Cuius post terga, ut iam praemisimus, nullo modo apud homines terra invenitur.

altra finita magna, *B*.

IRISH RIVERS. 272–4

Per quam Scotiam transeunt plurima flumina. Inter cetera quae dicuntur. Id est: et
Sodisinam. Cled. Terdec.

WESTERN ISLES, I. 275–89

Iterum in ipso oceano occidentali ponuntur diversae insulae. Ex quibus aliquantas nominare volumus. Id est:
Corsula. Mona. Regaina. Minerve. Cunis. Manna. Botis. Vinion. Saponis. Susura. Birila. Elaviana. Sobrica. Scetis. Linnonsa.

in, *omittant V*, *P*. occeano, *V*. Ririla, *B*. Elaviani, *P*. Linonsa, *V*, *B*.

WESTERN ISLES, II. 290–301

Item ad aliam partem dicitur insula Magancia. Anas. Cana. Atina. Elete. Daroeda. Esse. Grandena. Maiona. Longis. Eirimon. Exosades, ubi et gemmae nascuntur.

Magantia, *V*. Daroecla, *P*. Gradena, *P*. Erimon, *B*.

ORKNEYS. 302

Legimus vero in ipso oceano, iam expleta parte occidentali, tanquam ad partem regredientes meridianam sunt numero insulae triginta tres, quae et Dorcades appellantur. Quae quamvis non existant omnes excultae, attamen nomina illarum volueramus, Christo nobis iuvante, designare. Sed quia peccatis emergentibus suete a diversis gentibus ipsa dominatur patria, et ut barbarus mos est variis vocationibus easdem insulas appellant.

Legimus ut, *P*. xxxiii, *B*. valueramus, *P*.

There may be added an extract from V, 30. 303–306

Iterum sunt in ipso Oceano (insulae) quae dicuntur, Vectis. Malaca. Insenos. Taniatide.

Nectis, *V.* Tamatide, *P.*

The following passages, germane to the work as a whole, also apply to the British section:

I. 1. Sub Dei qui militant imperio, eius legem observare in(h)iant et beatae atque infinitae gloriae perfrui bono desiderant, si sine dolo mentis et absque hypocrisi caritatem proximis suis impendunt, ut ab ipso, qui caelorum possidet sceptra et terrarum continet regna, frequentius ammonentur, et gratis dare omnibus petentibus, sicut acceperunt ab ipso deo et salvatore nostro, vehementius praestantur.

Quam ob rem, o mi frater carissime, postquam divina aspiratione praeditus me compelleres ut ego per pullidines subtilius tibi indicem mundum, recordare debes quod ait in sanctis scripturis Dominus dicens 'ubi eras quando ponebam fundamenta terrae? Indica mihi, si habes intelligentiam. Quis posuit mensuras eius, si nosti, vel quis tetendit super eam lineam?' Et alibi, 'altitudinem caeli et latitudinem terrae et profundum abyssi quis mensus est?' Sed tantum cum propheta clamemus, 'Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! Omnia in sapientia fecisti.' Nam quod apud humanum sensum possibile est, multorum philosophorum relegi libros Christo iuvante in quantum valeo. Aio tibi, licet in India genitus non sim neque alitus in Scotia, neque perambulaverim Mauretaniam simul nec perscrutatus sim Scythiam aut per quadragines ambulaverim mundi; attamen intellectuali doctrina imbui totum mundum diversarumque gentium habitationes, sicut in eorum libris sub multorum imperatorum temporibus mundus iste descriptus est. Sic enim ait quidam philosophorum, 'Romani tam per sapientiam plurimos amplectentes quam muneribus oblectantes seu armis debellantes totum mundum sibi subditum multis fecerunt temporibus'. Quod et testatur mihi sanctum Christi dei nostri evangelium, dicens 'exiit edictum ab Augusto Caesare ut describeretur universus orbis'. Sed et doctrina sanctorum apostolorum per totum divulgata est mundum, quemadmodum scriptum est, 'In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in finis orbis terrae verba eorum'. Nam, ut praelibatum est, Christo nos iuvante diversa subtilius ad narrandum tuae iussioni parebo, ni fallor, nisi variae gentes sua prae nimia superbia concupiscentes alienas aut meliores patrias, aut fortasse ab aliis nationibus graviter afflictae, a propriis cespitibus transmetatae sunt, et, ut barbarus mos est, forsitan ut olim nominatae sunt patriae civitates vel flumina nuper aliter appellentur.

I. 18. Potuissemus etenim Christo nobis iuvante subtilius dicere totius mundi portus et promuntoria atque inter ipsas urbes miliaria, vel quomodo cunctae patriae aut qualiter ponuntur mirifice depingendo designare. Sed ideo, tanquam lectione nostra cosmographiae exactionem facientes, omnes designationes vel quae plura fuerunt polylogiam fugientes taciturnitati commendavimus.

III. COMMENTARY UPON INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Abbreviations: *ERN* = E. Ekwall, *English River-names* (1928); Watson = W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland* (1926).

ABISSON 175. This place is in the Lowlands, somewhere between CORDA and TRIMONTIUM.

The Greek termination should be noted as pointing to the existence of a Greek archetype.

Derivation: *ab-*, cf. ABOS, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 6, and STAGNUM ABAE, Adamnan, *Vit. S. Columb.* i, 31.

[*-isso-*, this suffix is a common one in Gaulish; cf. DUMNISSUS, EPOISSUM, NAVISSUS, VECTISSUS. I.W.]

Meaning: The root means 'river': the *-isso* termination seems to have the sense of 'place where'.

ABONA 242. The Bristol Avon.

Derivation: British *abona*, W. *afon*, O.Co., Co. *avon*, Bret. *aven*, O.Ir. *abann*, Ir. *abhann*, see *ERN.* 23.

Meaning: 'River'. The name is very common and is represented by the numerous rivers in Britain called AVON.

ADRON 254. Name of a river in northern Britain, between Forth and Tyne. Very possibly the river known, together with its district, as AERON in the Gododdin poems.

The Greek termination should be noted as pointing to a Greek archetype.

Derivation: [Celtic *adr-* and *agr-* gave W. *aer-*; so cf. Aeron, a northern river and district mentioned in the Gododdin poems. There is also a river Aeron in Cardiganshire. I.W.] It is not connected with the Adder streams of Berwickshire, see Watson, 467.

Meaning: If *Agron*, 'Slaughterer'. For such an attitude towards rivers cf. the northern ballad (*Oxford Book of English Verse*, no. 393), cited by Watson, 342:

> Says Tweed to Till—
> 'What gars ye rin sae still?'
> Says Till to Tweed—
> 'Though ye run with speed
>   And I rin slaw,
> For ae man that ye droon
>   I droon twa.'

ALABUM 55. Name of a place in Wales, probably on the western branch-road from [GO]BANNIUM, 53, and, if so, the fort at LLANFAIR-AR-Y-BRYN.

Derivation: [Alabum, presumably a Latinized form of British *alabon*, a neuter. Two Welsh words may be derived from such a form, (1) *alaf*, 'herd, cattle, wealth'; (2) *alafon*, in the context *alafon dwyfron*, the *a*. of the breast, probably the breast-bone, cf. *clwyd dwyfron* (Corn. *cluit duivron* = pectus), Ir. *cliath*, used of wickerwork, hurdle, flank of animal or man; so cf. names like Clwyd. A possible root is the **alebh*, **alobh*, seen in Gk. *λόφος*, 'ridge, hill, crest, cockscomb'. This last is most promising; in the form *albh* it may explain Alps, etc. If ALAVUM be read, note that W. *alaw* meant 'water-lily', not 'harmony' or 'strain', as in nineteenth-century Welsh, owing to lexicographer's mistake. I.W.]

Meaning uncertain. The root meaning hill would suit well if the identification with Llanfair-ar-y-bryn were accepted.

ALAUNA 24, 32, 78, 118, 187.

24, 32. Ptolemy's *Alauna* (*Geogr*. ii, 3, 4).

78. Perhaps Alchester, near Bicester (see BRINAVIS), though old forms of the English name seem lacking. Camden's suggestion, *Ealdchester*, lacks proof.

118. Maryport-on-Ellen.

187. The river Aln, Northumberland: Ptolemy's river *Alauna* (*Geogr*. ii, 3, 6).

Derivation: cf. W. *Alun*, a river- and personal name: O.Celtic, *Alaunos*, name of river and deity; *Alauni*, a Tribal name; *Alauna*, a place-name; *Alaunios*, *Alounae*, local gods. It is, however, uncertain whether the word should be regarded as *alau-no* or *al-auno*, and the question must be left open.

Meaning: The word is an epithet applied equally to rivers and gods or men. An adjective is indicated, but the particular sense is uncertain, for the epithet as applied to the gods may be topographical.

ALBINUMNO 51. A place linked with VENTA SILURUM (Caerwent), probably on the road running north-east to Gloucester.

Derivation: cf. ALBINNUM, ALBINIACUS, perhaps for ALBIONNUM.

Meaning uncertain.

ALICUNA 110. A variant for *Olikana* (Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, 16): cited after Manchester and presumed to be Ilkley.

Derivation: Ekwall, *EPN*. 250, s.v. Ilkley, observes that the 'identification of Olikana with Ilkley is very doubtful, and it is difficult to explain O.E. *Hillic-*, *Illic-* from Olikana'. This is based upon W. H. Stevenson, *EHR*. xxvii, 17, note 115. [But it should be remarked that the existence of the names *Oliccia*, *Olicios* show that *Olikana* is a possible form; and a derivative of W. *al*, rock, Ir. *ail* (gen. *alo*, later *ailech*), suggesting *alic-on-a*, 'rocks hill', would suit Ilkley very well; cf. *Lib. Lan*. li, *hal* in the old Welsh boundaries, guessed to be 'waste land', 'moor' (*h-* is often fictitious in the old orthography) and *Pen yr helig* near Capel Curig (where *helig* 'willows' does not suit) and place-names like Pennal, Merionethshire (if not for *pen-ial*). I.W.]

Meaning: 'Rocky hill', with reference to the surroundings.

ALITACENON 164. In southern Scotland, not far from Carbantorigon.

Note the Greek termination, as pointing to a Greek archetype.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

ALOVERGIUM 22. Somewhere north of Exeter.

Derivation: [*alo-*, see ALICUNA; *berg-ium*, cf. BERGIUM. *berg-*,'heap, hill, mountain', W. *bera*, Germ. *berg*. I.W.]

Meaning: 'Rocky Mount'.

ANAS 291. One of the Western Isles; cf. INIS ANE, Book of Leinster, 182*a*, 42, 183*a*, 10, Watson, 99. The names of the Western Isles were so thoroughly changed by Norse settlers that the older names have almost completely disappeared. It is impossible to identify even some of the names of islands mentioned by Adamnan in his 'Life of St. Columba'.

Derivation: Gregory of Tours, *De virt. S. Iul*. ii, 8, records a word *anax*: 'patenam et urceum, qui anax dicitur': cf. Ir. *án*.

Meaning uncertain.

ANAVA 251. A river in northern Britain, following the DORVANTIUM, identified with the Derwent, Cumberland; probably the ANNAN, Dumfriesshire.

Derivation: cf. BRITTONES ANAVION(ENSES), *CIL*. xi, 5213: Watson, 55, observes that ANANN would be the genitive of ANAU, cognate with W. *anaw*, 'riches, wealth', or Gael. *Anu*, the counterparts of ANAVA. ANU was also the O.Ir. goddess of prosperity. He notes that the *Ἀβραουάννος* of Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, 2 is not the Annan, as Holder suggested, nor is it Müller's *Aber-afon*.

Meaning: 'The rich river'.

ANDERELIONUBA 68. This name, equated by Holder with ANDERIDA, is probably a conflation of two words (ANDERIDA+NUBA). It will be observed that a transliteration from Greek would explain the *L*, as a misreading of *Λ* for *Δ*.

1. ANDERIDA: ANDERELIO is for ANDERIDO, cf. ANDERIDOS, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxviii, 20; but AND[E]RI[D]A, tile-stamp, *EE.* ix, 1281: the Roman Saxon-Shore fort at Pevensey, Sussex, anciently ANDREDESCEASTER, *ASC.*

Derivation: cf. ANDERĒDUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 7, 11, ANDERITUM, *Tab. Peut.*, ANDERETIANI, *Not. Dign. Occ.* vii, 100, xli, 17, xlii, 22, 23. ANDERO, *CIL.* ii, 2598.

ande-, O.Bret. *an-*, intensive suffix.

redo-, for *rito-*, O.W. *rit*, W. *rhyd*, 'ford': cf. Jackson, *JRS.* xxxviii, 54.

Meaning: 'The great ford' or 'fords', the reference being to Pevensey Haven.

2. NUBA: As Holder observes, s.v. NUBA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 4, places hereabouts NOVUS PORTUS or *καινὸς λιμήν*. If the cosmography version came from a Greek source, we may have NUBA for NUVA, NOVA, or NOVIA; while the NOVIA, q.v., follows the LEMANA or Lympne in the list of rivers. It may be suggested that this place was on the river in question, the OUSE at Newhaven.

ANICETIS 35. Not far from IBERNIO (Iwerne), next to MELEZO, somewhere in the Stour basin.

Derivation: Since Celtic parallels are to seek, the word may be just possibly a back-form from the Roman personal name *Anicetus*, and refer to an estate.

Meaning: The estate of Anicetus. We may compare with VILLA FAUSTINI of the Antonine Itinerary (*Wess.* 474, 5). A famous Anicetus was the Neronian freedman (Tac. *Ann.* xiv, 3), who might well have acquired British estates.

ANTRUM 257. A river-name near the Tyne, Northumberland.

Derivation: cf. ANTRA, a tributary of the AISNE; [Holder gives also *Antros*, an island; *Antrum*, an island; and *Antrum*, a township. It may be Lat. *antrum*, 'cave'; cf. Tig guocobauc, Nottingham. I.W.] But in view of the authenticity of the form as a river-name this seems doubtful.

APAUNARIS 20. Somewhere north-east of Exeter.

Perhaps for ADAUNARIS, cf. AUNACUM, AUNEDO, AUNENUS, AUNILLUS, and AUNIUS.

Meaning uncertain.

ARANUS 34. In south-west England, presumably in Dorsetshire.

Derivation: [cf. ARANDIS, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 5, 5 = ARANNI *It. Ant.* 426, 3 and ARANI, *Rav.* 306, 13: or ARANDUNICI, *CIL.* xii, 4155. The mountain ARAN or ARRAN, diminutive ARENNIG, in Merionethshire, may be the same. I.W.]

ARDAONEON 43. Between VENTA BELGARUM (Winchester) and NOVIOMAGUS REGENTIUM (Chichester).

Note the Greek termination, as pointing to a Greek archetype.

Derivation: *ard-*, cf. ARDUENNA, ARDUACUS; ARDOBRIGA, Mela iii, 1, 13: Ir. *ard*, Lat. *arduus*, 'high', W. *ardd*, 'height', as in *Penn-ardd*, or *Arddun*, a woman's name, *arddun-ol*, 'sublime', 'fine', *ardduno*, 'honour', 'revere', *arddumiant*, 'honour'.

-aoneon, probably corrupt for *-aunium*, cf. ALAUNIUM.

Meaning: 'Height'. Holder, s.v., connects the name with PORTUS ADURNI, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxviii, 21, and the emendation ARDAUNI would certainly be easy. But there is no certainty as to the true location of Portus Adurni.

ARDUARAVENATONE 9. In Devonshire.

Derivation: [*ardu-*, cf. ARDU-ENNA, ARDAONEON, Lat. *arduus*, W. *ardd*, 'a height'.

-aravenatone, cf. W. *araf*, 'gentle', *arafhau*, 'to quieten'. I.W.]

ARGISTILLUM 63. A place near GLEBON COLONIA, Gloucester, probably on the road to SALINAE, Droitwich.

Derivation: [cf. W. *gwystl*, Ir. *giall*, 'hostage', Holder, s.v. *geislos*, *geistlos*, and W. place-name *Arwystli*; with prefix *are-* rather than a derivative of *arg-*, 'white, gleaming'. I.W.]

Meaning: 'At the hostage', with a folk-lore reference now lost.

ARMIS 42. A place between VENTA BELGARUM (Winchester) and NOVIOMAGUS REGENTIUM (Chichester).

Derivation: Holder (i, 230) suggests ARUNS, to equate with Arundel—a guess unsuited to the topography. [Cf., then, ARMIS, fem. cogn. *CIL.* v, 2684, ARMANCVM, ARMISA, the river Erms. For the form Armis, cf. Dubris, a locative plural. I.W.]

Meaning uncertain. The name, however, suggests a river-name.

ARNEMEZE 107. For ARNEMETIAE, cf. CUNETZONE for CUNETIONE, CANZA for CANTIA, MELEZO for MELETIO, in the double name AQUAE ARNEMETIAE. Now Buxton, Derbyshire. Roman thermal baths existed there (*VCH. Derbyshire*, i, 223–4), and the spring may well have been associated with a sacred grove before its exploitation by Rome.

Derivation: cf. ARNEMETICI, *CIL.* xii, 2820.

are- = *ante*, Vienne glossary, 3.

nemeto-, O.W. *nimet*, W. *nyfed*, O.Ir. *nemed*, Ir. *nemed*, Lat. *nemus*. See *ERN.* 304.

Meaning: 'At the sacred grove', an adjective applied to the goddess Arnemetia there immanent.

ATINA 293. A western isle.

Derivation: Lat. *atina*, 'duck', may be suggested, if the place was named by Roman sailors, cf. GRANDENA, MINERVA, SUSURA.

Meaning: 'Duck Island'.

AVALAVA 153. For ABALLAVA; ABALLABA, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 47; ABALLAVENSES, *CIL.* vii, 415; ABALLAVA, *CIL.* vii, 1291, the Rudge Cup. The occurrence of the name on the Rudge Cup shows that it belongs to a Wall-fort; and the proposed identification with BURGH-BY-SANDS has been recently confirmed by a third-century inscription (*Arch. Ael.*^{4} xii, 341: *CW*^{2} xxxvi,

64) which, as Nesselhauf first saw (*JRS.* xxviii, 203), mentions the *numerus Maurorum* of *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 47.

Derivation: cf. ABALLONUM, *It. Ant.* 360, 4.

[*aballā*-, W. *afall*, 'apple-tree'; W. *afal*, Bret. *aval*, 'apple'; Ir. *aball*, 'apple-tree': so 'orchard'. I.W.]

Meaning: 'orchard'.

AVENTIO 245. The river EWENNI, next to the LEUCA (Loughor), as known from LEUCARUM, *It. Ant.* 481, 1.

Derivation: [Holder cites AVENTIA, a goddess and a river-name, and AVANTIO(N), a place-name, but his suggested *av-entos* would not give W. *iawn*, 'right', so there is no support for his equation Aventia = *justitia*. Walde, s.v. *aveo* (i, 254), connects the river-names Avens, Aventia (in Etruria) with the Gaulish river-names *Aŭos*, Avara, and Sanskrit *Avani-h*, 'stream', and *Avatá-h*, 'spring, well'. But AVENTIA would give W. *Eweint* or *Awennedd*, not *Ewenni*, whose *-i* (or *-ydd* in the variant *Ewenydd*) demands an original *-ios* or *-ion*, a masc. or neuter. So our Aventio, after all, may be from the root seen in Lat. *aveo*, Co. *awell*, W. *ewyll-ys*, 'will, wish'. . . . It is safer to take Aventia as a personal name. I.W.]

Meaning uncertain.

AXIUM 237. The river Axe; here placed next to MAVIA, the Meavy, and not far from the TAMARIS, Tamar, and thus evidently out of order.

Derivation: cf. AXA, Kemble, *Cod. dipl.* 71 (A.D. 723); AXONA, Aisne (Fr.), AXIMA, AXANTIA. In deriving both AXE and ESK from Brit. ISCA, Ekwall (*ERN.* 154) neglects the existence of these forms.

ax-, cf. W. *awch*, 'edge'.

BANNA 151. BANNA, *CIL.* vii, 1291, the Rudge Cup; BANNIENSES, *CIL.* vii, 830. Probably BEWCASTLE, north of BIRDOSWALD on Hadrian's Wall. The place is associated with Birdoswald (*Camboglanna*) in both inscriptions.

Derivation: cf. BANNATIA, BANNOVALLUM.

banno-, W. *ban*, Bret. *ban*, Ir. *benn*, 'peak', 'horn'.

Meaning: 'Peak'. Bewcastle is overlooked by the prominent spur of Gillalees, which dominates the landscape for miles, and might well have given to the fort below and beyond it the name BANNA.

BANNIO 53. For [GO]BANNIO, of *It. Ant.* 484, 6; now Abergavenny.

Derivation: [Ir. *goba*, *gobann*, W. *gof*, 'smith', plur. *gofain*(*t*), with analogical *-t*. The ending *-io*(*n*) suggests a place connected with a smith, cf. W. *gefail* (from *gof-ail*, Bret. *gov-el*). A personal name derived from *gobann*-, the stem of *gof*. In Gaulish *-ios* denotes a patronymic, so 'son of Gobann': cf. personal name GOBANNICNOS. I.W.] Cf. GOBAN . . . pers. name, *JRS.* xxv, 219.

Meaning: The 'smithy'.

BANNOVALUM 105. In Lincolnshire, identified by Stukely, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 30, as HORNCASTLE on Bain, where is a Roman walled site. But Caistor, occupying a prominent spur, suits the meaning far better.

Derivation: cf. BANNA, q.v., and BANNATIA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 8, among the Vacomagi.

banno-, 'height, peak, or horn'. If the siting is sound, Ekwall's derivation from O.N. *beinn*, 'straight', *ERN* 24, must be rejected; see also Watson, 31.

val-, 'strong', cf. Lat. *valeo*, *validus*, and Celtic personal names like Cloto-valos, Dumno-valos, Touto-valos, and W. *gwlad*, *gwledig*, *Cad-waladr*.

Meaning: Probably 'Horn' or 'Peak strength'.

BDORA 252. A river-name, occurring after the Welsh group, but before the Tyne group. Probably the BODERIA of Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 5, and BODOTRIA of Tacitus, *Agric.* 23, and in that case the Forth.

Derivation: [Skene (*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 136) quotes from a twelfth-century source the Welsh name of the Forth, in the form *Werid*; cf. *avon Guerid* (*Anc. Laws*, i, 104), '*o wawl hyt weryt*', 'from the wall to the Forth' (*Book of Taliesin*, 18), '*o vor hyt weryt*', 'from the sea to the *Gweryt*' (Red Bk. Hergest, col. 582). This form can derive from a British *Vorit*-. In Irish *V*- gives *F* and intervocalic *t*, *th*; so that Forth and *Gweryt* agree very well. The initial *B*- of the old texts may well be for *V*-, and so Fraser (quoted in *Rev. Celt.* xlviii, 464) read Boredia for *Voritia, Ir. *Foirthe*, W. *Gweryd*. The only difficulty is the early *-d-* for *-t-*. In view of the forms Forth and Gweryt it is difficult to believe that the *-t-* had been mutated into *-d-*, and it will be noted that the required *-t-* is preserved in the Bodo*t* of Tacitus. I.W.] The ancient form of the name thus appears to be VORITIA, and it is conceivable that the versions in Ptolemy and the *Agricola* are derived from a metathetical version of the name, such as *BOREDIA or *BORITIA, now beyond our power to divine.

[*vo*-, O.Ir. *fe*-, glossed '*sub*', O.W. *guo*-, W. *go*-, prefix with lessening force, 'rather', 'somewhat'.

riti-, Ir. *rith*, 'to run', O.W. *ret*, 'course', W. *rhyd*, 'course'. I.W.]

BEGESSE 194. A fort on the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: cf. BEGONIUM, BEGOSUM: BEGENSIS, *CIL.* vi, 37045. [Holder (i, 366) has Begeeto, masc. name, Begonium and Begosum, place-names; also Vegevia, Vegeton, Vegison, a man's name, Vegisonius; from root *bheg*-, 'bend, curve', found in Eng. 'back', so 'ridge'. I.W.] This would fit best the fort on the Antonine Wall at Bar Hill.

BEREDA 128. VOREDA, *It. Ant.* 467, 3, now Plumpton, or Old Penrith, Cumberland.

Derivation: [*ve-rēda*, variant *voreda*: W. *gorŵydd*, 'stallion, horse', comes from Celtic *vo-reid-os*, var. *veredus*, βερεδὸς, Holder, ii, 210; *veredārius*, βερεδαρίος, 'courier'. But prefix *ve*- is to be found also in Lat. *ve-sper*, *ve-scor*, and *au*-, 'away, off, down'. The simple adj. *rhwydd* in Welsh means 'easy, free from obstruction'; cf. *rēdi*, *rēdo*, and the fem. noun *rēda*, 'chariot, wagon', borrowed from Gaulish by the Romans, Holder, ii, 1096, 1102. Two possibilities, then: either, like Span. *vereda*, 'path, way', or 'a place for horses'. I.W.]

Meaning: Since Plumpton lies on the ancient ridgeway between the Petteril and Eden valleys, the meaning 'path', or 'way' is preferable.

BINDOGLADIA 38. The VINDOCLADIA of Iter XII and XV (*Wess.* 483, 5; 486, 14), on the road between WINCHESTER and DORCHESTER, by SALISBURY. Probably BADBURY RINGS. General Pitt-Rivers tentatively suggested Woodyates, a Romano-British village on Bokerly dyke, as the identification. But there is an important Roman road-junction at Badbury Rings, which would be admirably described by the name 'white ditches'. The Itinerary distances are in this sector (Venta Belgarum–Durnovaria) hopelessly corrupt, and the identification would give a useful fixed point.

Derivation: [VINDO-, Ir. *find*, W. *gwyn*, 'white'.

CLADIA-, if the *a* is long, W. *clawdd*, 'ditch', Holder, i, 1036. If the *a* is short, cf. W. *cladd-u*, 'to bury', *cladd*, 'pit', Ir. *clad*, 'dyke, *vallum*, ditch or trench'. I.W.]

Meaning: White ditches.

BIRILA 295. A western isle.

Derivation: Neither this form nor the variant RIRILA is suggestive.

BOGRANDIUM 218. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall and south of the Aberdeenshire Dee.

Derivation: [Possibly a scribal error for *boc*-, Ir. *boc*, 'soft', Bret. *bocion*, gloss. '*putres*', and so 'a soft tract of land' or 'moss'.

-randa, Ir., Bret. *rann*, W. *rhan*, 'part', usually in the sense of division or boundary, as ICORANDA. I.W.] The name would suit many localities in the Mearns.

Meaning: Mossy part.

BOLVELAUNIO 31. In Dorsetshire, west of the Stour.

Derivation: [BOL-, several roots are possible, the most likely are *bol*, *bul*, 'round, swelling', and so 'hill', and *bhel*, 'puff up, swell', cf. W. *ar-fwl*, name of a horse, Ir. *ad-bol*, 'huge', cf. *CIL*. xiii, 2899 *Marti Bolvinno et Dunati*, 2900 *Mart(i) Bolvinn(o)*. -VELAUNIO, for VELLAUNION, 'good', W., Bret. *guallaun*, O.Bret. *uuallōn*, 'good' or W. *gwell*, 'better', as in *Cassivellaunus*, W. *Caswallawn*, etc. I.W.]

Meaning: The good swelling (hill).

BOTIS 281. A western island, perhaps Bute, which was Gaelic BOD, and O.Ir. BOT.

Derivation: [According to Watson, 96, O.Ir. *bot* meant 'fire': but this is (*testibus* Stokes, Holder and Kuno Meyer) *bótt*, and does not account for our single *-t-*. Cf. then Ir. *both*, W. *bod*, 'dwelling', and Dubris for an ablative or locative plural. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The dwellings': referring to the settlements on the island, which was well populated (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot*. xxvii, 281).

BRANOGENIUM 58. The BRANNOGENION of Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, 18, in the territory of the Ordovices. The place lies between MAGNA, Kenchester, and VIROCONIUM, Wroxeter. The identification suggested by Holder, s.v., with BRAVONIUM (*It. Ant*. 484, 8) is very doubtful. There is plenty of room for another site on the road.

Derivation: cf. BRANODUNUM, *Not. Dign. Occ*. xxviii, 16.

[*brano*-, cf. W. *bran*, Ir. *bran*, 'crow'.

gen-, cf. Lat. *gigno*, Ir. *gein*, W. *geni*, 'to be born', frequent in compounds, after name of god or animal, cf. *Camulo-genos*, *Arto-genos*. I.W.]

-ium, Celtic *-ion*, suggests possession.

Meaning: The place of Branogenos.

BREMENIUM 185. BREMENION, Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, 10, BREMENIUM, *It. Ant*. 464, 3, BREMEN, BREM, *CIL*. vii, 1030, 1037. Now High Rochester, Northumberland.

Derivation: *bhrem*- or *mrem*-, Gk. *βρέμω*, Lat. *fremo*, murmur (Walde-Pokorny, ii, 202), the place is on the turbulent Sills Burn, whence no doubt the name, which occurs as a river-name in Brefi (*vide* s.v., BREMIA), Breamish, and Bran, anciently *Breamhainn*. Watson, 35, 435; *ERN*. 50.

Meaning: The place of the roaring stream.

BREMIA 54. In south Wales, on a branch-road from GOBANNIUM, and presumably connected with Afon Brefi, which joins the TEIFI close to LLANIO, the site of a Roman fort, connected directly with GOBANNIUM by road. LLANDEWI BREFI, near by, is identified by Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 1908, 25 with the *civitate Brevi* of *Vit. S. Cadoc*, 10. It may be suggested that BREMIA was the name of the Roman fort.

Derivation: as BREMENIUM (q.v.).

Meaning: 'The roaring stream'.

BRESNETENACI VETERANORUM 124. BREMETONNACI, *It. Ant*. 481, 5; BREMETENN, *CIL*. vii, 218; BREMETENRACUM, *Not. Dign. Occ*. xl, 54. Now Ribchester, Lancashire.

1. BREMETENNACUM:

Derivation: *Bresn*- for *Brem*-, a scribal error, perhaps arising out of misreading Greek *M* for *Σ*. BREMETON- from root of BREMENION (q.v.), cf. NEMETONA, goddess of the Nemetes. Bremetona may be the Celtic name of a tributary of the Ribble, perhaps Dinkley Brook; for Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, 3, seems to know the Ribble as BELISAMA, another river-goddess.

Meaning: The place on the Bremetona.

2. VETERANORUM records the status of the place, as a settlement of veteran soldiers; cf. Deultum veteranorum, Pliny, *NH* iv, 45 and Dianae Veteranorum in Mauretania (*It. Ant*. 35, 4) which took its name from a veteran settlement of legionaries and auxiliaries. Scenae Veteranorum, *It. Ant*. 163, 3, 169, 4, however, took its name from the *ala veteranorum* (Lesquier, *L'armée romaine de l'Égypte*, 392). No *ala veteranorum* is, however, known in Britain.

BRIBRA 119. In Cumberland, north of ALAUNA 118, presumably the Ellen, and next to MAIO 120, the terminal station of the Wall on the Rudge Cup, *CIL.* vii, 1249. Presumably BECKFOOT, Cumberland.

Derivation: [If the first R is regarded as intrusive, the name may be compared with BIBRACTE, connected with **bebros*, *bibros*, 'a beaver', that is, 'the brown one', for the word comes from the reduplicated root of 'brown' in its simple form. So *bibra* is 'brown river'. This is much more suitable than any derivation from *berba* (W. *berw*, Ir. *berbaim*, from the root *bheru-*, cf. Lat. *ferveo*), which, as in the French river Bèbre, anciently BERBERA, or the Irish river BERBA, would imply a turbulent stream of a kind not present on this part of the Cumberland coast, which is flat and marshy. I.W.] Cf. *ERN.* 31, s.v. Beferic.

Meaning: Brown river.

BRIGOMONO 174. In southern Scotland.

Derivation: [*brigo-*, if *brīga*, 'hill', W. *bre*, Germ. *berg*; if *brig*, cf. Ir. *brig*, 'valour, strength', W. *bri*, 'honour'.

mōno-, a suffix, cf. *Sego-mō(n)*, *Sega monas*, Holder, ii, 621, for the *mon* in *monedo*, W. *mynydd*. Cf. MONA, q.v., I.W.]

Meaning: 'High hill'. This seems very suitable, for abrupt and isolated peaks abound in Lothian. The derivation would suggest a Roman post near such a peak.

BRINAVIS 77. Between TAMESE on the Thames and ALAUNA, Alchester. It is tempting to identify the place with BICESTER, Oxon., anciently BERNECESTRE (DB. and 1130), BURNECESTRE 1219, but BICESTER and ALCHESTER are within a mile of one another and it is highly unlikely that both were mentioned in a road-book. If, then, ALAUNA is Alchester, BRINAVIS may be another site on this road; for example, Woodeaton, a busy market or fair centre (*ibid.* 299 ff.).

Derivation: cf. BRINOSCUM.

[*Brin-* appears to represent *brun-*, 'brown'; cf. Holder, i, 305, where BRUNAVA comes among formatives in *-ava*, many being river-names. This latter would accord with the earlier forms of the name. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The place on the brown stream', which would fit Woodeaton, overlooking the Cherwell.

BROCARA 156. Next to FANOCOCIDI, 155, north of Hadrian's Wall on the Cumbrian border.

Derivation: suffix *-ara*; Holder, i, 170, cites 22 river-names in *-ara*.

[*broc-*, *brochi* in Welsh = 'to foam' as well as 'to rage', and *broch* = 'foam' and 'fury'. The whole word may therefore indicate a turbulent stream, liable to spate. I.W.]

Meaning: Perhaps 'foaming stream'. This would apply well to any of the north Cumbrian streams.

BROCOLITI 148. The seventh fort from the east on Hadrian's Wall, the PROCOLITIA of *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 39, now CARRAWBURGH, Northumberland.

Derivation: *brocco-*, 'a badger'.

-liti, cf. DUROLITUM, *It. Ant.* 480, 7.

[*-lītu-*, 'feast', Ir. *lith*, Bret. *lid*, 'fête': *litimaur*, Juvencus gloss. on 'frequens populis'; cf. Gaulish LĪTUMĀROS, LITUGENOS, LITUVIROS, LITOVIC, etc. In modern and medieval Welsh adjectives formed by adding *lyt*, *llyd* to a noun, correspond to English adjectives in *-y*, as *creu-lyd*, 'bloody', *tan-llyd*, 'fiery', *chwem-llyd*, 'swarming with flies'. I.W.]

Meaning: 'Infested by badgers'.

CACTABACTONION 136. For CATARACTONIUM: CATURACTONIUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 16; CATARACTONI, *It. Ant.* 465, 2; CATARACTONE, *ibid.* 468, 2; VICUM CATARACTAM, Bede, *HE.* 14; CATARACTONE, *ibid.*; CATARACTAM, *op. cit.* 20; now Thornborough, near Catterick, Yorks., on the Swale, but the site is a very large one, extending some 2 miles southwards, *JRS.* xix, 190, xxx, 166.

Derivation: [Gk. *καταράκτης*, Lat. *cataracta*, 'waterfall', 'rapids', or, by transference, 'weir': CATARACTONA would be 'The Falls river', while CATARACTONIUM would be a place on the river of that name. For the name, cf. CATARACTA, now Chalette (Aube), France, on the river Aube, Catterick near Settle, where there is a waterfall of some local fame, Catterick Moss, Co. Durham. I.W.] The derivation from a form **catar-*, inferred from O.Ir. *cathair*, W. *cader* in *EPNS.* v, *North Riding, Yorks.* 242–3, is highly conjectural.

Meaning: 'The place on Falls river', with reference to the rapids of the Swale at Richmond.

CALEBA ARBATIUM 67. CALLE, CALLEV, Belgic coins, *Archaeologia*, xc, 7–8; CALEVA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 26; CALLEVA ATREBATUM, Iter VII, *Wess.* 478, 3; CALLEVA, Iter XIII, XIV, XV = *Wess.* 484, 7; 486, 7; 486, 8. Now SILCHESTER, Hants; anciently SIL-CESTRE (DB.). [Cilchestre or other variants with initial C occur in medieval documents with some frequency, and may represent a survival of the original name. In medieval times the area round was still largely covered with trees and formed the Forest of Pamber. O. G. S. C.]

CALEBA presumably represents the transliteration of a Gk. *ΚΑΛΗΒΑ*.

Derivation: 1. Calleva; if *cal-*, cf. W. *caled*, 'hard ; Ir. *calath*, *calad*; Gaulish, *Calet-i*; Lat. *callum*, 'hard skin'. If *call-* Rhys compares Ir. *caille*, 'wood, grove', W. *celli*, cf. med. W. *cwn called(d)*, 'wolves = forest-dogs': but the *-d* of the root (cf. O.E. *holt*) is preserved in Caldis (Holder, i, 690). Since the -LL- has best authority, the latter is more suitable, and certainly appropriate to the wooded country in which the town lay.

2. Atrebates; cf. Ir. *treb*, W. *tref*, 'town'; W. *cartref*, 'home', *adref*, 'homewards'; Lat. *tribus*; O.W. *trefat*, 'territory, land'; Ir. *aittreb*, 'dwelling', *attrebthaid*, 'inhabitants'. The initial *A-* may be the prefix *Ad-*, i.e. *Ad-trebates*, 'the inhabitants', or 'settlers'.

Meaning: 'The wooded place': the tribal name meaning 'The Settlers'.

CALUVIO 112. For GALACUM: KALAGON, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 16, a metathesis for GALACVM, *It. Ant.* 481, 4, perhaps Overborough.

Derivation: cf. GALACISSUS, *CIL.* vi, 24140; GALATI, GALAESUS, GALABRIGA.

gal-, Ir. *gal*, O.Bret. *gal*, 'force': M.Ir. *galach*, 'bold'. *-aco*, suffix of possession or quality.

Meaning: 'The place on the forceful stream': with reference to the Lune or more probably the Leck. But Leck has nothing to do with GALACUM, cf. *ERN.* 247.

CAMBROIANNA 167. In south-western Scotland.

Derivation: If the emendation CAMBOLANNA (see Crawford, *Antiquity*, ix, 289–90) is accepted, then it is *cambo-*, 'crooked', and *landa*, *lanna*, 'an enclosure'. It is not the same as CAMBOGLANNA, in which *glanna*, 'bank', forms the second element, appearing in this *List* as GABAGLANDA (131), which is the fort on Hadrian's Wall at Birdoswald.

Meaning: Apparently 'Crooked Close'.

CAMULODONO 111. For CAMULODUNUM, CAMUNLODUNUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 17, in the territory of the Brigantes, and here not far from MAUTIO, now Manchester. The name suggests an important native hill-fort, and since Ptolemy's site falls in the south-western part of the territory of the Brigantes, Almondbury has been suggested. The place is distinct from CAMBODUNUM, *It. Ant.* 468, 6; see Haverfield, *YAJ.* xxiii, 395–8, Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 414, and PAMPOCALIA, below.

Derivation: see CAMULOSESSA.

Meaning: 'The fortress of Camulos'. But the place may well have given its name to the nearest Roman fort, at Slack; cf. UTRICONION.

CAMULOSESSA 72. In southern Scotland. Perhaps Castle Greg, the Roman fortlet at Camilty Hill, Midlothian. It should be noted that PRAESIDIUM, which follows, may be connected with this name, as not infrequently in Roman Africa. As a fortlet is properly described by the word *praesidium*, as opposed to *castellum*, this would make the identification more tempting.

Derivation: [*Camulo-*, from Camulos, the Celtic war-god.

sessa, 'seat', for **sed-ta*: cf. Lat. *sed-eo*, *pos-sessor*, *ob-sessus*. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The Seat of Camulos'. For this fashion in naming hills, cf. Arthur's Seat.

CANA 292. A western island, possibly CANNA, south of Skye.

Derivation: Holder connects the common Gallic place-name CANACUS with Lat. *cānus*, 'white'. This may therefore be a Latin name given by sailors, cf. ATINA, MINERVAE.

Meaning: Probably 'White Island', or 'Hoary Island'.

CANTIVENTI 115. CLANOVENTA, Iter X, *Wess.* 481, 1; GLANNIBANTA, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 52. Now Ravenglass, Cumberland.

Derivation: cf. GLANNATINA, *Not. Gall.* xvii, 7.

[If *glano-*; cf. W. *glân*, 'clean, holy, pure', and anc. river-name GLANIS, Holder, i, 2024. If *glanno-*, W., M.Bret. *glann*, 'bank' or 'shore'. This seems better, cf. Jackson, *JRS.* xxxviii, 55–6.

venta, cf. W. *cadwent*, pl. *cadwennoedd*, 'battle' or 'battlefield'; *llinwent*, place-name, probably 'flax-field'; *Arddunwent*, 'Arddun's field'. If, then, the word originally meant, like *magos*, 'place, field, plain', it might well become the place for a market. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The shore plain' or 'shore mart'. This would fit Ravenglass very well indeed, for this little port has always been of local importance in Cumbria and is the seat of an ancient fair (CW^2 xxi, 78, 237).

CANUBIO 83. KANOVIO, *EE.* vii, 1099, p. 336; CONOVIO, *It. Ant.* 482, 6, now CAERHUN, on the CONWAY.

The B is probably due to transliteration from Greek.

Derivation: [1. The root *ken-*, 'to strive, to hurry', might fit, Walde–Pokorny, i, 358, cf. Gk. ἐγκονέω, 'to be quick and active'.

2. *Cǎn-*, W. *cānu*, Lat. *cānere*, 'to sing', but the Conway is not a babbling stream, comparable with Llafar; and if this was the derivation, why did **Cānwy* become *Conwy*?

3. *Cān-* offers a hopeful parallel in *go-gawn*, *go-goned*, *go-goniant*, 'glory', from *vo-cān*, cf. Conetoci, Conetodubnos. A Celtic *Cān-ovio* would regularly give Con-wy in Welsh, and may itself be derived from the long *ō* grade of *ken* (see above, no. 1); cf. *di-gon-i*, 'to do', *digawn*, 'enough', side by side with *go-gawn*. I.W.]

Meaning: The place on the renowned stream.

CANZA 27. For CANTIA cf. ARNEMEZE for ARNEMETIAE, CUNETZONE for CUNETIONE, MELEZO for MELETIO: cf. Gallic river CANTIA, now CANCE, and KEN, *ERN.* 225. In Dorset or east Devon, east of MORIDUNUM.

Derivation: [*cant-*, 'enclosure, circle, rim', Walde–Pokorny, i, 351–2, from root *gantho-*, 'corner, nook, curve, bend', cf. Gk. κανθός, 'felloe'. Near Menai Bridge is Ynys Gaint, and Kent (= Cantion) may well be the 'corner' of Britain, from this *cant-* with the terminal *-ia* affecting the vowel of the stem. Note, the root has nothing to do with 'bright', which is can*d*-. In this respect *ERN.* 225 seems mistaken. I.W.]

Meaning: The corner stream.

CARBANT[OR]I[T]UM 161. CARBANTORIGUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 8. In south-western Scotland, east of the Nith.

Derivation: cf. CARBANTIA, *It. Ant.* 340, 4.

carbanto-, Ir. *carpat*, W. loan-word *carbyd*; Lat. *carpentum*, from the Gaulish, 'wagon', Watson, 35.

-rigon, probably scribal error *PITON* for *PITON*, cf. W. *rhyd*, 'ford', as in TADORITON and MAPORITON.

Meaning: 'Wagon-ford': the name recalls the frequent association of Roman forts with river-crossings.

CELOVION 178. For GELOVIUM. In southern Scotland.

Note the Greek termination, pointing to a Greek archetype.

Derivation: GELOV-, cf. W. *gelau*, 'sword', occurring in river-names, as ABER-GELE(U). Cf. CLED, q.v.

Meaning: 'The place on Sword River'.

CELUNNO 147. CILURNO, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 38.

Now CHESTERS, the sixth fort from the east on Hadrian's Wall.

Derivation: [cf. Ir. *cilorn*, O.W. *cilurnn*, W. *celwrn*, glossed as *urceus*, *urnam*, perhaps with reference to a pool in the river, as in Pont-y-pair at Bettws-y-coed, from W. *pair*, 'cauldron'. According to *Meddygon Myddfai*, there were four gallons in a *celwrn*, which was thus larger than an ordinary pail or bucket. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The cauldron pool'. This would not be inappropriate to the North Tyne at Chesters, where excellent fishing-pools abound. On the other hand, the fort is near a large and deep natural pool, known as 'The Inglepool' (Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, 2nd ed., 160), which is so great a rarity in this locality that the site may well have been named after it.

CERMA 205. In Scotland north of the Antonine Wall. Possibly a doublet of CERMIUM 223.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

CERMIUM 223. In Scotland north of the Antonine Wall. Possibly a doublet of CERMA 205.

Derivation: Possibly a scribal error for CERNIUM, cf. Holder, CERNIUS, CERNIACUM, CERNONE.

CERTISNASSA 255. A river-name in northern Britain.

Derivation: *certis*, cf. Holder, i, 995, CERTIS, river-name from root *s(q)err* or *qert*, 'to turn, twist'. The element CARTI- CARTO- (Holder, i, 817–18), cf. W. *carth-u*, 'to cleanse', is much more frequent, but may not here be right.

nassa, cf. Holder, ii, 690, NASSANIA, a well near Namur, 736, NESA and 749, NISA, the river or loch Ness. Adamnan, *Vit. Columb.* Walde–Pokorny, ii, 326, gives Ir. *ness*, 'wound', from root *negh*, 'to pierce or bore', which might suit a river that bored its way through rocks, etc. Ekwall, *ERN.* 119, suggests the root *ned* as in Skr. *nadī*, 'river', G. *nass*, 'wet', Gk. *νοτέω*, 'am wet'.

Meaning: 'The twisting borer' might apply to one river, or it may be a conflation of two names, either element being possible by itself. But this solution cannot be regarded as certain.

CESAROMAGO 98. CAESAROMAGO, *It. Ant.* 474, 3; 480, 6; BAROMACI, *Tab. Peut.* (presumably for SAROMAGI, as SARAGOSSA), now near CHELMSFORD, Essex.

Derivation: *Caesaro-*, Lat. *Caesar*, the Emperor's title, derived by adoption from C. Iulius Caesar, the Dictator.

-magos, Ir. *mag*, Bret., W. *ma*, 'place' or 'plain'; 'market'. Cf. CAESAROMAGUS, now Beauvais.

Meaning: 'Caesar's market'. The name suggests an imperial administrative centre, cf. C. E. Stevens, *EHR.* lii, 198, but, as is there observed, hardly a capital like the Gallic counterpart. De Witt, *Urbanization and the Franchise in Roman Gaul*, 40, has some interesting observations on the haphazard growth of Gallic *-magus* centres.

CIBRA 199. A fort on the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: cf. Holder, i, 1035, CIVRI-ACUS.

Meaning uncertain.

CICUTIO 56. In Wales, on a branch-road from GOBANNIUM. Perhaps Brecon Gaer, Brecknockshire.

Derivation: cf. CICIACUS, CICONIUM, CICONIACUM, Holder.

[*Cic-*, cf. Ir. *cich*, 'pap, breast', W. *cig*, 'meat, flesh'. If the word were wrongly spelt, for COCITIO, it is interesting to observe the Breton gloss *cocitou*, W. *cegid*, Lat. *cicuta*, 'hemlock', cf. the Powys place-name *Cegidfa* (= **Cocitomagos*), now Guilsfield near Welshpool, or *Ystumcegid* in Caernarvonshire (*ystum* = 'curve, bend'). I.W.]

Meaning: The first meaning, 'pap' or 'breast', may well refer to a natural feature. The site of Brecon Gaer, see Wheeler, *The Roman Fort near Brecon*, 6, fig. 2, is a rounded spur which is strikingly like a female breast in contour and outline.

CINDOCELLUM 204. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: *cindo-*, difficult, possibly corrupt for VINDO-, Ir. *find*, W. *gwyn*, 'white'. If *cinto-* then O.W. *cynn*, W. *cynt*, Gael. *ceann*, 'head', cf. Adamnan KINTYRE, *caput regionis*.

-ocellum, headland, cf. Holder, ii, 826–7, *ὀκέλου ἄκρον* Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 4, *Ocelus*, epithet of Mars.

Meaning: 'Chief Head'.

CIRONIUM DOBUNORUM 66. A scribal error, due to metathesis, for CORINIUM DOBUNNORUM, *Δοβουννοὶ καὶ πόλις Κορίνιον*, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 25. Now CIRENCESTER, anciently 'CIRRENCEASTRE qui Britannice CAIRCERI nominatur' (Asser, *De rebus gest. Aelfredi*, *M.H.Br.* 428), CAIRCERI (Nennius), the O.E. form and M.E. CHIRENCHESTER being developed from the O.W. CAERCERI (see Stevenson, *Archaeologia*, lxix. 200–2).

1. CORINIUM, cf. CORINIUM (now Karin) in Dalmatia.

Derivation: [The change of *-o-* to *-e-*, when followed by *-i-*, is comparable with W. *cegin*, 'kitchen', from Lat. *coquina*, or *melin*, 'mill', from Lat. *molina*. The dropping of the *n* is interesting. Holder (i, 1126) compares CORINIUM in Liburnia, now KARIN.

Meaning: cf. CERI, a district in mid-Wales, W. *ceri*, 'medlar tree', 'kernels', 'hard seed'. I.W.]

2. DOBUNNI: For DOBUNI, read DOBUNNI, cf. Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 25, *Δοβουννοί*; DOBUNN(O), *CIL.* xvi, 49; DOBUNNA, T. May, *The Roman Forts of Templebrough, near Rotherham* (1922), p. 130, pl. xlv, *c*; and DOBUNNUS, *Inscr. Brit. Christian.* 25.

Meaning uncertain.

CLAVINIO 29. In west Dorset.

Derivation: *clav-*, cf. CLAVATUM, CLAVENNA, CLAVICO, CLAVILLA, (1) as in Lat. *clāva*, 'cudgel'; cf. W. *clo-yn*, *clo-en*, from root *qel*, 'to strike or hew', with meaning of log-built enclosures, as English place-names from *stocc-*; or (2) as in Lat. *clavis*, *clavus*, W. *clo*, 'lock'.

Meaning uncertain.

CLED 273. An Irish river, of uncertain location.

Derivation: [cf. CELOVION: W. *cled(d)*, 'sword' (side by side with W. *cleddyf*, *cleddau*, Ir. *claideb*); and the two rivers at Milford Haven are called *dau-gleddyf* and *dau-gledd*, 'the two swords', the Welsh name being *Aber-dau-gledd(yf)*. Cf. Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, i, 98, CLEDDAU, 'sword', and CYLLELL, 'knife'.

Note: it is impossible to connect the name with Dublin or the Liffey, as in *Baile am átha cliath*, for Ir. *cliath*, W. *clwyd*, 'hurdle', are from *cleit-a*, not from *cled-*. The other W. *cledd*, 'lift', is without the dental, *clé*, 'left'. I.W.]

Meaning: Sword river.

CLINDUM 160. In southern Scotland.

Derivation: Possibly a mistake for LINDUM, LINDON, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 9, in the territory of the DAMNONII, in which case cf. W. *llyn*, 'liquid, liquor, drink', O.Ir. *lind*, 'drink', Ir. *lind*, 'lake', Co. *lyn*, 'water'.

Meaning uncertain.

COANTIA 249. A river-name, following the Welsh rivers. Possibly the KENT, Westmorland.

Derivation: cf. *EE.* iii, 195, COUNTINA, variant of CONVENTINA, COVENTINA, a nymph or well-goddess, cf. Lat. *cavēo* (for *covēo* acc. to Thurneysen), *custos*.

If the identification with KENT be accepted, then KENET, the old form of KENT (see Ekwall, *ERN.* 226–7) suggests a vowel between *n* and *t*. Nevertheless, the position, next to the undoubted Cumbrian Derwent, is strongly in favour of the identification.

Meaning uncertain.

COCCUVEDA 186. In Northumberland, not far from BREMENIUM, High Rochester, and presumably on the Coquet, which is connected with High Rochester by a Roman road. COCCUVEDA is the formal equivalent of COCWAEDE (Bede, *Vit. S. Cuthberti*, 24, *Cocuedi fluminis*), not cited by Ekwall, *ERN.* 93–4.

Derivation: [*Cocco-*, akin to W. *coch*, 'red'.

-veda, W. *-wedd*, as in *llech-wedd*, 'slope', or W. *cochwedd*, 'a red appearance' I.W.], the Coquet being filled with red porphyritic detritus from the Cheviot.

Meaning: The reddish stream.

COGANGES 141. CONCANGIOS, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 24. Now Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham; anciently CUNCE-, CUNCA-, CEASTRE, *c.* 1050, KUNKACESTRA, *c.* 1160, *ERN.* 92.

Derivation and meaning uncertain. Cf. CONCANUS, CONCANI, CONCANAUNI. The tiles from Binchester stamped N.CON, *CIL.* vii, 1234, no doubt referring, as Hübner saw, to a *numerus*, may well stand for a *numerus Con(cangensium)*.

COGUVEUSURON 264. A river-name, apparently in Kent, between DUROLAVI, Medway, and DURBIS, Dover.

Derivation: The word looks like a conflation.

COLANICA 195. Perhaps COLANIA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 9. A fort on the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: [May be the root *qel-*, Walde-Pokorny, i, 433, cf. Gk. *κολωνός*, 'hill', Lat. *collis* (= *col-n-is*) and Eng. *hill* (A.S. *hyll* = **hulnis*), with the *-n-* suffix: see Walde on *celsus*. The next root *qel*, p. 435, is seen in W. *celynn*, Ir. *cuilenn*, Eng. *holly*. If it were *colināc-*, it would make *Celynnog*, *Clynnog* in Welsh, but the single *-n-* seems against this. This is at least more suitable than the root *(s)gel-*, 'cut', seen in Ir. *colainn*, 'flesh', W. *celain*, 'corpse'. I.W.]

Meaning: If 'hill' was the meaning, it suits, though not exclusively, many sites on the Antonine Wall.

COLONEAS 33. In Dorset, near Blackmore, ALAUNA SILVA.

Derivation: cf. COLONI-ACUM, from pers. name COLONIUS.

CONDATE 91. CONDATE, *It. Ant.* 469, 1, 482, 3. Now NORTHWICH, Cheshire, at the confluence of the Weaver and the Dane.

Derivation: [Holder, i, 1092, nom. sing. neut. *condate*, '*confluens*', from *con-*, 'together', and *dā-ti*: with *-dā-* for *-dō-* from root *dhē*, 'put', cf. Gk. *τιθήμι*. In France the name survives as Condé, Candes, Condes, etc. In Wales and Brittany it has been ousted by Cymer (cf. Quimper) from *com-* and *-bher-*, cf. Lat. *fero*, Eng. *bear*.

It should be observed that Kinderton, anciently CINBRETUNE, DB. = CINDRETUNE, 'Cynold's tun', has nothing to do with the ancient name I.W.], with which it has often been identified, nor will its position in the road-system fit its occurrence on the direct route between Manchester and Chester (*It. Ant.* 469, 1).

Meaning: 'Confluence'.

CONDECOR 144. For CONDERCO, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 35. Now BENWELL, the third fort from the east on Hadrian's Wall.

Derivation: [*con-*, 'with' or 'together'.

derco-, Ir. *derc*, O.Bret. *derch*, W. *Rhy-dderch*, *Ar-dderch*, *ardderchog*, 'fine, noble', *gor-dderch*, 'lady love, mistress', Gk. *δέρκομαι*. I.W.] Cf. *ERN.* 129.

Meaning: 'The place with fine outlook', peculiarly applicable to the site of Benwell, which overlooks its neighbourhood for miles in every direction.

CORDA 71. KORDA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 8. In southern Scotland, among the SELGOVAE.

Derivation: [(1) Cf. CORDILLA, CORDUBA; and Walde-Pokorny, i, 424, on the root *kerdho-*, 'herd, host', and a possible connexion with Ir. *crod*, 'cattle'. (2) The W. *cordd*, varying with *cor*, is derived from *corio-*, 'host, tribe' (Holder, i, 1126), and to bring *cord-a* into connexion with this would make it a late-British form. In view of the occurrence in Ptolemy, the former derivation is preferable. I.W.]

Meaning: The name refers to the 'hosting-place' or 'tribal centre'. C. E. Stevens, *Arch. Ael.*^{4} xi, 142–5, aptly compares with *Στράτος*, in Acarnania.

CORIELOPOCARIUM. Possibly a variant of CORSTOPITUM, *It. Ant.* 464, 3, the Roman supply-base at CORCHESTER, near Corbridge.

Derivation: The form CORSTOPITUM is impossible in Celtic and must be corrupt. A hint of the correct form may perhaps be derived from CORIOSOPITES (Holder, i, 1127, cf. 1136) in Brittany (civitas Coriosopitum [gen. plur.], *Vita Ronani*, 4). But Stevenson (*NCH.* x, 9, 774) argued against a form CORIO- on the ground that it would produce A.S. *Cher*, rather than *Cor*. The original form thus remains uncertain.

Meaning uncertain.

CORITIOTAR 77. In southern Scotland: perhaps CORIA OTADINORUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 10.

Derivation: *corio-*, 'host', W. *cor*, 'host, tribe'. The second element is corrupt, but is surely a tribal name, Otadeni being not impossible. Other local examples are CORIONOTOTAE, *CIL.* vii, 481, and CURIA TEXTOVERDORUM, *EE.* ix, p. 593, thus showing that a variety of tribal subdivisions are possible, and rendering the identification of the corrupt terminal epithet more difficult and beyond present recovery.

Meaning: 'hosting-place'.

CORSULA 275. A western isle.

Derivation: *cors-* [W., Co. *corsen*, plur. *cors*, Bret. *korsen*, *kors*, 'reed', 'reeds'. In Welsh place-names the form *cors* occurs frequently as a feminine singular meaning 'swamp' or 'marsh', indicated by reeds, cf. *Y Gors*. I.W.]

Meaning: 'Reedy island'.

CREDIGONE 200. A terminal fort of the Antonine Wall, probably the eastern terminus, now CARRIDEN.

Derivation: Holder, i, 1158, 1175 equates with Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 7, *'Ρεριγόνιον*, but this is a pure guess and highly unlikely. CARRIDEN itself is KAIR EDEN in Gildas, Watson, 370.

CROUCINGO 157. In southern Scotland, near the Cumbrian border. Cf. CROCOCALANA, *It. Ant.* 477, 8, 478, 11; CROUCIATONNON, Holder, i, 1178.

Derivation: [1. *crouco-*, Ir. *crúach*, W. *crug*, 'heap' or 'mound', Co. *cruc*, glossed '*collis*', O.Bret. *cruc*, glossed '*acervum*'.

2. *croucīno-*, diminutive of *crug*, as above; cf. Gk. *κορακίνος*, 'a young raven'. I.W.]

J. Schnetz, *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*, i, 176–8, considers the termination as *-inc-*, comparing *Durotingo* for *Durotinco* (*Rav.* 241, 1). This is more probable.

Meaning: 'The Knowe'.

CUNETZIONE 46. CUNETIONE, *It. Ant.* 486, 5, now Black Field, Mildenhall, near Marlborough, Wiltshire, in the valley of the KENNET: CUNETIO is the Celtic river-name, whatever its origin, which has remained attached to both the Wiltshire and East Anglian Kennet.

Derivation: [Ekwall, *EPN.*, s.v. Countisbury, cf. *ERN.* 227–8, explains *Cunetio* as a British river-name, identical with *Cynwyd*, Merionethshire, or Countisbury = *arx Cynuit* (Asser, 54). He connects this with a supposed W. *cwn*, 'summit'. But there is no W. word '*cwn*' with this meaning, only *cwnnu* (*cwnni*) a S. Welsh dialect form of *cychwynnu* (*cywhynnu*), as *cwrdd* from *cyhwrdd*. *Cynwyd* is, however, frequent in old documents, e.g. MS. Harl. 3859 (*Cymmrodor*, ix, 172, 3) *Dumngual hen map Cinuit*; *Canu Llywarch Hen*, 183 refers to *Lib. Landav.*, *Conuit*, and *Triads*, *Cyn(n)wydion* 'the war-band of *Cyn(n)wyd*. But Walde–Pokorny, i, 33, infers a root *ku-no* for 'point' or 'edge', see CUNIS, below. So the name may be derived from a summit or edge, all the same. Names in *-io* are often place-names derived from a personal name, and become *-ydd* in Welsh, as *Iverio*, *Iveriones* = W. *Iwerydd*, *Iwerddon*, 'Ireland', cf. *Meirionydd* from *Meiriawn*, or *Eifionydd* from *Eifion*. Thus, the name may well mean 'the district of Cynwyd', and have given its name to the river, as at *Segontium*, q.v. I.W.]

Meaning uncertain.

CUNIA 270. A South Coast river.

Derivation: cf. Ogham personal name, CUNIA, *CIIR.* 289; CUNETIO, q.v.

Meaning uncertain.

CUNIS 279. A western isle, two removed from Bute, if this is significant.

Derivation: [There are two possibilities: (1) *cuno-*, W. *cwn*, 'dog.' This seems not impossible, since some western isles are called after *orc*, 'pig', or *cat*, 'cat'. (2) Walde–Pokorny, i, 33, infers *ku-no-* for 'point' or 'edge', to explain Lat. *cuneus*, the root being *ak*, 'sharp' or 'pointed', as in Old Lat. *ocris* = *mons confragosus*, Gk. *ἀκμή*, Lat. *acus*, *acumen*, *acies*, Eng. 'edge'. This might fit such an islet as Ailsa Craig, the prominent land-mark in the North Channel. It is impossible to choose between the two. I.W.]

Meaning: Either 'Dog Island' or 'Pointed Isle'.

DANNONI 235. A scribal error for DAMNONI, a name in the list of *loca*, or meeting-places, apparently connected with the DAMNONII (Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 9) of the western and middle Lowlands, just as SEGLOES, q.v., is connected with the SELGOVAE.

Derivation: DAMNONII and DUMNONII are alternative forms for Ptolemy. Watson, 24–6, connects them with the TUATHA DE DANAND: [but this goddess was *Dânu* (nom.) or *Danand*, *Danann* (gen.) and this would not explain the doubling of the medial *n*. The word cannot, in view of the equation *Damnonii*, be separated from *dumno-*, 'deep', with the common suffix *-onio*.

dumno-, Ir. *domun*, 'world', *domain*, 'deep', W. *dwfn*, 'deep', Bret. *doun*, 'deep'. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The deep ones': it is a curious fact that both districts are famous for mines—the tin mines of Devon and Cornwall and the lead and gold mines of the Leadhills in Scotland.

DAROEDA 295. A western island. The form may have been Gk. *Δαρουήδα*, for DARUVEDA.

Derivation: The name suggests DARUVEDA; if so, *daru-*, O.Ir. *daur*, Ir. *daru*, O.W. *derw*, Bret. *derv*, 'oak', cf. W. *dar*, Gk. δόρυ, δρῦς.

-veda, W. *-wedd*, as in *llechwedd*, 'slope', or *cochwedd*, 'a red appearance'.

Meaning: 'The oak-clad island.

DECHA 217. In Scotland beyond the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: cf. DECETIA, *It. Ant.* 367, 1, DECCIDAE, *ibid.* 460, 6: but an original mistake in transliteration of DEXA into Gk. *Δεχα*, is also possible. In these circumstances all remains uncertain. [DEXIA, whose name is connected with DEXSIVA (*CIL.* xii 1062), was, according to Fridegod's *Life of St. Wilfrid of York*, 15, 456, the goddess of Good Fortune, commemorated in the verse '*non igitur coeptum dissolvit Dexia votum*'; cf. O.Ir. *dess*, 'right', 'southerly', O.W. *dehou*, W. *dehau*, *dechau*, *detheu* 'right', 'south', Lat. *dexter*, Gk. δεξιός. I.W.] The right is, of course, the side of good fortune. But if the name were a stream-name, then compare WINSTER, *ERN.* 463, meaning 'the left one'.

DECUARIA 138. A scribal error for PETUARIA, the capital of the PARISI, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 17; PRETORIO, *It. Ant.* 464, 1; 466, 4; PETV . . . inscription, *JRS.* xxviii, 199; PETUERENSES, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 31. Now BROUGH, EAST YORKSHIRE.

Derivation: [W. *pedwaredd*, Bret. *pévaré*, 'fourth', the British forms being masc. *petuarios* = W. *pedwerydd*, and fem. *petuariā* = W. *pedwaredd*. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The fourth', with reference to the fourth *pagus* or subdivision of the tribe.

DEMEROSES[S]A 203. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: *demero-*, cf. the river Demera, in Limburg, Holland. Cf. Ir. *deim*, Gk. Θεμερο-, O.N. *dimmr*, O.E. *dim.*, O.H.G. *timber*, 'dim' or 'dusky'.

-sessa, 'seat', *see* CAMULOSESSA.

The word has nothing to do with DEVERON, see Watson, 230.

Meaning: 'Dark seat', presumably referring to some awesome hill.

DERBENTIONE 89. DERVENTIONE 122. DORVANTIUM 250.

89. LITTLECHESTER, on the Derbyshire DERWENT.

122. PAPCASTLE, on the Cumberland DERWENT.

250. A river-name, usually identified with the Derbyshire DERWENT. There is, however, no clear case of an inland river being mentioned in the British section of the Cosmography, and, since this name follows the rivers of the Welsh coast, nos. 243–7, it is much more probably the Cumberland DERWENT.

Derivation: W. *derw*, Co. *derow*, Bret. *derv*, Ekwall, *ERN.* 123.

[Cf. *Canu Aneirin*, 323, on *rayadyr derwennyd*, 'the Falls of Derventio'; for the *-ydd* termination, see CUNETIO. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The oak-clad district'.

DEVA VICTRIS 86. For DEVA VICTRIX; DEVANA, LEG. XX VICTRIX, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 19; DEVA, LEG. XX VICT, *It. Ant.* 469, 2. DEVA, *ibid.* 482, 5, 7. DE(VENSIS or -VAE), *EE.* ix, 1274, see below. Now Chester-on-Dee, the fortress of the Twentieth Legion.

The final *s* of *Victris* is probably the result of mistaking Gk. *Ξ* for *Σ*.

1. DEVA:

Derivation: *deivā*, fem. of *deivos* [Ir. *dia*, Bret. *doué*, MW. *dwyw*, W. *duw* (cf. *meu-dwy*, 'hermit') = god. The old name of the Dee was Aerfen, from *aer-* (= *agr-*), 'battle', and *-men*, as in *Tyngued-fen*, 'fate'. The name thus means 'goddess'. I.W.] See also *ERN.* 117–18.

2. VICTRIX: Lat. *victrix*, 'victorious one', the honorary title of the Twentieth Legion, cf. LEG[IO] XX V(ALERIA) V(ICTRIX) DE(VENSIS or -VAE), *EE.* ix, 1274.

DEVENTIASTENO, STATIO. In Devonshire, between the Tamar and Exeter. *Statio* means an official post for collecting taxes, here probably connected with mining, and this would suggest Roman workings in south Dartmoor, for which there is as yet no archaeological evidence (O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*, 148).

1. STATIO: The Roman official name for a tax-collecting centre; cf. STATIO MAIENSIS, *CIL.* v, 5090; STATIO TURICENSIS, *ILS.* 1562; STATIO RESCULUM, *CIL.* iii, *tab. cer.* i; STATIO PEDONENSIS, *CIL.* v, 7852; STATIO SISCIANA, *CIL.* iii, 3953, those at RESCULUM and SISCIA being mining offices. This is the probable explanation of the term here.

2. DEVENTIASTENO: On the analogies quoted above we should expect here an adjectival form, which, on the basis of DEVENTIA, would be DEVENTIENSIS. This is by no means an impossible emendation of the existing form, which is manifestly corrupt.

[*dev-entia* is a participial development from *devo-*, 'bright' or 'holy', with the meaning 'brilliant'. It is probably a stream-name. It has nothing to do with Devon, which develops regularly from DYFNAINT–DUMNONIA. I.W.]

DEVIONISSO 10. In Devon, west of Exeter.

Derivation: [*devio-* cf. Devios, Divios, Divio(n), Holder, i, 1290, a pers. name. Cf. *ERN.* 125.

-isso, Holder, ii, 80, Dubn-issus, Dumn-issus, Epoissum, suffix in the sense of 'place where'. I.W.] Cf. *ERN.* 125, s.v. Dewey.

Meaning: 'The place on the holy stream'.

DEVONI 215. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall. Presumably DEVANA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 15, in the territory of the TAIXALI, Watson, 211, on the DEE.

Derivation: [cf. Holder, i, 1274, Dēvāna = Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3 *Δηουάνα*, cf. Loch Daven, Aber*deen*. But *Dēvōna* is attractive, on the analogy of other Celtic river-names linked with deities: for it would be derived from *deivos* (cf. DEVA), and may be compared with *Agrona* (= *Aeron*), *Daron*, *Ieithon*, etc. I.W.] See also Watson, 49. This would suggest that the Cosmography preserves the more correct form.

Meaning: 'The place on the Dee.

DEVOVICIA 139. A scribal error for DELGOVICIA, *It. Ant.* 466, 3. An east Yorkshire site, between DERVENTIO, Malton, and PETUARIA, Brough-on-Humber: possibly Millington, the only important site between the two points.

Derivation: [*delgo-*, cf. Gaul. *delgos*, O.Ir. *delg*, 'thorn' (Holder, i, 1263). The word is common in Scottish place-names, e.g. Dealginross, near Comrie, Perthshire.

-vicia is quite distinct from the common suffix *-vico*; it may be represented by the Mod.W. suffix *-wig* (e.g. *coedwig*, forest). Its meaning is obscure. I.W.]

Meaning: Perhaps 'thorn-brake'.

DIXIOLUGUNDUNO 140. Probably a conflation of DIXIO and LUGUNDUNO, cf. PAMPOCALIA, ANDERELIONUBA.

1. DIXIO. Presumably DICTE, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 23, which precedes CONCANGIUM and is therefore probably in Co. Durham.

2. LUGUNDUM, for LUGUDUNUM. This is the common place-name *Lŭgŭdūnon*, the early form of the place-names now spelt Laon or Lyon (France), Leyden (Holland), and, with the elements reversed, Dinlleu (Caernarvonshire).

Derivation: *lugu-*, W. *lleu*, in *goleu*, 'light', *lleu-ad*, 'noon', *lleu-fer*, 'light-bringer'; cf. pers. name LLEU, and Ir. LUGH, and the god LUGUS.

-dunum, 'fort', Ir. *dun*, O.W. *din*.

Meaning: 'The fort of Lugus': cf. CAMULODUNUM.

DOLOCINDO 38. Cf. DOLIACUS, DOLONOSUS, DOLOSANA. A place in east Devon or Dorsetshire.

Derivation: *dol-*, Gael. *dolach*, 'a haugh', Watson, 414; [W. *dol*, 'a riverside meadow'; also *dolen*, 'loop of a yoke', *cwlwm dolen*, 'a knot with loops'. *Dolau Cothi*, 'the loops of the river Cothi'. The root *dhel-*, *dholo-* means 'bend' or 'curve', Walde-Pokorny, i, 864–5: cf. DOLONOSUS, a river-name.

-cindo-, this is hardly *cinto-* which would come first in the compound. Possibly *cnido-* = Lat. *nidos*, 'stream', 'smoke', 'vapour', see Walde-Pokorny, i, 395, which would fit a riverside meadow with the mist rising from it. I.W.]

Meaning: Misty haugh.

DORCADES 302. A scribal error for ORCADES, the Orkney Islands.

Derivation: Ir. *orc*, Lat. *porc*, 'pig' or 'boar'. Cf. *Inse Cat*, Watson, 28–9. [But the sense may be derivative, cf. Holder, ii, 865 *orca*, *genus marinae beluae maximum*, also 866 *orca*, *est amphorae species*, that is, a vessel with a great round belly. Compare then W. *mor-hwch* = sea-pig = dolphin, also Co. *morhoch*, translated by Aelfric as '*mere-swyn*', *Vocabul. Cornic.* It may be suggested that the islands were named from sea-monsters, either seals, porpoises, or whales. I.W.] Cf. Watson, 28.

Meaning: Islands of monsters.

DUABSISSIS 181. For DUBABISSIS. In southern Scotland, near TRIMONTIUM, Newstead-on-Tweed.

Derivation: *dubo-*, Ir. *dubh*, W. *du*, 'black, dark'.

ab-issis, see ABISSON.

Meaning: 'The Place on the Black water'. The name is contrasted with ABISSON in the same way as the CART and the BLACK CART, BLACK LYNE and WHITE LYNE, or BLACKADDER and WHITADDER.

DUBRIS 71. DURBIS 265.

71. DUBRIS, *It. Ant.* 473, 2, PORTUS DUBRIS, *ibid.* 473, 1, 5; DUBRIS, *Tab. Peut.*, see *JRS.* xiv, 139, fig. 21; *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxviii, 14. Now Dover.

265. DURBIS for DUBRIS, the river Dover, *ERN.* 136.

Derivation: [O.Ir. *dobur*, W. *dwfr*, *dwr*, Bret. *dour*, Co. *dofer*, *dour*, 'water', 'river', as in *Dyfrdwy*, mutated from '*Dwfr-dwy*', the Dee. I.W.] The plural will be noted, which Ekwall, *ERN.* 136, may well be right in thinking to be generic.

Meaning: 'The waters'.

DURCINATE 100. Probably CURCINATE. In East Anglia, probably between LONDINIUM AUGUSTI and DUROBRISIN; perhaps to be identified with the important pre-Roman and Roman site at Braughing.

Derivation: See Holder, i, 253, quoting CURCINATE without, however, giving his source: *ibid.* 1200, CURCIONATIS, now Coussenas. There is a potter's name CURCUS and an Ogham name CURGAGNUS, W. *Cyrchan*, *CIIR.* 369, 441.

Curc-ino-, diminutive of pers. name CURCUS.

-ate, suffix of possession.

Meaning: The property of CURCINUS.

DURIARNO 12. In Devon, west of Exeter.

Derivation: cf. ERNODURUM, on the river ARNON, for ARNODURUM: this is the same name in reverse, cf. *Lugudunum* and *Dinlleu*.

duri-, for *duro-n*, Ir. *dúr*, 'hard', Ir. gloss. '*dúr est daingean*', meaning 'strong-point'.

arno-, a common river-name whose root is obscure, see Ekwall, *ERN.* 139, discussing the EARN (Somerset).

Meaning: 'The fort on the river Arnus'.

DUROAVERNO CANTIACORUM 72. *Δαρουέρνον*, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 2, 27; DURORVERNO, DURARVERNO, DURARVENNO, *It. Ant.* 472, 5, 473, 4, 473, 9; DUROAVERUS, *Tab. Peut.* Now CANTERBURY.

Derivation: [*duro-*, Ir. *dúr*, 'hard', W. *dír*, 'force', Ir. gloss. *dúr est daingean*, i.e. 'fortress'.

-vernum, Ir. *fern*, W., Bret. *gwern*, 'alder'. The *a* is probably intrusive, the result of copying the Greek form *Δουροουερνῳ*. I.W.]

Meaning: The fort among the alders.

DUROBRABIS 74. A scribal error for DUROBRIVIS; DUROBROVIS, DUBOBRIUS, DUROBRIVIS, Iter II, III, IV, *Wess.* 472, 3. 473, 3, 473, 8; RORIBIS, *Tab. Peut.*, for *(Du)ro(b)ribis*, DORUBREVI, *c.* 730, Bede, *HE.* ii, 3. Now Rochester, Kent. HROFAESCEASTRE, *c.* 730.

Derivation: *duro-*, 'fort', Ir. *dúr*, 'hard', W. *dir*, 'force', Ir. gloss. *dúr est daingean*, 'fortress'.

brivis-, locative plur. 'at the bridges' from Gallic *brīvā*, 'bridge', Watson, 432.

Meaning: The fort at the bridges.

DUROBRISIN 102. DUROBRIVAE, *It. Ant.* 475, 1; DUROBRIVIS, *JRS.* xxx, 190. Now Castor, Northamptonshire.

Derivation: see DUROBRABIS: the form seems here to be a transposition of *-isin* for *-inis*, itself an error for *-ivis*.

Meaning: The fort at the bridges.

DUROLAVI 262. A river-name, next to VIVIDIN going southwards; probably connected with DUROLEVO, *It. Ant.* 472, 4; *Tab. Peut.*, and perhaps the Swale.

Derivation: *duro-*, 'fort', see DUROAVERNO. If the second element is *levo-*, cf. Holder, ii, 202, then compare *Leva*, a tributary of the Schelde, now Lieve: and LEVAE FANUM, *Tab. Peut.*

Meaning: 'The fort on the Leva'.

DUROVIGUTO 101. In East Anglia, next to DUROBRISIN, possibly GODMANCHESTER.

Derivation: *duro-*, Ir. *dúr*, 'hard', W. *dir*, 'force', Ir. gloss. *dúr est daingean*, i.e. 'fortress'.

For the second element cf. Holder, iii, 137, *Vegeto(n)* masculine name, or iii, 315, *Vigato villa*, *c.* A.D. 570.

Meaning: 'The fort of Vigutus'.

EBIO 176. In southern Scotland.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

EBURACUM 137. EBORACUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 16; EBURACUM LEG. VI VICTRIX, *It. Ant.* 466, 1; EBURACO, *It. Ant.* 468, 4; 475, 7; 478, 6; COL(ONIAE) EBORACEN(SIS), *EE.* iii, 80; COL(ONIAE) EBOR(ACENSIS), *CIL.* vii, 248; EBOR(ACENSIS), *JRS.* xi, 102; EB(ORACUM), *EE.* ix, 1253. Now York, site of the fortress of the Sixth Legion, on the left bank of the Ouse, and of the COLONIA EBORACENSIS on the right bank. A.S. EOFORWIC, W. CAEREVRAWC.

Derivation: *Ebur-* [W. *efwr*, 'cow-parsnip', cf. *Dinevor*, *Din-efwr*, Ir. *ibhar*, *iubhar*, 'yew', Bret. *evor*, 'bourdaine'.

-ācon, W. *-awc*, *-awg*, *-og*, in *mawn-og*, 'turbary', *eithin-og*, 'ravine', *brwyn-og*, 'marsh', *rhedyn-og*, 'bracken patch', *ceirch-iog*, 'oat-field', *celynnawg*, 'holly-thicket', the sense being 'the place where such and such things abound'.

Ebur-ācon undoubtedly belongs to this class of name, but its connexion is probably with 'yew' rather than 'cow-parsnip': e.g. *N-ewry* in Ireland derives from *Eburāc*, and the continental *Ebur-ones* and *Eburo-vices* should be explained as 'yew-men'. Thus, *Eburiacos* is no doubt derived from *Eburios*, and so from *Eburos* as a personal name, cf. *Ibar* and *Ebur* in Irish (Holder, i, 1402), and *Gwern* = alder, also a personal name. I.W.]

In view of the existence of the personal name *Eburos*, and the frequent use of *-acum* as a suffix indicating possession, it may be easier to interpret the name as 'the place of Eburos'.

Meaning: 'The place of Eburos' or 'The place of yews'. However this may be, the uncritical local view in Roman times was that the name meant 'Boar-town', since the canting badge of York, carved on the altar described in *JRS.* xi, 107, to pair with that of Bordeaux, was a large boar on a pedestal. This tradition was passed on in the Saxon form EOFOR-WIC.

EBUROCASLUM. Between TRIMUNTIUM, Newstead-on-Tweed, and BREMENIUM, High Rochester, so that it must be identified either with Cappuck or Chew Green.

Derivation: *Eburo-*, evidently the pers. name EBUROS, also in EBORACUM and EBURODUNUM.

-caslum, uncertain: *castrum* or *castellum* are unlikely, since hybrid names of this kind are excessively rare.

EIRIMON 300. A western isle.

Derivation: If the word has come through Greek it is tempting to think that it represents a transliteration of Gk. *ἔρημος*, 'desert', attached to another name, perhaps the preceding LONGIS: cf. Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 2, 12, *Ἔδρου ἔρημος*, *Λίμνου ἔρημος*. Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 18, indicates that many of the western islands were desert islands.

Meaning: 'Desert'.

ELAVIANA 286. A western island.

Derivation: cf. ELAVER, the river Allier, ELAVUS, ELAVIACUS.

Meaning uncertain.

ELCONIO. In Cornwall, west of the Tamar.

Derivation: [cf. the river Olchon, anciently Elchon, *ERN.* 309; but the terminal *-io* gives modern *-ydd*, or else the *i* changes the preceding *o* to *ei* or *y*; cf. Lat. *spolium*, O.W. *(y)sbeil*, W. *ysbail*. ELCONIO would thus become ELCHEIN, ELCHAIN, or ELCHYN, as ARICONIUM (Archenfield) became W. *Ergein(g)*, *Erging*. There is also a man's name, Elico(n), Helico(n): his land might be called ELICONION, becoming in Welsh *Elgonydd* or *Elgain*. If there is a vowel between the *l* and *c* the result is not *lch* but *lg*. I.W.]

Meaning uncertain.

ELETE 294. A western island.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

ELTABO 2. In Cornwall, west of the Tamar.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

ELTAVORI 93. A place associated with Leicester, but hardly between Leicester and Lichfield, where the only two likely names are VENONAE and MANDUESSEDUM, which have nothing in common with ELTAVORI. Perhaps a site on the Godmanchester road is to be envisaged.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

EPOCESSA 59. Cf. YPOCESSA 60. Probably a scribal error for EPOSESSA, cf. GABROCENTIO for GABROSENTO, due to misreading a Greek lunate sigma.

Derivation: [cf. Holder, i, 1441, *Epocio* for *Epossius*. If this were *Epo-sessa* it would mean 'a herd of horses', or 'horse-stalls', cf. W. *bran-h-es*, 'a flock of crows'. I.W]. Cf. also EPOISSO, *It. Ant.* 366, now Yvoy-Carignan, between Reims and Trier. The English name 'Studfold', or 'Steedstalls' is common enough.

Meaning: Horse stalls.

(ZE)RDOTALIA 108. In the manuscripts, this is ZERDOTALIA, but the impossible initial Z has come, by attraction, from the final syllable of the previous ARNEMEZE. The place, next to MAUTIO, Manchester, is presumably Melandra Castle, on the ETHEROW. This river-name is considered by Ekwall (*ERN.* 156, cf. lxxviii) as probably not English; cf. EDERA, the Hyère in Brittany and EDERA, the Eure in Namur.

Derivation: 1. *Edera-*, river-name, as above; but only if transposition of R and D be assumed.

-tal-ia, W. *tal*, 'brow', 'edge', 'end', 'strip, 'head-rigg'.

2. If ZE were attracted from *Arnemeza*, then initial letter may have been A, in which case W. *ardd*, 'height', would suit, and would fit the actual order of the consonants better. Further, the 'edge of the brow' would be a remarkably accurate description of Melandra Castle, perched on the tip of a high promontory. It is also more accurate, for the fort, though in the Etherow valley, is not near the river. This derivation is much preferable.

Meaning: Edge of the brow.

ESICA 150. AESICA, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 22, now Greatchesters, the ninth fort from the east on Hadrian's Wall.

Derivation: cf. AESIS, the river ESINO, AESINUS, AESILUS, AESO, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 6, 71. *Vita S. Cuthberti* mentions AHSE, midway between Hexham and Carlisle, which Cadwallader Bates (*Hist. Northumb.*, 67) identified with AESICA. This may well be correct. As a stream the name could apply to the Haltwhistle Burn.

Meaning uncertain.

ESSE 296. A western island. The name looks like a fragment, comprising the suffix *-ess-*, but is uncertain.

EVIDENSCA 189. In southern Scotland, perhaps connected with Nennius IUDEU and Bede URBS GUIDI: the Book of Aneirin mentions *merin Iodeo* (*-eo* = *-ew* in the rhyme) 'the sea of Iod(d)ew', and this *-ew* = the EN of *Eiudensca*. The mention of *merin* = 'sea' indicates that the place was on the sea-shore. Inveresk is a tempting identification.

Derivation: [[1]*-iud*(*d*) is a frequent element in Welsh proper names, cf. Ithel (= *Iudd-hael*), Meredith (= O.W. *Marget-iud*) and occurs as *udd* = 'lord' in M.Welsh poetry. Cf. Walde–Pokorny, 1, 203, *ieudh-*, 'to be in excited motion, to fling about, to fight', Skr. *ud-yodhati*, 'to bubble up', *yúdh-* masc. 'warrior', fem. 'battle', and Latin cognates *jubeo*, 'to set in motion', 'command', *juba*, 'mane', *jubar*, 'beam of light'. An initial *Ei* for *I* occurs in Gaulish, cf. Holder, i, 1411, *eioru* = *ieuru*: but it may be well due to Greek influence in the text here, as in '*Ειουβιανός* for Iovianus. For the termination *-nsca*, *-nsco-* cf. Holder, *op. cit.* iii. 49. I.W.]

[1][*Note.* The above note is based upon one by Prof. Ifor Williams on the reading EVIDENSCA, which was the one we submitted to him. The correct reading is uncertain, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing in the manuscript between UI(VI) and IU. It seems, however, that the reading of P and B should be EUI and of V should be EIU. The suggested identification with Inveresk makes it seem possible that the rather unusual termination may conceal the river-name Isca. O. G. S. C.]

Meaning uncertain.

EXOSADES 301. A western island, '*ubi et gemmae nascuntur*'.

Derivation: [Thurneysen (Holder, i, 1489) explains the personal name *Exocius*, to which he gives an arbitrarily short *ŏ*, as from *esox* = M.W. *ehawg*, W *eog*, 'salmon'. If this is correct, the word may be thought to have read Esŏcades, with terminal *-ades* as in *Orc-ades*. I.W.]

Meaning: Perhaps, 'Sea-salmon islands'. The reference to 'natural gems' is obscure. If it was amethysts, as in Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, v, 13, 3, it would suit Achill Island.

FANOCOCIDI 155. COCIDIUS is the well-known war-god of Cumberland, whose dedications are so distributed as to suggest the location of his shrine within the triangle between Bewcastle, Netherby, and Stanwix (see *AA.*^{4} xiv, 105, for a map).

Derivation: *fanum*, Lat. 'shrine', 'temple'.

Cocidi, *coc-*, with suffix *-idios*, as in Epidios, etc., is of uncertain derivation. For a connexion with W. *coch*, 'red', it is necessary to start with *cocc-*. A single *c* would give W. *g*, cf. W. *cog*, 'cock', 'cuckoo', *cogor*, 'croaking', 'cackling', or *cog-* in *cogwrn*, 'round stack' or 'shell of snail', *cogail*, 'distaff'. But these are not suggestive.

The eighteen known dedications to COCIDIUS uniformly spell the stem as *coc-*. But the possibilities are so unfruitful that it must be recalled that ancient orthography was often careless with the double consonant, cf. COCCUVEDA, LEUCA. The original may therefore be from *cocco-*, 'red', despite the spelling, since this fits the War-God so well.

Meaning: 'The shrine of Cocidius'.

GABAGLANDA 131. CAMBOGLANIS, *CIL.* vii, 1291, [C]AMBOGLANNA, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 44. Now the eleventh fort from the east on Hadrian's Wall, at Birdoswald.

It has been identified with the *Camboglan* (MS. Harl. 3859), where two battles took place, at the earlier of which, in A.D. 537, Arthur was killed (*Antiquity*, ix, 289–90) and also with CAMBROIANNA, q.v. The *g* of CAMBGLAN seems to identify the site with CAMBOGLANNIS.

Derivation: *cambo-*, W. *cam*, Ir. Bret. *camm*, 'crooked', 'twisted'.

glanna-, W., M.Bret. *glann*, 'bank' or 'shore'.

Meaning: 'Crook bank'. As Haverfield observed (*CW.*^{2} xviii, 228), this is a remarkably close topographical description of the site at Birdoswald, above the winding gorge of the Irthing.

GABROCENTIO 117. A scribal error for GABROSENTI, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 50, the C probably arising from misreading a Greek archetype with lunate sigma. On the Cumberland coast south of the Ellen, where is the place-name POLGAVER, near Workington. *CW.*^{2} xiv, 396, *ERN.* 329. It would thus suit Burrow Walls, but better still Moresby, where inscriptions (*CIL.* vii, 363, 364) attest the presence of the *Notitia* unit, *cohors II Thracum.*

Derivation: cf. GABROMAGUS, *It. Ant.* 276, 9.

[*gabro-*, W. *gafr*, Ir. *gabhar*, 'goat'.

sentum, O.Ir. *sĕt*, Bret. *hent*, W. *hynt*, 'path'.

The name means 'The goat-path'; probably referring to a steep path up the cliffs. Cf. W. place-names *Epynt* (= *eb*, 'horse' or 'foal', *hynt*) Cerrynt, Cerhynt (= *cerr*, 'wagon', 'sledge', *hynt*) and *Hwylfa 'r ceirw*, 'stag's-path'. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The goat-path', probably referring to a steep path up the cliffs.

GALLUVIO 113. A scribal error for GALAVA, *It. Ant.* 481, 2. The Roman fort at Borrans Field, Ambleside, Westmorland.

Derivation: [*gal-*, Ir. *gal*, 'valour', O.Bret. *gal*, 'force', W. *ar-ial* (= *are-gal*), 'vigour'. This may refer to the strength of the river Rawthay, which bursts into Lake Windermere close to the site.

-ava, see Holder, i, 305. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The vigorous stream', or 'Force'.

GIANO 1. Probably a scribal error for GLANO, cf. IACIODULMA for LACTODORO. In Cornwall, west of the Tamar.

Derivation: The form of the name is incorrect as it stands. The easiest emendation is to GLANO, cf. Holder, i, 2024, GLANIS, a river-name (W. *glān*, 'clean', 'pure'): but the question is quite uncertain. GLANUM, *CIL.* xi, 3281, *It. Ant.* 343, 6; GLANUM, *It. Ant.* 383, 5. These names are cognate with W. *glān*, 'clean', 'pure'.

Meaning: Perhaps 'The place on the clean, pure, stream': but the form of the name is uncertain.

GLEBON COLONIA 62. For GLEVUM COLONIA, the correct form of CLEVO, *It. Ant.* 485, 4, COLONIAE GLEV[ENSIS], *CIL.* vii, 54; GLEVI, *CIL.* vi, 3346, xvi, 130; R(ES) P(UBLICA) G[LEVENSIUM], *EE.* ix, 1283, 1284. The B no doubt arises from transliteration of a Gk. *Γλήβον*. Now GLOUCESTER, the CAIR GLOIU of Nennius (MS. Harl. 3859, fol. 185*b*), CAERLOYW (*Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 173), GLOIUMEDE (Lib. S. Ceddi).

1. GLEVUM.

Derivation: *glēvo-* [*gloiu*, O.W. gloss in Cambridge Iuvencus of ninth century, for 'liquidum', 'clear', 'shining'. I.W.] Cf. *ERN.* 173.

Meaning: 'The bright spot'.

2. COLONIA: This refers to the chartered rank of the town, *CIL.* vii, 54.

GRANDENA 297. A western island.

Derivation: [cf. Lat. *grandina*, 'hail', reminiscent of the hail-storm of Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 18, narrated of such an island. This is probably to be preferred as against W. *gran*, 'eyelid', '*grann*', cheek, Bret. *grann*, 'brow', Ir. *grend*, 'beard', cf. Walde–Pokorny, i, 606. I.W.]

Meaning: Hail Island.

IACIODULMA 95. LACTODORO, *It. Ant.* 470, 6; 476, 11; now TOWCESTER, TOFECEASTER, *ASC.* 921, which took its name from the river TOVE.

Derivation: *lacto-*, possibly connected with Lat. *lacio*, 'entice', *laqueus*, 'trap', 'snare'.

duro, 'fort', *see* DUROAVERNO.

Meaning: Snare Fort.

IBERNIO 37. In Dorset, no doubt IWERNE, now the name of a north-eastern tributary of the STOUR and its district. Derivation: [cognate with IERNOS, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 2, 3, now the KENMORE river, Ireland: derived from **ivo-* yew, Bret. *ivin*, Ir. *eo*, W. *yw*, *ywen*, O.Co. *hivin*. I.W.] Cf. also IONA, Watson, 87–90. Ekwall, *ERN.* 222.

Meaning: 'Yew tree place'.

IBERRAN 210. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall, near PINNATIS.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

INTRAUM 256. A northern river-name.

Derivation: cf. INTARABUS, W. *araf*, *arau*, 'gentle'.

Meaning: The word is corrupt, but must be connected with some such root as above.

ISCA 16, 52, 243.

16 SCADUM NAMORUM, ISCA DUMNONIORUM, *It. Ant.* 486, 8; 486, 17; ISCADIDUNONIORŪ, *Tab. Peut.* Now Exeter, tribal capital of the DUMNONII.

52 ISCA AUGUSTA, ISCAE LEG. II AUGUSTA, *It. Ant.* 484, 4; ISCA, *ibid.* 484, 10. Now CAERLEON-UPON-USK, fortress of the Second Legion. Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 30 mixes Exeter and Caerleon.

243 ISCA, the river USK.

1. ISCA:

Derivation: [O.Ir. *esc*, Ir. *easc*, 'water', Gael. *easg*, 'fen'. This implies *Ĭscā*, with *ĭ* affected by the following *ā*. But for the river Usk the Welsh is *Wysg*, *-wy-* being derived from *-ei-* or *ī*, in which case the word *īsca* could not make *esc*. The two *Isca* forms may therefore really be different; and for the *-ei-* or *ī* as initial vowel we may compare Walde–Pokorny, i, 106–7, *-eis -īs*, used of rapid motion and seen in the river-name *Isara* and Lat. substantive *īra*. We should then have *īs-ca*. I.W.]

Meaning: Most probably, 'water' in the sense of 'river': cf. the Scottish use.

2. DUMNONII, see DANNONI.

ITUCODON 179. In southern Scotland.

The Greek termination should be noted, as pointing to a Greek archetype.

Derivation: *itu*, O.Ir. *ith*, O.W. *it*, W. *yd*, 'corn' (Holder, ii, 83: Watson, 243; *ERN*. 143).

-codon, corrupt and not readily emended.

Meaning uncertain.

IUCTIUS 247. For ESTUCTIUS, [E]STUCCIA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 3, now the river YSTWYTH.

Derivation: [YSTWYTH does not appear to be derived from an initial *st-*, which would give SWYTH. This would dispose of the accepted and attractive derivation from *stuctio-s*, 'bent', Bret. *stoui*, 'to bend oneself', W. *ystwyth*, 'supple'. But an initial *ex-* or *es-*, 'out', in the sense of 'outstanding' would set matters right.

We should therefore emend Ptolemy's STUCCIA to EXTUCTIA or ESTUCTIA and the present form to EXTUCTIUS or ESTUCTIUS. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The very supple' or 'very curved' river. The YSTWYTH has many notable windings and falls.

IULIOCENON 116. Appears as TUNNOCELUM in *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 51, on the Cumberland coast, north of GLANOVENTA, Ravenglass. Perhaps the lost site at the crossing of the Ehen. The suggestion of Horsley, that ITUNOCELUM, Eden Head, may be the correct form, is tempting (*Brit. Rom.* 103), since this headland here dominates the whole landscape. In Greek the confusion between *Ιτυνοκελον* and *Ιουλιοκενον* is very easy, especially in capitals.

Derivation: *itun-*, see Walde–Pokorny, ii, 74–5, with many possibilities!

ocellum, 'promontory', see Holder, ii, 826 *Ŏcĕlon*, 827 *ὤκελον* ; see CINDOCELLUM.

Meaning: Eden Head.

IUPANIA 49. On a branch-road from CAERWENT.

Derivation: The word seems corrupt, and it is easier to start with L than I, in which case we may compare Holder, ii, 347, *Lupa*, river-name, *Lupavius*, man's name; ii. 349, *Lupparia*, a place-name, and *Luppianus*, a man's name; also LUPONIUM.

Meaning uncertain.

LAGENTIUM 126. This is LAGECIUM, *It. Ant.* 478, 7; LEGEOLIO, *ibid.* 475, 6; now Castleford on Aire, Yorks., these forms probably being corruptions of that preserved here.

Derivation: [If *Lagent-* may be regarded as proven, it recalls *Laenauc*, father of Gwallawg, one of Urien's allies (MS. Harl. 3859, Pedigrees) also known as *Lleynna*[*w*]*c* (Black Bk. Carmarthen, 100) and *Lleennawc* (MS. Peniarth, 45, pedigree of S. Deiniol): cf. *Lagin* in Leinster, in W. *Dinllaen* or *Lle-yn*. I.W.]

Meaning uncertain.

LAGUBALIUM 129. LUGUVALLO, *It. Ant.* 467, 2; LUGUVALIO, *It. Ant.* 474, 1; 476, 6. Now CARLISLE, anciently CARLUEL and CAER LEWELYD, LYWELYD, Watson, 340.

Derivation: [*Lugu-*, W. *lleu*, in *go-leu*, 'light', *lleu-ad*, 'noon', *lleu-fer*, 'light-bringer'; cf. pers. name *Lleu*, and Ir. *Lugh*, and the god LUGUS.

-val-, same root as *ual* or *val*, 'to be strong', Lat. *valeo*, Germ. *Ge-walt*, 'power', W. *Cad-wal-adr*, *Cynwal*, *Buddwal*. This is preferable to the explanation **valo-n*, cognate with O.Ir. *fál*, 'hedge' or 'fence', O.W. *gwawl*, *guaul*, 'wall', for these appear to be borrowings from the Lat. *vallum*; and the possessive suffix then becomes difficult to explain.

-ion, possessive. The Welsh forms of the name in *-yd*(*d*) prove the *-ios* termination, see CUNETIO. I.W.] Cf. Jackson, *JRS*. xxxviii, 57.

Meaning: 'The place of Luguvalos.'

LANDINI 75. South of the Thames, on a road leading northwards from Silchester.

Derivation: [*landā*, Eng. *land*, Bret. *lann*, W. *gwmllan*, *yd-lan*. The original meaning is 'a piece of land', then 'enclosure', then 'sacred enclosure', 'cloister', 'church'.

-in-, diminutive, cf. Holder, ii, 141, *Landini*, place-name, now Langon, *Landinus* pers. name. I.W.] The name does not appear to be connected with the river LODDON, see *ERN*. 258.

Meaning: 'The small enclosures'.

LANO 201. In Scotland, immediately north of the Antonine Wall. The form of the name is very uncertain, P. IANO, B. LIRIO.

Derivation: [If LANO, which seems most acceptable, then not cognate with *lann* or *llan*, which requires an earlier *-nn* or *-nd*, cf. *Vindolanda*. Rather *-lānon*, as in *Medio-lānon*, a 'flat plain' or open country; cf. Lat. *planus*, Eng. *field* or *fold*, from root *pelā*, Walde–Pokorny, ii, 61. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The flat'.

LAVARIS 135. LAVATRIS, *It. Ant.* 468, 1: LEVATRIS, *It. Ant.* 476, 3: LAVATRES, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 25: now BOWES, Yorks. The correct form of the name is probably *Lavatris*.

Derivation: 1. *lau-tr-* [cf. Holder, ii, 164, LAUTRA, river-name, from *lou-tro* or *lovatro*, Ir. *loathor*, *lóthor*, 'canal', 'river-bed', Bret. *louayr*, Gk. *λουτρόν*, Lat. *lavatorium*. The name would mean 'at the river-bed'. I.W.]

2. *labaro-*, if *Lavaris*, for *Labaris*, cf. LABARA, W. *Llafar*, 'vocal', O.Ir. *labar*, 'talkative', O.Co. *lavar*, 'speech', Bret. *lavar*, 'talk', river-names LAVER, LLAFAR (Ekwall, *ERN*. 238), and LABHAR, Watson, 432–3. This would be the Celtic name, now lost, for the GRETA, which brawls over many rock-beds by the fort.

3. *lavetro-*, [there is an O.W. *llawedr*, 'load' or 'heap', with adjectival form *llawedrawg* still surviving as a place-name. I.W.]

Meaning: In view of the preponderance of the *-tr-* in the ancient sources, the first meaning of 'river-bed' seems to be the most acceptable.

LAVOBRINTA 80. Between WROXETER and Wales, probably FORDEN GAER, also known as CAER FLOS.

Derivation: [*Lavo-*, cf. *llaw-* in W. *llawes*, 'much', 'many', 'multitude', Eng. *full*, Gk. πλῆθος, Lat. *plēnus*.

brinta, cf. Holder, i, 546–7, BRINTA, BRENTESIA, BRENTANUS, BRENTA, BRINTE, all river-names, as if cognate with O.Ir. *brenn-*, 'to gush forth', Walde–Pokorny, ii, 158. I.W.]

Meaning: 'much water'.

LECTOCETO 94. ETOCETO, *It. Ant.* 470, 2. Now LICHFIELD, W. CAIRLWYTGOED (*Canu Llywarch Hen*, 52).

Derivation: [*leito-*, W. *llwyd*, Ir. *liath*, 'grey'. This is a case in which the Cosmography undoubtedly preserves the correct form.

ceto-, from **kaito*, see Walde–Pokorny, i, 328, root *kaito-*, O.W. *coit*, W. *coed*, O.Co. *cuit*, Bret. *coet*, *coat*, Gaulish καιτο-βριξ, *Cēto-briga*, Goth. *haiþi*, A.S. *hoed*, Eng. *heath*. The original meaning is 'wood'. I.W.]

Meaning: Grey wood.

LEMANIS 70. LEMANA 266. LEMANIS, Iter IV, *Wess.* 473, 7; LEMAVIS, *Tab. Peut.*; LEMANNIS, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxviii, 15. Now LYMPNE, place and river.

Derivation: Cognate with O.Ir. *lem*, Ir. *leamh*, W. *llwyf*, 'elm', cf. LEMONUM, LEMANNUS, LEMANNONIUS, Ekwall, *ERN*. 244.

Meaning: Place of elms.

LENDA 260. Probably for LINDA, a river-name in eastern Britain.

Derivation: If E is for I, as often, then LINDA. Cf. Ir. *lind*, W. *llyn*, both 'liquor' and 'lake'; *see* LINDUM.

Meaning: If LINDA, then 'the lake river'.

LEUCA 246. The river LOUGHOR, on which stood LEUCARUM, *It. Ant.* 484, 1, which should derive from a river-name like *Leucara*. Loughor is in Welsh *Casllwchwr*.

Derivation: [The root is *leuq-*, 'light', Gk. λευκός, Lat. *lux*, W. *Llug*. But to explain the *-ch-* of *llwchwr* we must have in the original *-ks-* or *-cc-*: so *Lŭccārum*, from *Lŭccāra*, to be exact, though the ancients were careless about double consonants. I.W.] Cf. Ekwall, *ERN*. 268–9, s.v. LUGG.

Meaning: 'The bright river'.

LEUCOMAGO 45. The place is next to CUNETIO, coming from the south-east, and is presumably near ANDOVER, in the middle of the chalk region of Hampshire, east of Salisbury Plain.

Derivation: [*leuco-*, 'bright, light, clear', i.e. 'free from scrub'. *-mag-*, 'plain', cf. *Vindo-mag* = W. *Gwynfa*. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The clear plain'.

LEUGOSENA 248. For LEUCOSENA, a Welsh river, following the Ystwyth, of uncertain position.

Derivation: [*leuco-*, 'bright, white', Ir. *luach*, W. *llug*, 'light', Gk. λευκός, 'light': cf. *ERN*. 241.

seno-, 'old', Ir. *sen*, later *sean*, O.W. *hĕn*, Co., O.Bret. *hĕn*, cf. river-name SENA, or names CANTOSENUS, TANNOSENUS. No doubt the word was a title of reverence as applied to a river. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The bright old one'.

LEVIODANUM 220. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: *lēvio-*, cf. Walde–Pokorny, ii, 390 on Lat. *lēvis*, 'smooth', 'slippery', cf. *Leva*, now *Lieve*, a tributary of the Schelde.

-dunum, 'fortress'. Ir. *dún*, O.W. *din*, gloss. *arx*, cognate with A.S. *tun*, O.H.G. *zun*, H.G. *zaun*, 'hedge'.

Meaning: 'Smooth' or 'slippery' fortress.

LEVIOXAVA 222. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall. X may be a misreading of Σ for Ξ, cf. the reverse process of that in DEVA VICTRIS.

Derivation: *xava* = *sava*? See Sow, *ERN*. 375–6; also Holder, ii, 1384, for SAVER as a river-name. The derivation is itself difficult, see *ERN*., *loc. cit.*

Meaning uncertain.

LIAR 259. A river-name in northern England.

Derivation: [cf. W. *llyr*, 'sea', 'flood', M.Ir. *ler*, Ir. *lear*, 'the sea', perhaps from the root *li*, 'to flow'. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The stream'.

LINCOVIGLA 133. LONGOVIC[I]A[N]ORUM, LONGOVICIO, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 30; LON[GOVICIANA], *EE.* ix, 1135. Now Lanchester, Co. Durham.

Derivation: *longo-*, cf. LONGUS, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 1, Watson, 45, compares with 'Ship-firth'. But the situation makes any connexion with *llong*, 'ship', out of the question. But there is a Welsh word *llong*, fem. of *llwng*, used for a pool, as in *Tra-llwng*, Welsh-pool. There are several other instances of *Trallwng*, and in each case there is a pool or marsh.

vicio-, see DELGOVICIA.

Meaning: The pool thicket. This would refer to the Browney valley, just south of the fort.

LINDINIS 26. In west Dorset, near MORIDUNUM. C. E. Stevens, *EHR*. lvi, 359, commenting upon this word, connects it with *CIL.* vii, 695, which reads CI(*vitas*) DUROTRA(*gum*) LENDINIE(*n*)SI(*um*), and *EE.* vii, 1052, C(*ivitas*) DUR(*o*)TRO(*gum*) (L)INDINE(*n*)SIS. Confusion between I and E is so common in Roman written versions of Celtic names that this may be accepted. The suggestion, however, that the form LINDINIS is itself a corruption of *Lindini*(*en*)*s*(*i*) is unnecessary, since that adjective would imply a substantive LINDINIA or LINDINIAE.

Derivation: [*lindo-*, Ir. *lind*, W. *llyn*, Bret. *lenn*, 'marsh'.

-in- suggests a wet place, cf. W. *gwern*, 'alder', *gwernin*, 'alder swamp'. I.W.] A diminutive is also possible.

Meaning: 'Marsh' or 'Littlemarsh'.

LINDUM COLONIA 104.

1. *ΛΙΝΔΟΝ*, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 11, in the territory of the Coritani; LINDO, *It. Ant.* 475, 3, 476, 7, 477, 9, 478, 10; LINDO, *CIL.* xiii, 6679, viii, 21669; A L(INDO), *EE.* vii, 1097; LIND(ENSIS), *CIL.* vii, 189; *JRS.* xi, 102. Now LINCOLN.

Derivation: *lindo-*, W. *llyn*, 'lake', 'drink', Bret. *lenn*, Ir. *lind*, 'drink, liquor'.

Meaning: 'Lake' or 'mere': the place dominates the marshes and pools of the Witham, in particular, Brayford Mere, see Ekwall, *EPND.*, s.v. Lincoln.

2. COLONIA records the chartered status of the town, see COL(ONIARUM) EBOR(ACENSIS) ET LIND(ENSIS), *JRS* xi, 102.

LINNONSA 289. A western island, near Skye.

Derivation: Possibly corrupt for *Limnos insula*, see Holder, ii, 226, an island in the Irish Sea, cf. Walde–Pokorny, ii, 391. *(s)leib-*, Ir. *slemum*, W. *llyfn*, Gk. *ὀλιβρός*, 'smooth', 'slippery'.

Meaning uncertain.

LITANA 198. A fort on the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: [*lītana-* = (*silva*) *vasta*, Livy, xxiii, 24, 7: O.W. *litan*, Ir. *lethan*, Bret. *ledan*, 'large, extensive'. I.W.] Also Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, vol. ii, part iii, 185.

Meaning: The expanse. It is worth noting that Sir George Macdonald comments upon the extensive westward view obtained from Inveravon (*R. Wall in Scotland*^{2}, 111–12).

LITINOMAGO 214. For LITANOMAGO. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: cf. LITANOBRIGA, *It. Ant.* 380, 4.

lītano-, 'broad', see LITANA.

mago-, 'plain, place, market'. Ir. *mag*, Bret. *ma*, W. *ma*.

Meaning: 'Broad plain', presumably referring to a place situated in one of the carses, of which there are few north of the Wall.

LOCATREVE 166. In south-west Scotland.

Derivation: *loc-*, cf. Co. *lo*, Ir. *loch*, Bret. *louch*, W. *llwch*, 'inlet, pool, pond'.

atrebad-, 'settlers', see CALLEVA ATREBATUM; cf. MOIREABH, now MORAY, ancient MORITREB, 'the sea-dwellers', Watson, 115. Cf. Ir. *treb*, W. *tref*, Eng. *thorp*, 'township' or 'dwelling'; Ir. *aitreab* 'dwelling', *aitrebthaid*, 'inhabitants'.

Meaning: 'The pool dwellers'; as if referring to folk living in crannogs.

LODONE 213. In northern Scotland, between Spey and Dee.

Derivation: cf. LODENA, LODOSA, LODENO.

Meaning uncertain.

LONDINIUM AUGUSTI 97. LOUNDINIUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* i, 15, 6, quoting Marinus of Tyre; LONDINIUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 27, in the territory of the Cantii; LONDINIUM, Tac. *Ann.* xiv, 33; LONDINI, *JRS.* xii, 283; LON(DINI), *CIL.* vii, 1235; OPPIDUM LONDINIENSE, Eumenius, *Panegyr.* 17; civitate LONDINENSI, Council of Arles, A.D. 314, Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i, 7; LUNDINIUM, *Amm. Marc.* xx, 1; LUNDINIUM, vetus oppidum, quod AUGUSTAM posteritas appellavit, xxvii, 8, 8; *ab* AUGUSTA *profectus, quam veteres adpellavere* LUNDINIUM, xxviii, 3, 1; cf. *Not. Dign. Occ.* xi, 37, praepositus thesaurorum AVGVSTENSIVM.

Derivation: Holder, ii, 281 and d'Arbois de Jubainville suggest 'town of *Londin-os*', from *londo-*, 'fierce'. Other derivations seem fanciful. The mod.W. *Llundain* must be borrowed from O.E. *Lundene*, for ancient *-nd-* in all cases became *-nn-* in Welsh in direct linguistic descent.

Meaning: Place of Londinos.

LONGIS 299. A western island.

Derivation: cf. LONGUS, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 1, which refers to 'ships', unless it is connected with W. *llong*, fem. of *llwng*, used for a 'pool' as in *Tra-llwng*, 'Welshpool', and in other names.

Meaning: 'Ship Island' or 'Pool Island'.

LOXA 165. In southern Scotland.

Derivation: [cf. LOX, Ekwall, *ERN.* 267, and LOXA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 5. Cognate with Gk. *λοξός*, 'oblique', Lat. *luscus*, 'one-eyed', O.Ir. *losc*, 'crippled'. Ptolemy's LOXA is the modern LOSSIE, Elgin, but the same name occurs twice in Somerset, see *ERN.*, *loc. cit.*, and was doubtless more common, e.g. Loxford, Essex (*EPNS, Essex*, 99). Watson, 439, connects the word with Gael. *lossa*, gen. plur. of *loss*, 'herb': but this is hardly satisfactory. I.W.]

Meaning: The 'crooked' or 'winding' stream.

LUCOTION 170. In southern Scotland.

Derivation: cf. *lucot-*, Holder, ii, 303, Ir. *luch*, *lochaid*, 'mouse, mice', W. *llygod*, 'mice'. *Liber Landavensis*, *Licotwc*, would be a synonym: cf. *Morionio*, 'a place swarming with ants'. It is worth while to remember the Irish sept-name *Luchraige*, 'the mouse-folk'.

Meaning: 'A place with mice' or 'of Mouse-folk'.

LUTUDARON 88. For LUTUDARUM: *EE.* ix, 1266, METALLI LUTUDARE(N)S(IS); *CIL.* vii, 1214, METAL(LUM) LVTVD(ARENSE), cf. LVT(VDARENSE), *CIL.* vii, 1208, 1215, 1216; SOC(IORUM) LVT(VDARENSIVM), *JRS.* xxxi, 146, on lead pigs from the Derbyshire lead-mining district, of which LVTVDARVM was presumably the administrative centre. The precise location of the place is unknown.

Derivation: [The best I can offer is W. *golud*, O.Co. *wuludoc*, Ir. *folad*, 'wealth', from root *lāu*, 'to gain as booty'; cf. Lat. *lucrum* (for *lutlom*), Gk. *λήιον*, 'seed, fruits of the field', *ἀ-ληιός*, 'poor', Walde–Pokorny, ii, 379–80. It is worth noting that the W. *mwyn*, for 'mineral', also has derived meanings, as *mwynhau*, 'to enjoy'. I.W.]

Meaning: Connected with 'wealth', 'gain', or 'yield'. But the precise significance is uncertain.

MACATONION 61. A place apparently next to GLEVUM, approaching from the west.

Derivation: It is tempting to emend as *Magalonion*, cf. Holder, ii, 373, *Magalone*, *Magalonnum*, *Magalos*, from *mag-*, 'great', Lat. *magnus*, Gk. *μεγάλος*; and O.W. *magl-os*, 'prince' W. *mael*, Ir. *mál*. Cf. MAGALUS, Boiorum regulus, Livy xxi, 29, 6, Polyb. ii, 44, 5.

Meaning: If the emendation were accepted the place would be a name derived from the river-name *Magalona*, cf. MAGLONE, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 28, and would mean the 'place on the noble stream'.

MAGANCIA 290. Probably a scribal error for MAGANTIA. A western isle.

Derivation: Either, (1) Connected with the divine names Magontia and Mogons; which is worth bearing in mind in connexion with the native belief cited by Demetrius of Tarsus (Plut. *De defectu oraculorum*, 18) that these islands were largely deserted and considered to be the abode of δαίμονες, or (2) a simple derivation from *mag-*, 'large island'.

Meaning uncertain.

MAGNIS 57, 130.

57 KENCHESTER, Herefordshire.

130 CARVORAN, Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland.

Derivation: cf. MAGNIACUS, MAGNATA, MAGNATAE: Haverfield (*VCH. Herefordshire*, i, 175, note 1), followed by Wheeler (*Anc. Mon. Comm. Herefordshire*, ii, 39) and Macdonald, *PW.*, s.v., adopted Rhys's suggestion of a connexion with W. *maen*, 'a stone'. They point out that the word probably survives in A.S. MAGONSAET, the old name for this district of Herefordshire, as Stevenson observed to Haverfield (see Jack, *Excavations on the Site of the Romano-British Town of Magna, Kenchester, Herefordshire* (1916), p. 15, note).

MAIO 120, MAIA 154. 120 occurs at the north end of the Cumberland coast, at two removes north of the Ellen, while 154 occurs at the end of Hadrian's Wall, as on *CIL.* vii, 1294. The places are presumably identical and to be recognized as Bowness-on-Solway, the western terminus of Hadrian's Wall.

Derivation: cf. MAIO, MAIANUS, potters' names, F. Oswald, *Stamps on Terra Sigillata*, or STATIO MAIENSIS, *CIL.* v, 5090. Possibly comparative of *māros*, i.e. *māios*, cf. Lat. *maior*, W. *mwy*.

Meaning: 'The larger'. The comparative might refer to the size of the promontory as compared with the neighbouring DRUMBURGH.

MAIONA 298. A western isle.

Derivation: cf. MAIO, MAIANUS, potters' names, F. Oswald, *Stamps on Terra Sigillata*, or STATIO MAIENSIS, *CIL.* v, 5090. Possibly comparative of *māros*, i.e. *māios*, cf. Lat. *maior*, W. *mwy*.

Meaning: 'Larger island'.

MANAVI 233. A meeting-place in the miscellaneous list, between TAVA, the TAY, and SEGLOES, the SELGOVAE; presumably connected with MANAU GUOTODIN, the district at the head of the Firth of Forth, Watson, 103–4.

Derivation: MANAU would give a Celtic genitive MANANN, but a Latinized genitive MANAVI, as here. The name was applied to the Isle of MAN, Caes. *BG.* v, 13, 2, Pliny, *NH.* iv, 103. MONAPIA probably for MONAVIA, cf. MEVANIA, Oros. i, 2, 81 for MANEVIA. For derivation see MONA.

Meaning: 'High'.

MANNA 280. Probably for MAN[AN]NA. A western isle, next to BOTIS, identified as BUTE, and probably ARRAN.

Derivation: The isle of Arran was reputed to be the house of MANANNAN, the god of the sea, and was also known as EMAIN ABLACH, 'Emain of Apples', 'the other world': see Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, 334. Manannan may be connected with the root *men-* found in *immineo*, *minax*, *minor*, 'to threaten', 'threatening'. The name would be 'The Dread One'.

Meaning: The Dread One's island.

MANULODULO COLONIA 99. A scribal error for CAMULODUNUM COLONIA; CAMALODUNO, Pliny, *NH.* ii, 187; CAMUDOLANUM, by metathesis, in Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 22: CAMOLODUNO, Iter IX, *Wess.* 480, 4. COLONIA, Iter V, *Wess.* 474, 4. CAMULODUNO, *Tab. Peut.* Now Colchester, Essex, formerly Cair Colun (HB.) and Colneceaster (*ASC.* 921), COLONIAE VICTRICENSIS QUAE EST IN BRITTANNIA CAMALODUNI, *CIL.* xiv, 3955.

1. CAMULODUNUM.

Derivation: *Camulo-*, see CAMULOSESSA.

dunum, see DIXIOLUGUNDUNO.

Meaning: 'The Fortress of Camulos', a Celtic war-god, worshipped pre-eminently among the REMI of Gallia Belgica, cf. Lambrechts, *Contributions a l'étude des divinités celtiques*, 129.

2. COLONIA.

Derivation: Lat. *colonia*, 'a land settlement': granted in this case to the VICTRICENSES, or Veterans of Legio XX Victrix. The epithet refers to the chartered status of the town and was sometimes synonymous with it, as COLONIA, *It. Ant.* 480, 4; it also survives in CAIR COLUN and COLNECEASTER.

Meaning: 'Chartered land-settlement'.

MAPONI 228. For LOCUS MAPONI, a meeting-place among the *diversa loca*, presumably referring to a shrine of APOLLO-MAPONUS. Since other names in this list are in eastern Scotland this one may well be in the west, and is probably the CLOCHMABENSTANE at Gretna, Dumfriesshire, the traditional meeting-place of the Western March and the site of a prehistoric stone circle, Watson, 181.

Derivation: [Maponus, whose name is cognate with W. *mabon*, 'son', 'youth', was a North-British deity equated with Apollo, worshipped by high Roman military officials and thus of some standing (*Arch. Ael.*^{4} xxi, 208). In the old Welsh tales Mabon, son of Modron = Maponus, son of Mātrŏna. I.W.]

Meaning: The place of the youth god.

MAPORITON 163. In southern Scotland, next to TADORITON.

The Greek termination is indicative of a Greek archetype.

Derivation: [*mapo-*, Ir. *mac*, W., Bret. *map*, *mab-*, 'son', or 'young man'.

riton, 'ford', O.W. *rit*, W. *rhyd*, Lat. *portus*, Eng. *ford*. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The son's' or 'young man's ford'. See TADORITON.

MARCOTAXON 225. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall, next to VICTORIA.

The Greek termination is indicative of a Greek archetype.

Derivation: [*marco-*, Ir. *marc*, W. *march*, Bret. *marc'h*, 'horse'.

-taxon, from the root *tag*, Walde–Pokorny, i, 704, cf. Gk. *ταγέω*, *τάσσω*, *τάξις*, 'to rule', 'to order', 'array', cf. *Taximagulus*, *Tasciovanus*, *Taxinemeton*. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The Horse-array', with evident reference to a historical or legendary event.

MAROMAGO 180. In southern Scotland, two removes north of TRIMONTIUM. The derivation would fit Inveresk, or a site in the Midlothian plain.

Derivation: [*maro-*, 'great'.

-mago, 'plain', Ir. *mag*, Bret., W. *ma*. Cf. *maroialum*, 'the great clearing' or W. *Maesmawr*. I.W.] See Watson, 378, 501.

Meaning: The great plain.

MASONA 21. In Devon, north-east of Exeter.

Derivation: cf. MASAVA, *Tab. Peut.*; MASAVO, *CIL*. vii, 213.

[*mas-* offers too wide a choice to permit certainty.

-ŏna, the common stream suffix, as in DIVŎNA, SIRŎNA. I.W.]

Meaning uncertain, though the connexion with a river or stream should be noted.

MATOVION 207. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall.

The Greek termination is indicative of a Greek archetype.

Derivation: cf. MATAVONIO, *It. Ant.* 298, 2.

mato-, Ir. *maith*, W. Bret., *mat*, *mad-*, 'good'.

MAULION 202. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall Derivation and meaning uncertain.

MAUTIO 109. Probably for MA[M]UCIO, MAMUCIUM, *It. Ant.* 468, 7; MAMCUNIO, Iter X, *Wess.* 481, 5. Now MANCHESTER, A.S. MAMECEASTER 923, *ASC*.

Derivation: *mam-*, Ir. *mam*, 'breast', W. *mam*, 'mother, womb'.

-ūc-io, for the suffix *-ūc*, in the same sense as *-āco*, with adjectival force, see *ERN*. lxxviii, where the form is well warranted.

Meaning: 'The place of a breast-like hill', or 'hills'; no doubt connected with the *mamelon* on which the Roman fort lay: cf. Ekwall, *Place-names of Lancashire*, 34 *n.*, *ERN*. 280. Cf. CICUTIO.

MAVIA 238. A western river-name, now MEAVY, a tributary of the PLYM. It comes between AXE and TAMAR.

Derivation: [*mav-*, cf. M.Bret. *mau*, 'gaillard, agile'. The name may be compared with *Maw* in Abermaw = Barmouth, where the river is the Mawddach, as if for *Mawdd-fach* (= the little *Maw(d)*), corresponding to Mawddwy, for *Mawd-fwy* (the greater Maw(d)). I.W.] Ekwall, *ERN*. 282–3, is in some difficulty for an English derivation, and cannot get over the crux. This way out is accepted by *EPNS*, *Place-names of Devon*, i, 10, on the basis of a suggestion by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford.

Meaning: 'The lively stream'.

MEDI[O]BOGDO 114. In Cumberland, between GALAVA, Ambleside, and CANTIVENTI, Ravenglass, and presumably Hardknot, the fort at the top of Hardknot Pass, between them.

Derivation: [*medio-*, Ir. *mid*, Eng. *mid*, cf. M.W. *meinoeth*, 'midnight', *meiddydd*, 'midday', *meiwyr*, 'half-men, cowards'.

bogdo-, cf. *Robogdii* (Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 2, 3), *ro-bogd-*, which Thurneysen explains as Ir. *boc-*, Bret. *bouk*, 'soft,' 'tender', O.Bret. gloss. *buc* = putris, *boc* = putres, *bocion* = putres. But this does not suit either word very well. Walde–Pokorny, ii, 145, puts Ir. *boc-* under the root *beugh-*, 'bend', 'curve', hence Eng. *bow*. This meaning would suit *Robogdii*, the 'bowmen'. I.W.]

Meaning: 'In the middle of the curve' which exactly describes Hardknot in relation to the Esk valley. [Compare *Ystum* in Welsh place-names, *Ystumllech*, *Ystumdwy*, *ystum* being 'to twist' or 'to bend' and referring to curves in the natural features. I.W.]

MEDIOLANO 84. MEDIALANO, *It. Ant.* 469, 4. MEDIOLANO, *ibid.* 481, 1, 482, 4. In Cheshire, near Whitchurch, a road-junction of note.

Derivation: *medio-*, middle, see MEDI[O]BOGDO.

lano-, see LANO.

This derivation was first suggested by Lognon, *Rev. celt.* viii, 375.

Meaning: 'Mid-plain'.

MEDIOMANO 81. In Wales, west of Wroxeter. The name indicates a central position, and would admirably suit CAERSWS, near NEWTOWN, Montgomeryshire.

Derivation: *medio-*, middle, see MEDI[O]BOGDO.

-mano. The sense of this suffix is uncertain.

Meaning uncertain.

MEDIONEMETON 196. A fort on the Antonine Wall, not necessarily central on the Wall itself.

The Greek ending, suggestive of a Greek archetype, will be noted.

Derivation: *medio-*, middle, see MEDI[O]BOGDO.

nemeto-, 'sacred grove', see ARNEMEZA, NEMETOTACIO.

Meaning: 'Middle sanctuary'.

MELAMONI 15. In Devon, not far from Exeter.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

MELEZO 36. For MELETIO, next to IBERNIO, in the district of IWERNE, Dorset.

Derivation: [Connect with the full stem of W. *mel* 'honey' = *melys*, see Holder, ii, 537, s.v. *melissos*. Cf. the names *Melitomagos*, *Meletum*, *Melitum*, the last now Meilly and Méallet. I.W.] The name has nothing to do with FONTMELL, see *ERN*. 161–2.

Meaning: Honey place, or Honey stream place: cf. MEDUANNA, a river-name connected with mead.

MEMANTURUM 216. North of the Antonine Wall, near the Dee. Probably a scribal error for NEMANTURUM.

Derivation: cf. NEMANTOURISTA, for NEMANTURISSA (Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 6, 66) in the Basque district, and NEMANTURI, Pliny, *NH*. iii, 137, Columella, xii, 20, 22, 24; *namanto-*, Ir. *nama*, *namat*, 'enemy'. Watson, 249, records in Strathdon, the names NEWE and INVERNOCHTY, both connected with a *namanto-* stem.

-uro-n, common suffix.

Meaning: Perhaps the place of the Nemanturi, probably a sept or *pagus* of the Taexali, the principal tribe hereabouts.

MESTEVIA 18. In Devon, north-east of Exeter.

Derivation: [cf. Holder, ii, 577, *Mesto*, *Mesta*, personal names, and *Mestaro*(*n*), a place-name: so the word is *Mest-* with suffix *-evia*, as in *Sulevia*. For derivation, see W. *mes*, Bret. *mes*, E. *mast*, 'acorns', which come from stem *mess-* or *mest-*. I.W.]

Meaning: Place of acorns.

METAMBALA 50. In South Wales, near CAERWENT. The word is probably corrupted from NEMETAMBALA, and refers to a famous holy grove.

Derivation: [cf. NEMETOBRIGA, NEMETOCENNA.

[*ne*]*met-*, see NEMETOTATIO.

-ambala, cf. Gk. *ὀμφαλός*, 'navel', 'boss of shield', 'centre of the earth', Ir. *imblim*, 'navel', Lat. *umbo*, *umbilicus*. I.W.]

It is, however, possible that this element is corrupt. Nennius records (*Hist. Brit.* 70), among the marvels of Britain, 'juxta flumen, quod vocatur Guoy, poma inveniuntur super fraxinum in proclivo saltus qui est prope ostio fluminis'. That is, a freak apple-tree existed at the mouth of the Wye. If the final element here was *abala*, instead of *ambala*, the reference would remarkably suit the situation. For the sanctity of apples, cf. MANNA.

Meaning: 'The sacred grove of the navel', or more probably 'The sacred apple-grove'.

MILIDUNUM 19. In Devon, north-east of Exeter.

Derivation: *mili-*, cf. MILI-ACUS. The word is uncertain; if *mel-* cf. W. *melyn*, 'yellow', Gk. *μέλας*, 'black'.

dunum-, fortress.

Meaning: Possibly 'Dark fortress', but the qualifying epithet is uncertain. It is not MELBURY, cf. *EPNS. Devon*, i, 203–4.

MINERVE 278. A western isle.

Derivation: Presumably *Insula Minervae*. The Latin name is worth note, and probably goes back to a naming of deserted islands in some such expedition as that recorded by Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 18, where the western islands are recorded as the abodes of *δαίμονες*: cf. *Manna*, *Magancia*. For other Latin names in this group, see ATINA, SUSURA, GRANDENA.

Meaning: 'Minerva's Isle'.

MINOX 231. A meeting-place in the miscellaneous list.

Derivation and meaning uncertain: the word is probably corrupt.

MIXA 229. A meeting-place in the miscellany.

Derivation and meaning uncertain: the word is probably corrupt.

MONA 276. MONA, Pliny, *NH*. ii, 187; MONA, Tac. *Ann*. xiv, 29–30, *Agric*. 14; *Μόνα*, Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 2, 10; *Μῶννα*, Dio Cass. lxii, 7, 1, 8, 1. A western isle, ANGLESEA.

Derivation: [*men-*, cf. W. *mynydd*, 'mountain', from *moniio*, or *monido*, and (1) Lat. *eminere*, *prominere*, *imminere*, in the sense of rising up; (2) *immineo*, *minax*, *minor*, 'to threaten'. If (1), then Mōna = 'the high island' and the reference is to Holyhead mountain, a prominent landmark to voyagers in the Irish Sea. If (2), *mon-* is used in the threatening sense; the island, made sacred or awful by the Druids, is the dread island. I.W.]

Meaning: Either 'High Island', or 'Dread Island': the Welsh name for the island, *Mon-finnid* (= *Mon mynydd*), supports the first meaning as the traditional one.

MORIDUNO 23. MORIDUNO, *It. Ant*. 486, 16; RIDUMO, for [MO]RIDUNO, *Tab. Peut*. In Devon, near Seaton, which is a doublet of the name.

Derivation: cf. MYRDDIN.

mori-, W., Co., Bret. *mor*, Ir. *muir*, 'sea'.

-dunum, 'fortress'. Ir. *dún*, O.W. *din*, gloss. *arx*.

Meaning: 'The fortress by the sea'.

MORIONIO 30. In west Dorset, beyond the Stour.

Derivation: [*morio-*, Walde–Pokorny, ii, 306, cite W. *myr*, plur. *morion*, 'ants', cf. Eng. *pis-mire*, Bret. *merien*, plur. *meriенn*, 'ant'. I.W.]

Meaning: 'A place infested by ants'.

MUTUANTONIS 69. In Sussex, not far from Cuckmere, Ptolemy's TRISANTONUS, *Geogr*. ii, 3, 4. Cf. MUTUANNA, now the MUANNE (Indre-et-Loire), France, MUTUDURUM, Sallust, *Hist*. ii, 93. These examples appear to vouch for the initial MUTU-; but, in view of the proximity of TRISANTONUS, the word would appear to be a conflation, of a name beginning with MUTU- and TRISANTONIS.

1. MUTU-, if from *mottu-* or *muttu-* cf. W. *mwth*, 'swift'. This would be a suitable first element in river-names or their derivatives.

2. [TRIS]ANTONIS.

Derivation: *tri-*, intensive prefix.

santon-, cf. SANTONI, SANTONES, see SANDONIO.

Meaning: 'Draining strongly' or 'flooding strongly'.

NAURUM 241. A river-name in south-west Britain.

Loth, *Chrestomathie bretonne*, 35, emends to NATRUM, and connects with the Wiltshire NADDER, but both the identification and the emendation are highly doubtful. There is no sound evidence that the Cosmography mentions inland rivers: cf. *ERN*. 297.

NABRUM is perhaps more hopeful, cf. NABAROS, NABLIS, NABRISSA.

NAVIMAGO REGENTIUM 44.

1. NAVIMAGO: A scribal error for NOVIOMAGO, *Wess.* 477, 10, *NOIÓMAΓON*, Ptol. *Geogr.* i, 15, 6, taken from the lost work by Marinus: *NOIÓMAΓOS*, in the territory of the *ῬHΓVOI*, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 28. Now Chichester, Sussex.

Derivation: See NOVIOMAGNO. The name is very common. It is applied to ten important places in Gaul. In Britain there is also a Kentish NOVIOMAGUS, see Haverfield, *VCH. Surrey*, i, 348, and NOVIOMAGNO, q.v.

Meaning: 'New Market'. If Dr. Curwen's ideas on the origins of Chichester are correct (*Arch. Sussex*, 287–8; cf. Hawkes, *SAC*, lxxvi, 140–5), the name would be very suitable.

2. REGENTIUM, for RĒG[N]ENTIUM; REGNUM, *It. Ant.* 477, 10.

Derivation: Lat. *Regnenses*, 'the people of the Kingdom' referring to the REGNUM COGIDUBNI, whose official title was *rex* (Tac. *Agric.* 14; *CIL.* vii, 11) as Haverfield suggests, Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. *Noviomagus*: also *VCH. Surrey*, i, 348, note 19. Holder's suggested Celtic derivation is unacceptable in view of the political facts.

NAVIONE 106. *EE.* vii, 1102, ANAVIONE; *CIL.* xi, 5213, CENSITOR BRITTONUM ANAVION(ENSIUM). Now the Roman fort at BROUGH, on the NOE, Derbyshire.

Derivation: The form of the name is clear. The river-name NOE goes back to a British *NAVA, which supports the form NAVIO and thus the normal reading A NAVIONE, i.e. 'from NAVIO', for the milestone, *EE.* vii, 1102 (cf. A RATIS, *CIL.* vii, 1169, A L(INDO), *EE.* vii, 1097, A KANOVIO, *EE.* vii, 1099). The *Brittones Anavionenses* need not have belonged to this district; they may have been associated with a river ANAVA, q.v. NAVIO is a place-name connected with NAVA, which can be derived from [Walde–Pokorny, ii, 692 *snā*, 'to flow', W. *nawf*, *nofio*, 'swim', Lat. *no*, *nare*, O.Ir. *snām*, 'swimming': cf. Holder, i, 693, river-names, NĀVA, NABE, NAAB. I.W.] Cf. *ERN*. 304.

Meaning: 'Running water': the Noe is a rapid stream.

NEMETOTATIO 4. In Cornwall, next to the Tamar.

Derivation: *nemeto-*, cf. NEMETACUM, NEMETATI, MEDIONEMETUM and NEMET, the old name of the rivers Yeo and Mole, *ERN*. 304; also DRUNEMETON (Strabo, xii, 5, 1); Ir. *nemed*, 'a sanctuary', cf. *Index superstitionum et pagan., nimidas = sacra silvarum.*

-tatio. This ending is suspect. There are various possibilities, e.g. NEMETACO (cf. *It. Ant.* 377, 8), NEMETATIO (cf. NEMETATI, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 6, 40), or even NEMETO conflated with STATIO. It is impossible to decide between them.

Meaning: 'Sacred grove', possibly attached to a distinguishing epithet.

NOVIA 267. A river-name, west of the LYMPNE: possibly connected with NOVUS PORTUS, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 4.

Derivation: [cf. NAVIONE, rather than Holder, 793 from *novios*, 'new'. I.W.]

Meaning uncertain. 'New' seems a highly unlikely name for a river except the artificial streams of later times.

NOVIOMAGNO 39. Between VINDOGLADIA and VENTA BELGARUM, probably on the Roman road from Wimborne through the New Forest. Archaeological evidence points to the New Forest potteries as almost the only evidence of habitation on this route. But the site need not have been a large one, and a position in the Avon valley would be appropriate, the next name, ONNO, being applicable to a roadside settlement on the Test at Nursling.

Derivation: *Novio-*, Ir. *nué*, W. *newydd*, Bret. *neuez*, Lat. *novus*, Eng. *new*.

-magus, Ir. *mag.*, Bret., W. *ma*, 'field, place', with transferred meaning as 'fair', 'market'.

Meaning: 'New Market'. The name was very common in Gaul and Britain, see NAVIMAGO REGENTIUM for the incidence.

NOVITIA 253. A northern river-name: possibly for Ptolemy's NOVIUS, *Geogr.* ii, 3, 2.

Derivation and meaning uncertain; see NOVIA.

OLCACLAVIS 188. A place north of Hadrian's Wall, in Northumberland or East Lothian.

Derivation: [*olca-*, according to Gregory of Tours, *In glor. conf.* 78, 'olcas' in the territory of the REMI meant 'campi tellure fecundi', O.Fr. *ouche*, *ousche*.

clavis, a connexion with *clavos*, Ir., W. *clo*, 'nail', or Lat. *clavis*, 'key', seems to make no sense: nor does Lat. *clava*, 'cudgel'. But there is a *clevos*, Gk. *κλέος*, Bret. *clevet*, W. *clyw*, with the sense of 'fame' or 'something heard' or Ir. *clú*, 'glory', which occurs in the compound *Dumnoclevios*. This might fit some famous fertile spot. I.W.]

Meaning: If OLCACLEVIS were accepted, 'the famous fertile fields'.

OLERICA 121. A place between MAIO, Bowness-on-Solway and DERVENTIO, Papcastle-on-Derwent: probably OLD CARLISLE.

Derivation: cf. OLERICIUM: Lat. *olor*, W. *alarch*, O.Co. *elerhc*, 'swan'. The name might thus be *Olerca*, 'Swan'. For animal or bird names applied to streams and hence to places, see *ERN*. li, 77, 421: cf. English names in ELFET- from O.E. *elfet-*, 'a swan'.

Meaning: 'Swan stream'.

OMIRETEDERTIS 25. In west Dorset, near the Blackmore Forest, ALAUNA SILVA.

Derivation: There is no doubt as to the unity of the word as transcribed in the manuscripts, but it may nevertheless be a conflation. No suggestion, however, offers itself in the present state of knowledge.

ONNA. A place between VINDOGLADIA and VENTA BELGARUM, possibly at the crossing of the Test, on the road through the New Forest.

Derivation: [The Vienne glossary, 12, has *onno* = *flumen*. But *onn-*, 'ash-trees', W. *on*, *onnen*, Co. *Onnen*, Bret. *ounnen*, O.Ir. *huinn* is also possible, cf. *ERN*. 310. The name may have stood for a stream in the mind of the compiler of the glossary, on account of the frequency with which trees are associated with river-names, e.g. DERVENTIO (oaks), IBERNIO (yews).

There is, however, also a stem *ond-*, 'stone, rock' (Walde–Pokorny i, 181) which is perhaps more appropriate than Ash-trees, cf. ONNO. I.W.]

Meaning: 'Ashes', or, less probably, 'Rocks': there are large masses of conglomerated gravel or pan-rock in the bed of the Test at Nursling Mill, close to a Roman settlement, where the Roman road crossed the river, and in a stoneless region such formations would attract attention. But 'ashes' remains the more likely explanation.

ONNO 146. HUNNO, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 37. The fifth fort from the east on Hadrian's Wall, now HALTON.

Derivation: see 145. In this place ash-trees are possible: but much more likely, for topographical reasons, is the root *ond-*, *n̥d-*, 'stone, rock', Walde–Pokorny i, 181, cf. Ir. *ond*, *onn*. Down Hill, just east of Halton, is one of the most prominent rocky land-marks on the line of the Wall.

Meaning: Probably 'The rock', with reference to Down Hill.

PAMPOCALIA 125. Next to LAGENTIUM (now Castleford, Yorks.) and a recognizable conflation of CAMBODUNUM and CALCARIA, *It. Ant.* 468, 506, on the road between York and Manchester.

1. CAMBODUNUM. The fusion of name implies that the two places came next to one another, and that the well-known gap, in Iter II, *loc. cit.*, between MAMUCIUM and CALCARIA (Manchester and Tadcaster) occurs between M and C, not between C and C as hitherto thought, cf. Haverfield, *YAJ*. xxiii, 395–8. This explains why CAMPODONUM appears in Bede, *HE*. ii, 14, as the monastery of Paulinus at Dewsbury, of which the tradition still existed in Camden's day and is confirmed by important Anglian cross-fragments. A lost site near DEWSBURY, Yorks., is therefore the solution of this long-standing crux. For the name cf. CAMBODUNUM, *It. Ant.* 237, 250, 258; Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 12, 4; Strabo, *Geogr.* iv, 206.

Derivation: *Cambo-*, see GABAGLANDA.

dunum, see DIXIOLUGUNDUNO.

Meaning: 'Twisted fort' or 'Fort at the twist': more probably the former.

2. CALCARIA, Tadcaster, Yorks.

Derivation: cf. CALCARIA, *It. Ant.* 299, 2, near Marseilles. Lat. *calcaria*, chalk or limestone quarries.

Meaning: 'The limestone quarries'. Both at Tadcaster and the similarly named site in Narbonese Gaul, there are large and famous limestone quarries.

PANOVIUS 230. A place in the miscellaneous list.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

PEXA 193. A fort on the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: Lat. *pexa*, 'tunic', M.W. *peis*, W. *pais* (Watson, 5, 128) seems most unlikely.

DEXA, cf. DIXIO, DICTE, seems more probable; cf. PUROCORONAVIS for DUROCORONAVIS.

For the derivation see DECHA.

PILAIS 7. In Devon or Cornwall, near the Tamar.

Derivation: PILA is known in Hispania Tarraconensis as a *cognomen*, *CIL*. ii, 4222. But this form may be corrupt. At least, a consonant seems required between the *a* and *i*.

Meaning uncertain.

PINNATIS 211. PINNATA CASTRA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 13, in the territory of the VACOMAGI. This version is a better rendering of the Greek *ΠΤΕΡΩΤῸΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΌΠΕΔΟΝ* than the uncritical ALATA CASTRA. The place is in Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: *Pinnata-*, from *pinnae*, 'merlons', added to an earthwork to strengthen its defence.

Meaning: 'The battlemented camp'.

POREOCLASSIS 221. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall; possibly for HORREA CLASSIS, the *ὀῤῥέα* [H]ORREA of Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 14, among the Venicones. The name has nothing to do with the form CARPOW, Watson, 370, which was anciently CEIRFUILL = CAERPWLL, 'the fort of the pool'.

Derivation: Lat. *Horrea classis*, 'The Fleet storehouses' or 'granaries'. The name Horrea is a common provincial place-name, occurring in Africa twice (*It. Ant.*, 31, 7, 52, 5, etc.), in Gallia Narbonensis (*It. Ant.* 297, 3), in Moesia (*It. Ant.* 134, 3), and Epirus (Livy, xlv, 26, 4, 10). The name would refer to a coastal depot of the CLASSIS BRITANNICA.

PRESIDIUM 173. For PRAESIDIUM, next to CAMULOSESSA, identified with Castle Creg, Midlothian, and possibly in apposition to it.

Derivation: cf. PRAESIDIO, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 19; Lat. *praesidium*, a small post or garrison, cf. Tac. *Agric.* 21, *praesidiis castellisque circumdatae*.

It is found as a place-name in Spain and Corsica, see *It. Ant.* 85, 7; 422, 4; 428, 4; 431, 10. But it is also combined with names, as a qualification following the local name, cf. *op. cit.* 37, 3, 38, 8. Thus, we might have here CAMULOSESSA PRAESIDIUM. This would fit Castle Creg well.

Meaning: 'The small post', or 'fortlet'.

PUNCTUOBICE 47. Probably a scribal error for PORTU ABONE. ABONE, *It. Ant.*, 486, 1. The place is on the western road between CUNETIO and VENTA SILURUM.

Derivation: *Portus*, Lat. *portus*, 'harbour, port': cf. PORTUS RITUPIS, *It. Ant.* 466, 5, 472, 6; PORTUS DUBRIS, *ibid.* 473, 2, 5; PORTUS LEMANIS, *ibid.*, 473, 10.

Ab-one, see ABONA.

Meaning: 'Avon Port', whence the crossing was made to Caerwent. In *It. Ant.* 486, 1–2, ABONE and TRAIECTUS seem to have displaced one another.

PUROCORONAVIS 6. For DUROCORNAVIS; in Cornwall, west of the Tamar.

Derivation: cf. DUROCORNOVIO, *It. Ant.* 485, 5.

duro-, fortress; Ir. *dúr*, 'hard'; gloss. *dúr* est *daingean*, 'fortress'.

cornavii-, 'the promontory folk', *see* Cornăvii, Cornovii: cf. W. Llanfihangel-yng-Nghornwy, Anglesea, or *Cernyw*, 'Cornwall'. Cf. Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 11, *ἀνατολικώτεροι καὶ τελευταῖοι Κορναύιοι*, in Caithness.

The alternative form CORNOVII is found in other versions of Ptolemy's *Κορναύιοι*, the Shropshire tribe, as CORNOVIA, *EE.* vii, 922; CORNOV[IORUM], *JRS.* xiv, 244 and *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 34.

Meaning: 'The fortress of the Cornavii'. The style of name may be compared with the Gallic DUROCAT(UV)ELLAUNI, 'the fortress of the Catuvellauni'.

RATECORION 92. A scribal error for RATAE CORI[TAN]ORUM; RAGE KORITANORUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 20; RATAS, *It. Ant.* 477, 4; RATIS, *ibid.* 479, 3; A RATIS, *CIL.* vii, 1169. Now LEICESTER.

Note the Greek form of genitive plural for the tribal epithet.

1. RATAE:

Derivation: *rate-*, Ir. *rāth*, 'fort', W. *rhawd* in *beddrawd*, 'grave-mound', 'grave'.

Meaning: 'The fort'.

2. CORITANI: the tribe of which RATE was the capital. Cf. CARITANI, in the *agri Decumates*, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 11, 6.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

RAVATONIUM 209. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: [cf. RAVIUS, RAVINA, river-names.

ravat-, Skr. *sravat*, 'stream', O.Ir., *sruaim*, 'stream', W. *ffreu*, 'to flow', *gwaedffreu*, 'slaughter', or *sruta-*, 'flowing', W. *ffrwd*, 'brook', O.Ir. *sruth*, 'brook'.

The river would be [S]RAVATŌNA and the place on it [S]RAVATONIUM. I.W.]

Meaning: The place on the RAVATONA.

RAVONIA 123. A scribal error for BRABONIACUM, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 27; BROVONACIS, *It. Ant.* 467, 4; BRAUNIACUM, *CIL.* viii, 4800. Now Kirkby Thore, Westmorland.

Derivation: cf. BRAVONIUM, *It. Ant.*, 484, 8.

braonach, Gael., 'a muddy, moist place', Watson, 189; cf. W. *brwynog*, 'a place where reeds (*brwyn*) grow'.

-ac-, for this suffix, see EBURACUM.

Meaning: 'The muddy place'. The fort overlooks the crossing of the marshy Troutbeck, a tributary of the Eden.

RAXTOMESSA 268. A river-name on the south coast. Derivation and meaning uncertain.

REGAINA 277. RICINA, 'inter Hiberniam ac Britanniam', Pliny, *NH.* iv, 103, with variants RIGNEA, RIGINEA, RICNEA; RHIKINA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 2, 11, with variant EGGARIKENNA, among the EBUDAE, *ὧν ἡ μὲν δυτικωτέρα καλεῖται Ἔβουδα, ἡ δὲ ἑξῆς αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὁμοίως Ἔβουδα εἶτα Ῥικίνα εἶτα Μαλεός εἶτα Ἐπίδιον*. Usually equated with Rathlin, the Ir. RECHRU. But Ptolemy associates it with Mull (MALEUS). The variant EGGARICENNA suggests, Watson, 37, EGGA and RICENNA, which would suggest EIGG and RUM, the two EBUDAE being COLL and TIREE, and the other islands MULL (MALEUS) and ISLAY (EPIDIUM), the last-named connected with EPIDIUM PROMONTORIUM (Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 1).

Derivation: [cf. W. *rhygnu*, 'to scrape' or 'to saw'; *rhygn-bren*, 'a tally', which suggests *rhygn*, 'notch'. This might suit a rugged island, which has a notched shape. I.W.]

Meaning: 'Notched island'.

RUMABO 190. In Northumberland or Lothian. The word is probably corrupt, owing to loss of an initial consonant, cf. RAVONIA for (B)RAVONIA(CUM); but no emendation suggests itself.

RUTUPIS 73. *Ῥουτούπιαι*, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 27; RUTUPIAS, *Amm. Marc.* xxx, 1, 3, xxvii, 8, 6; PORTUS RUTUPIUS, *It. Mar.* 496; RUTUPIS, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxviii, 9, 19; RITUPIS, *It. Ant.* 463, 4; 466, 5; 472, 6; RATUPIS, *Tab. Peut.*; RŪTŪPĪNŌ, Lucan. vi, 67; Iuvenal, iv, 141; Ausonius, *Par.* 9, 2; RUTUBI, Baeda, *HE.* i, 1. Now Richborough, A.S. REPTACESTER, by metathesis of *t* and *p*.

Derivation: *rūt-* [W. *rhwd*, now meaning 'rust', earlier, filth in general. Cf. *Rūtūba*, Holder, ii, 1257, a river-name, meaning muddy dirty river. I.W.] Here the name is in the plural, and more than one stream does in fact run into the Richborough creek

Meaning: 'The mud flats', or 'muddy creek', as is most appropriate to the site.

SALINIS, 65, 90.

65. On a road from Gloucester north-eastwards, probably DROITWICH, see Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 68, of the natural salt springs in the region of the HWICCAS; the place is called WICCIUM *emptorium* (A.D. 716) and SALTWICH (A.D. 718).

90. In Cheshire, next to CONDATE, NORTHWICH; presumably NANTWICH, similarly famed in early times, cf. D.B.

Derivation: *salinae*, Lat. *salinae*, 'the salt-pans' or 'salt-works': cf. SALINAE (Ptol. *Geogr.* iii, 1, 42) in Gallia

Narbonensis and SALINAE (*ibid.* iii, 8, 7) in Dacia. The other British SALINAE (Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 21) situated in the territory of the Catuvellauni, is not satisfactorily identified.

SANDONIO 85. The place is either between CHESTER and WHITCHURCH, or on a western branch-road. *CIL.* vii, 1212, connected by W. Thompson Watkin, *Roman Cheshire*, 161, with this place, is too uncertain in reading to warrant credence.

Derivation: [If we may read SANTONIO, then cf. *Trisantona*, Santoni, Santones, from the root *sem*, Walde–Pokorny, ii, 487, 'to draw water', cf. O.Ir. *teistiu* (= *to-exs-semtio-n*), 'to pour out', *tawsitiu* = *inundatio*, Lat. *sentīna*, 'bilge-water', W. *gwehynnu* (from *vo-sent*). The *sant* of the proposed name would be from *snt-* which would give W. *hant*. *Santonio* would thus be 'a drained pool'. *Trisantona*, now the river Trent, would be *tri-* intensive, that is, 'water pouring out, i.e. flooding strongly' or 'draining thoroughly' which is very apposite to the Trent.

Ekwall's proposal, *ERN.* 417–18, derives the name Trisantona from a root connected with W. *hynt*, 'path': but this gives -SENTUM, cf. GABROSENTUM, and is therefore unacceptable. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The place on the draining stream'.

SAPONIS 283. A western isle.

Derivation: [A derivation from Lat. *sapo, saponis*, 'soap', is accepted, uncritically, by Keune, *PW*, s.v. SAPONARIA. But a more likely root is *sapus*, contained in M.Bret. *sap*, Bret. *saprenn* (for *sap-prenn*), O.E. *saeppe*, the word for a tree equated with πεύκη and *abies*, i.e. 'pine-tree'. I.W.] The native pine, as opposed to the later imported Douglas fir, still survived in Roman times in the north, see *Arch. Ael.* 1, vol. xix, 40.

Meaning: 'Pine-tree island'; for the form of name, cf. DAROEDA.

SARNA 239. A river placed between the Meavy and the Tamar, south Devon, and probably out of order.

Derivation: cf. SARNUS (the Sarno (Naples), Italy); SARNIS, south of TRENTO, Italy, *Tab. Peut.*

sar-, O.Ir. *sarúa*, 'running', Lat. *sērum*, Gk. ὀρός, 'whey'.

SCETIS 288. SKITIS, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 31. Now Skye, anciently SCIA, Adamnan, *Vit. S. Columb.* i, 33, ii, 26.

Derivation: Watson, 39, connects the name with Gael. *sgian*, Lat. *scindo*, Gk. σκίζω.

Meaning: 'The divided Isle'. This is very suitable for Skye.

SEGLOES 234.

1. Presumably a scribal error for LOCUS SELGO[V]E[N]S[IS], connected with the tribe of the SELGOVAE, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 8. For the abbreviation cf. LUTUDARES, *EE.* ix, 1268. A name among the *diversa loca*, the authorized meeting-place of the Selgovae of Selkirkshire.

2. SELGOVENSIS:

Derivation: [*selg-*, O.Ir. *selg*, 'hunt', W. *hely, hela, hel*, 'to hunt'. Selgovae thus equals 'The Hunters'. The Irish form may be borrowed in the Anglesea place-name *Din-Sylwy*. I.W.]

-ova, suffix, as in Ausoba, Carasova, Comedovae, etc.

Meaning: 'The Hunters', a tribal name.

SEGUNTIO 82. SEGONTIO, *It. Ant.* 482, 5. Now CARNARVON on the SEIONT [an antiquarian and incorrect version of the medieval *Seint* and local *Saint*. I.W.].

Derivation: *sego-*, Ir. *seg*, 'force'.

-ntio-n, participial suffix.

[A typical river-name, and it may be suspected that the Roman fort took its name, as often, from the river upon which it stood. But it is to be noted that the modern W. *Saint* must be derived not from the Celtic name of the river, which would have become *Haint* (cf. *Sabrina*, *Hafren*), but from the Latin or foreign name of the fort, since the Latin initial *s-* is kept. I.W.] Cf. *ERN.* lxxxii, where this point is insufficiently appreciated.

Meaning: 'The forceful river'.

SENUA 269. A river on the south coast.

Derivation and meaning uncertain. But cf. LEUGOSENA above.

SERDUNO 143. SEGEDUNO, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 33. The eastern terminal fort of Hadrian's Wall, now WALLSEND, Northumberland. The corruption may arise from reading *Segodunum* in Greek letters.

Derivation: cf. SEGOBODIUM, SEGOBRIGA, SEGODUNUM.

sego-, 'strong', 'brave', 'bold'.

dunum-, 'fort'. Ir. *dún*, O.W. *din*.

Meaning: 'Strong fort', presumably from an adjacent native work. It is worth note that J. Horsley suspected traces of a native work just north of the site, *Brit. Rom.* 135–6; 'On the north side of the station there are some crooked risings and settlings of the ground, which at first view appeared to me not unlike a round fort or tower, projecting from the station with a triple rampart and ditch.'

SMETRI 168. In southern Scotland, possibly a corrupted doublet of 159.

Derivation: cf. SMERTAE, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 12, a tribal name: ADSMERIUS, ATESMERIUS, RO-SMERTA, SMERTATIUS, SMERTULLUS, SMERTOMARA, SMERTORIX.

smer-, O.Ir. *smir*, Ir. *smior*, G. *smior*, 'marrow'. The word undoubtedly refers to the practice of ritual smearing or anointing, with blood or other liquid, and was evidently applied to folk who practised this upon themselves.

Meaning: There is some reason, in view of the occasional repetition of names in the List, where a road-centre has been repeated, to think that this word may be a fragmentary doublet of SMETRIADUM, which itself appears corrupt. But the name suggests the centre of a tribal sept.

SMETRIADUM 159. In southern Scotland, not far from Hadrian's Wall.

Derivation: see SMETRI.

SOBRICA 287. A western isle, next to Skye.

Derivation: *So-*, an initial *so-* is sufficiently rare to raise doubts concerning its authenticity, and in *Cosmography*, 318, 8, *Sobo-brica* is actually found as a corruption for *Deobriga*.

brĭgā, W. *bre*, 'hill'.

Meaning: The second element, 'hill', is clear: the first element is doubtful, but a god's name would suit the observation in *De defectu oraculorum*, 18, by Demetrius of Tarsus, that these islands were mostly deserted and the abode of spirits (*δαίμονες*).

SODISINAM 272. An Irish river. Holder suggests that this is a conflation, and it is evident that there is some corruption at the beginning of the word since the manuscripts read '*flumina, inter cetera quae dicuntur, id est, et Sodisinam, Cled, Terdec*'. The *et* has here no place, and Holder would read '*id est Ausoba, Sina, Cled, Terdec*'.

1. AUSOBA, cf. AUS-ONA, usually identified as the Galway river.

2. SINA, cf. SĒNOS, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 2. 3. Ir. SINNA, SIONAINN, the Shannon.

STODOION 158. In southern Scotland.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

SUBDOBIADON 197. A fort on the Antonine Wall.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

SUSURA 284. A western isle.

Derivation: cf. MERCURIUS SUSURRIO (*CIL.* xiii, 12005) at Aachen, explained as either an oracular god (Cramer, *R. G. Korr. Blatt*, ix (1916), 49–54) or a wind god (Heichelheim, *PW.* xv, 1, 996) and in any case described by an onomatopoeic word cognate with Lat. *susurrus*, 'a whisper'.

Meaning: 'Whispering island', perhaps in connexion with an oracle.

TABA 232. A meeting-place in the miscellaneous list, presumably connected with the TAY, cf. Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 5, *Ταούα*.

Derivation: *tava* [Med.W. *taw*, 'silent', Mod.W. *tau* 'peaceful', 'calm'. I.W.] Ekwall, *ERN.* 394, rejects this, on the grounds that the rivers TAW and TAY are not in fact either calm or peaceful streams. He would prefer the root *teuā*, *teu*, *tu*, in Gk. *ταύς*, Skr. *taviti*, 'be strong', *tavás-*, 'strong', Ir. *tēo*, 'force', Lith. *tvānas*, 'flood'. This is certainly more likely.

Meaning uncertain; probably 'The strong river'.

TADORITON 162. In southern Scotland, next to CARBANTIUM and MAPORITON.

Derivation: *tata-*, grandfather, W. *tad*, in view of juxtaposition to *Mapo-rit-on*, 'the ford of the son'.

-rit-, W. *rhyd*, O.Co. *rid*, O.Bret. *rit*, 'ford'. J. Schnetz, *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*, iii, 123, notes that although *-riton* is in fact a *-u* stem it changes, when it is the second element in a word, to a neuter *o-* stem, as in *Augusto-ritum*, just as in Latin *portus* changes to *angiportum*.

Meaning: 'The ford of the grandfather'. It is next to the ford of the son or youth. The allusion escapes us, unless it is to the growing size of the river concerned, or, as J. Schnetz suggests (*op. cit.* ii, 231), settlements of grandfather and son.

TAGEA 226. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: [*tegos*, 'house', had a plural *tegesa*, later **tegea*, **tegia*, which gave Med.W. *tei*, Mod.W. *tai*. The word may be from this. I.W.]

Meaning: 'The houses'.

TAMARIS 5, 240.

240 is the Devonshire river Tamar, TAMARUS, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 4.

5 is a place on it, TAMARA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 30.

Derivation: cf. TAMARIS, Mela, iii, 11 now the TAMBRE, Spain; SUPERTAMAR[I]CI, Pliny, *NH.* iv, 111; TAMARUS, *It. Ant.* 103, 1, now the TAMMARO, a tributary of the CALORE (Benevento), Italy.

tam-, this root is uncertain, see *ERN.* 391.

-ar-, a common British suffix, cf. LLAFAR.

Meaning: Usually considered to be 'the dark one', but it is uncertain.

TAMESE 76. TAMESIS, Caes. *BG.* v, 11, 8, 18, 1; TAMESA, Tac. *Ann.* xiv, 32; *Τάμησα*, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, *Ταμέσα*, *Dio Cass.* xl, 3, 1, lx, 20, 21, lxii, 1; TAMENSIS, *Oros.* vi, 9, 6. Between Silchester and Bicester, probably Dorchester on Thames, at the mouth of the Thame. Dorchester, however, was DORCECEASTER, *ASC*, DORCIC or DORCICCEASTRE, Bede, *HE.* iii, 7, iv, 23, evidently derived from British DORCIC = *derk-* (*VCH. Oxford*, i, 289, note 1), see CONDERCO, q.v. It cannot therefore have had this name, which probably records the Thames ferry at this point.

Derivation: *teme-*, 'dark', cf. Skr. *tamasá*, 'dark', *tamisra*, 'darkness', Lith. *tamsus*, 'dark', Lat. *tenebrae*.

Meaning: 'The dark river'.

TAMION 244. A south Welsh river, which, from its position between ISCA (Usk) and AVENTIO (Ewenny), should be the Taff.

Derivation: TAMION should produce a later Welsh form *Tefydd* or *Teif* while W. *Taf* should go back to a form TABA or TAMA. It is possible that TAMIUM is reproducing by mistake a place on the river, probably the Roman fort at Cardiff (cf. NIDUM, LEUCARUM), rather than the river-name; a derivative instead of the original. *ERN.* 393–4, suggests that TAMION may be the TAVY, but this is only a tributary of the TAMAR, and it seems unlikely that a tributary should be mentioned when only principal rivers appear to be in question. The stem is undoubtedly *tam-*, of which the derivation is obscure.

Meaning uncertain.

TERDEC 274. An Irish river. Holder, s.v., suggests a connexion with DOUR, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 2, 3, but this is doubtful and no alternative is obvious.

TERMONIN 17. In Devonshire, north-east of Exeter.

Derivation: cf. TERMES, TERMIDUM; TERMUNES (*CIL.* iii, 5036). The W. loan-word represented in TERFYN and TARVIN, see *ERN.* 392, derived from Lat. *terminus* seems too late. The normal Latin word used in political boundaries is FINES, *terminus* being an agrimensorial word.

Meaning uncertain.

TINEA. The river TYNE, Northumberland. Ptolemy, *Geogr.* ii. 3, 5, in using this name for the Tay, transposed it incorrectly; cf. *Εἰδουμάνιος*, for the Witham.

Derivation: [Walde–Pokorny, ii, 700 cites root *tā . . . ti*, 'to melt', 'to flow'. With *-na* suffix the latter would give Tina, cf. Old Bulgar. and Russ. *tina*, 'mud', 'mire'. I.W.] Cf. *ERN.* 426.

Meaning: 'The flowing stream'.

TRAXULA 236. A river-name in southern Britain, preceding the AXE, and presumably the TEST, O.E. TERSTA.

Derivation: [Ekwall, *ERN.* 401, suggests an original TREST, cognate with W. *tres*, and *trenn*, from **treksno*: cf. Holder, ii, 1, 11, on *trēnos*, where Ir. *trén*, 'strong', 'swift', is explained as *trexno-*, its comparative being *tressa* (from *treksios*) and superlative *tressam* (from *treksamos*). But the Welsh corresponding to the positive is *Trenn*, an early river-name. Since then *-ks-* becomes *-ch-* in Welsh, *trech* and *trechaf* correspond to Ir. *tressa* and *tressam*, which gets farther away from Ekwall's *tres*. Cf. then rather Walde–Pokorny, i, 759, W. *trochi* (= *tronks*) from the root *trenq*, 'to wash', 'bathe', or *trwnc* (= *trónq*), 'urine', used for washing by the Celts. *Traxula* might then mean 'washing-pool or river'. I.W.] Cf. such a name as Washbrook, *ERN.* 438.

Meaning: The washing stream.

TRIMUNTIUM 183. For TRIMONTIUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 8, [TRI]MONTI M(*ilia*) P(*assuum*) *CIL.* vii, 1085, *EE.* ix, p. 620, in the territory of the Selgovae. The Roman fort at NEWSTEAD, near MELROSE, Roxburghshire.

Derivation: Lat. *Tri-montium*, 'the place of the triple-peaks', as Roy conjectured, *Military Antiquities*, 116. Cf. TRIMONTIUM, Pliny, *N.H.* iv, 41, 'oppidum sub Rhodope Poneropolis olim, mox a conditore Philippopolis, nunc a situ Trimontium dicta'. A coin of the town, shows triple peaks, but these are not the local trio (*Syll. Numm. Graec.* iv, pl. xxxi, no. 1766). At Newstead the triple-peaked Eildon Hills are a landmark seen from all over south-east Scotland.

Meaning: 'The place of the triple peaks'.

TUESSIS 212. TUESSIS, *Τούαισις*, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 13, at the mouth of the river of the same name, among the VACOMAGI. In northern Scotland, the river being identified with the Spey (Watson, 49).

Derivation: *teuā*, *tu-*, cf. Skr. *tavás*, 'powerful', *távisi*, 'power', *ERN.* 423.

Meaning: 'Strong, powerful river'.

UGRULENTUM 208. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall. A connexion with the PORTUS TRUCCULENSIS of Tac. *Agric.* 38, has been suggested, but without cogency, for in the manuscripts of the *Agricola* the initial TRUTU- has the best authority, and is supported by such a name as TRUTOBRIGA.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

UGUESTE 219. In northern Scotland, at four removes from the Dee, probably connected with UGIE water.

Derivation: cf. UCUETIS, Goddess's name, UCETIA, mod. UZÈS or UGIA, *CIL.* xi, 3281–4.

Meaning uncertain.

UTRICONION CORNOVIORUM 79. For VIRICONIUM CORNOVIORUM.

1. VIROCONIUM: VIROCONIUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 19; URIOCONIO, *It. Ant.* 469, 6; VIROCONIUM, VIRICONIO, *ibid.* 482, 9, 484, 9. Now Wroxeter, Shropshire, the tribal capital of the Cornovii.

Derivation: [see Stevenson, *Y Cymmrodor*, xxi, 58–60, who observes that the A.S. WREOCEN postulates a Celtic *Wrikon*, which in fact occurs in Nennius as CAIR GURICON, with variants GUORICON, GRUCON: cf. Brychan's daughter, *Gurycon Godheu* (*Lives of the British Saints*, iii, 216). See also *Canu Llywarch Hen*, 230, where the name *Dinlleu Ūreconn* is discussed. There is no doubt of the connexion of the name with the Wrekin.

Meaning: There is a Med.W. verb *gwrygio* which (according to Davies) means *augere, crescere, vigere, virescere, revirescere*. He quotes a popular use of this verb for a person convalescing. So *Gwrygon* may correspond to the personal name given by Holder (iii, 379) *Virico(n)*. VIRICONIUM would be a fortress of a prince called Viricon, or else the fortress on the WREKIN, so called because it was a strong hill. I.W.]

2. CORNOVII, see PUROCORONAVIS.

UXELA 169. UXELLUM, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 8, among the SELGOVAE, in southern Scotland.

Derivation: W., Co. *uchel*, M.Bret. *uc'hel*, Bret. *huel*, 'high', Ir. *uasal*, gloss. *nobilis*. The word no doubt has both meanings, being applied to both hills and streams, or deities (cf. *CIL.* xii, 387, DEO UXELLO).

Meaning: 'The lofty' or 'noble place'.

UXELIS 13. In Devonshire. The identification with UXELLA, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 3, which is placed in Cornwall, seems unlikely. Equally uncertain would be a connexion with the Somersetshire AXE, Ptolemy's VEXALLA. The name is too common to permit a satisfactory identification.

Derivation: W., Co. *uchel*, M.Bret. *uc'hel*, Bret. *huel*, 'high', Ir. *uasal*, glossed '*nobilis*', cf. DEO UXELLO, *CIL.* xii, 387.

Meaning: 'High' or 'noble', applied to hills and streams or their divinities.

UXELLUDAMO 152. For UXELLODUNUM, UXELODUM, *CIL.* vii, 1291: AXELODUNO, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 49. The correct form is no doubt UXELLODUNUM, as in Gaul. In the Rudge Cup, the name comes next to CAMBOGLANNA, now BIRDOSWALD, on Hadrian's Wall, and is presumably the next fort westwards, namely, CASTLESTEADS, the twelfth fort from the east. The old identification, with Maryport, based upon the Notitia garrison, *cohors I Hispanorum*, is not valid, since this cohort was not at Maryport when the Notitia was compiled (*CW.*^{2} xxxix, 225).

Derivation: *uxello-*, 'high', see UXELA.

-dunum-, 'fort', Ir. *dún*, O.W. *din*.

Meaning: 'High fort': Castlesteads stands on a high bluff overlooking the CAMBECK.

VALTERIS 127. VERTERAE, *It. Ant.* 467, 5; 476, 4; VERTERIS, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 26. Now BROUGH-UNDER-STAINMORE, Westmorland.

Derivation: [Stokes, followed by Holder, s.v., and Watson, 69, connected the word with W. *gwerthyr*, 'fortress', and Skr. *vártra*, 'a dyke' or 'dam', but it is doubtful whether the word in this sense really exists in Welsh. Davies, 1632, knows nothing of it. But there is a *gwarther* in medieval Welsh poetry and a hero, GWYNN GWARTHER, cf. GWARTHER FAB, son of Madawg, Prince of Powys, *Myv. Arch.* 160*a*: this seems to be from *gwor-* 'over', *vor*, *super*, cf. *gwarthaf*, 'top, summit', a superlative form, as *rhag* (preposition), 'in front', and from it *rhacter*, 'front', cf. Ifor Williams, *Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.* (1939), xxi, 293, suggesting that *gwarther* is a similar formation. In this case the name would mean 'summit'. I.W.]

Meaning: Probably 'summit'; this is a very suitable name for Brough-under-Stainmore which crowns a bold and isolated bluff above the Swindale Beck.

VELOX 271. A river-name in southern Britain.

Derivation: Lat. *velox*, 'swift', if this is the correct form. Holder, s.v., thought it might be a corruption of UXELO. No certainty is attainable.

Meaning: 'The swift river', if the form is correct.

VELUNIA 191. A fort on the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: if the true form should be VELLAUNIA, see Holder, iii, 149, *vellaunos*. On the other hand, the word may be connected with a stream-name akin to WELLOW, *ERN.* 447, which Ekwall derives from **velu-*, Ir. *fillim*, Lat. *volvo*, Gk. *ἐλύω*, cf. W. *gwelw*, 'pale blue', used of 'turned milk'.

If so, it must be Balmuildy at the Kelvin crossing, a very winding river.

Meaning: Perhaps, 'the place on the winding stream'.

VELURCION 149. BORCOVICIO, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xl, 40; VER-, *EE.* vii, 1041. Now Housesteads, the eighth fort from the east on Hadrian's Wall. The form of the name is highly uncertain, but the inscription seems to authenticate an initial VER-; Haverfield, *ad loc.*, quotes Mommsen as having suggested VERCOVICIUM. The Ravennas form is obviously corrupt, but the corruptions are understandable if arising from *Vercovicium* written in Greek. From *Bercovicium* to *Borcovicium* is easy enough.

Derivation: *verco-*, cf. VERCO, VERCIUS, VERCONIUS, VERCONNIUS. This would suggest *vergo-*, 'effective', as in *Vergobret*, etc., which is not promising. *Berco-*, for *bergo-*, is more likely, from Co., Bret. *bern*, W. *bera*, *bryn*, 'hill'.

vicio-, cf. DELGOVICIA, connected with W. suffix *-wig* as in *coed-wig*, 'forest'.

Meaning: 'Hilly place', or the like.

VENTA 41, 48, 103.

41. VENTA VELGAROM, for VENTA BELGARUM, *It. Ant.* 478, 2; 483; 486, 11. Now WINCHESTER.

48. VENTA SLURUM, for VENTA SILURUM, *It. Ant.* 485, 9; CIVITAS SILURUM, *EE.* ix, 1012. Now CAERWENT.

103. VENTA CENOMUM, for VENTA ICINORUM, *It. Ant.* 479, 10, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 11. Now CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH.

1. VENTA. GYNAECII VENTENSIS, *Not. Dign. Occ.* xi, 60, referring to VENTA BELGARUM, as Haverfield pointed out (*VCH. Hampshire*, i, 292); Bede, *H.E.* iii, 7, VENTA CIVITAS.

Derivation: [*venta*, cf. W. *gwent*. I suggest that *gwent* in Welsh meant 'field'. *Cadwent* occurs for battle, and since *cad-* itself means 'battle or 'host', *-went* can mean field. *Llinwent* in Mid-Wales is *llin-*, 'flax', with an element *-went*, which should mean 'field'. *Arddunwent*, in which Arddun is a woman's name, is naturally explained as 'Arddun's field'.

Meaning: 'field', with perhaps secondary meaning 'market-place', cf. *magos*, s.v. CESAROMAGO. I.W.]

2. BELGAE, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 13.

Derivation: *belg-*, Ir. *bolgaim*, O.H.G., *belgan*, M.H.G. *belgen*, 'to bulge', 'to be puffed with rage'? cf. Belgius or *βόλγιος*, Pausan. x, 19, 7, Kings of the Celts in Macedonia, 280 B.C.

3. SILURES, Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 24; Tac. *Agric.* 11, 17, *Ann.* xii, 32, 33, 39, 40; Frontinus, *Stratagem.* i, 5, 26; Pliny, *NH.* iv, 103; *EE.* ix, 1012 CIVIT(AS) SILURUM; *CIL.* ii, 5923, SILUR; cf. Avienus, *Or. Marit.* 433, *Silurus mons*, interesting in view of the Spanish connexion suggested by Tacitus; *Silura*, Solinus, *Coll.* 22, 7, 9.

4. ICENI, Tac. *Ann.* xii, 31, 32, xiv, 31–7; Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 11; cf. ICINOS, *It. Ant.* 474, 6, apparently referring to the tribal boundary.

VENUTIO 182. In southern Scotland, next to TRIMONTIUM, perhaps a post near Channelkirk.

Derivation: VENUTIUS is the name of a Brigantian chief in Tac. *Hist.* iii, 45. Holder and others derive from *veni-*, Ir. *fin*, 'family', *fin-galach*, 'family feud', O.Bret. *co-guenon* glossed *indigena*, Bret. *go-venn*, *go-ven*, 'race'. Cf. VENICLUTIUS, VENIMARUS, VENICARUS.

Meaning: The place of Venutius. A connexion with the historical Venutius need not be postulated.

VERATINO 87. Near LUTUDARON, in Derbyshire, probably between it and MEDIOLANUM, near Whitchurch, Cheshire. Perhaps ROCESTER or UTTOXETER. The association with WARRINGTON, Lancs., is illusory, see Ekwall, *Place-names of Lancashire*, 96.

Derivation: cf. VERATIACUS; PAGAN VERAT, *CIL.* v, 3249. The most obvious explanation seems to be the root *ver-* 'to wet', W.P. i, 268, Skr. *vari*, 'water', Ir.

feraim, 'I pour', and *ferad*, 'wetness'. But there are many roots in *uer*- from which to choose.

Meaning uncertain.

VERNILIS 8. In Devon, east of the Tamar.

Derivation: cf. VERNODUBRON.

verno-, 'alder', Ir. *fern*, W. *gwern*, O.Bret. *uuern*. Bret. *guernenn*.

-ilis, cf. ILA, Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, from the root *il*, *eil*, 'to hasten', Germ. *eilen*, 'haste', M.L.G. *ilich*, 'flowing'.

Meaning: 'Flowing amid alders'.

VEROMO 206. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: The word is corrupt, cf. ICCIOMO, ARGENTOMUS, NOVIOMUM, ROTOMUM, RODOMUM, where *-omo-* is hypocoristic for *-o-mago*.

1. It might be VEROMAGUS, in which the first element would be *vero*-, Ir. *fiar*, W. *gwyr*, Bret. *gwar*, 'curve' and the second *-magus*, Ir. *magh*, W. *ma*, as in *Gwynfa*, 'field'.

This seems preferable to

2. VEROMO for VERNEMETO, which is shortened in *It. Ant*. 477, 5 into VEROMETO. For to postulate the shortening of a form already hypocoristic seems bad method.

Meaning uncertain.

VERTEVIA 14. In Devon, near the Exe.

Derivation and meaning uncertain.

VERTIS 64. On a northward road from GLEBON COLONIA to SALINAE (Droitwich).

Derivation: cf. VERT-AVUS, presumably from the root *vert*-, 'to turn', Lat. *vertere*, *di-vertio*, etc.

Meaning: The word might refer to a stream or river that had a sharp turn, or turns.

VICTORIE 224. VICTORIA, Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, 9, in the territory of the DAMNONII.

Derivation: Lat. *victoria*, 'victory'. Cf. VICTORIAE MONS, Livy xxiv, 14; VICTORIAE PORTUS, Pliny, *NH*. iv, 34.

Meaning: 'of Victory'. The missing substantive is probably CASTELLUM, cf. CASTELLUM VICTORIAE, *ILS*. 5961, *CIL*. viii, 8369. The reference is no doubt to one of the early Roman victories in Scotland. It is, however, hardly far enough north for that of the MONS GRAUPIUS, see *JRS*. xxxiv, 42.

VINDOLANDE 132. VINDOLANA, *Not. Dign. Occ*. xl, 41; VINDOLANDESSES, *Brit. Acad. Suppl. Papers*, 3, *Roman Britain in 1913*, 33–4. Now CHESTERHOLM, Northumberland.

Derivation: *vindo*-, Ir. *find*, W. *gwyn*, white, fair, blessed.

-landa, Ir. *land*, W *llan*, Bret. *lann*, 'enclosure'.

Meaning: 'White Close': as Mr. Eric Birley remarks (*Arch. Ael*.^{4} viii, 194) 'in the early morning sunlight, such a name would be more appropriate than it seemed to Haverfield'.

VINDOVALA 145. VINDOBALA, *Not. Dign. Occ*. xl, 36. Now RUTCHESTER, the fourth fort from the east on Hadrian's Wall.

Derivation: cf. VINDOBRIGA, VINDOBONA, VINDOGLADIA, VINDOLANDA, etc.

vindo-, Ir. *find*, W. *gwyn*, 'white'.

-vala, hardly *vālo-n*, O.Ir. *fál*, 'hedge, fence', O.W. *gwawl* (*guaul*), 'wall', which appears to be a loan-word from Latin. The root *ual*- or *val*-, 'to be strong', as in Lat. *valeo*, Germ. *Gewalt*, W. *Cad-wal-adr*, *Cynwal*, *Buddwal*, is more promising.

Meaning: 'The white strength', perhaps originally referable to Whitchester, the native fort half a mile north-west of the Roman site.

VINION 282. A western isle. Derivation and meaning uncertain: but see VINOVIA.

VINOVIA 134. VINNOVIUM, Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, 16; VINOVIA, *It. Ant*. 465, 1; VINOVIE[NSI], *CIL*. vii, 427. Now BINCHESTER, Co. Durham.

Derivation: There is no evidence for a shortened form VINO- for VINDO- whence W. *gwynn*, 'white, fair, blessed', through VINO- as an element is well attested. A possibility is indicated in *ERN*. 449, where, in such river-names as WENT, WENFRITH, WENDOVER, and WINDRUSH, the root *ven*- is suggested.

ven-, W. *gwen*, 'a smile', *gwenu*, 'to smile', Lat. *Venus*, O.E. *Wynn*, 'delight'.

-ovio, cf. W. *-wy*.

Meaning: 'The pleasant spot'. Weardale here does smile, in broad sunny slopes.

VIROLANIUM 96. VER, VERL, VIRL, VERLAMIO, on Belgic coins, Wheeler, *Verulamium*, 224–5, quoting G. C. Brooke; cf. Allen, *Archaeologia*, xc, 14; VERULAMIUM, Tac. *Ann*. xiv, 33; VEROLAMIO, *It. Ant*. 471, 3; VEROLAMI, *ibid*. 476, 8; VEROLAMO, *ibid*. 479, 8; VROLANIUM, Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, 21. Now ST. ALBAN'S, A.S. VERLAMACEASTER.

Derivation: McClure, *British Place-names*, 39–40 (cf. Holder, iii, 249) quotes Stokes in favour of *veru*- = Gk. ἐυρυ-, 'broad' = Walde–Pokorny, i, 285 *uer*, 'broad', 'wide'. But this meaning does not occur in Welsh names, where *ver*- is normally a prefix *ver*- = (*s*)*uper* = ὑπερ = W. *gwor*, *gor*, usually with intensive meaning. The important element is thus *lām* or *lām*; Holder (iii, 250) suggesting *lāma* = W. *llaw*(*f*), 'hand', though this makes little sense. We therefore turn to Walde–Pokorny, ii, 385, which has *lāmo* or *ulāmo*, 'slimy', cf. Lat. *lāma*, 'a pool, puddle, morass'.

Meaning: 'Above the pool' or 'marsh', which would admirably describe the situation, see Wheeler, *op. cit*., 14.

VIVIDIN 261. A river-name in East Anglia.

Derivation: cf. VIVI-SCI.

vivo-, for BIVO-, cf. Bret. *biu*, W. *byw*, 'lively', Gk. βίος, 'life', Lat. *vivus*.

Meaning: 'The lively river'.

VOLITANIO 192. A fort on the Antonine Wall.

Derivation: *vo-*, O.Ir. *fo-*, glossed '*sub*', O.W. *guo*, *go*, 'rather, somewhat', Lat. *s-ub*, Gk. *ὑπό*.

litano-, Ir. *lethan*, W. *llydan*, 'large, broad', cf. gloss '*silva vasta*'.

-io(*n*), suffix.

Meaning: 'The rather broad place.' It might refer to the rather notable small plateau upon which the fort at Cadder stands (*Roman Wall in Scotland*^{2}, pl. xxvii).

VORAN 227. In Scotland, north of the Antonine Wall. The name can hardly be complete as it stands, and it is impossible to say whether we have the beginning or the end: if the former, cf. VORANICCA, *CIL*. v, 466, a personal name. Any connexion with CARVORAN, anc. CAER FORWYNN (Maiden Castle) is illusory.

YPOCESSA 60, see EPOCESSA.

ZERDOTALIA, see ERDOTALIA.

APPENDIX

ISLAND NAMES FROM SECTION V, 30

INSENOS. No other form of this name is known. Derivation and meaning uncertain.

MALACA probably for MALAIA or MALAEA, Ptolemy's *Μαλαῖος*, *Geogr*. ii, 2, 11, now Mull.

Watson, 38, suggests a connexion with W. *mawl* 'praise', or Slav. *iz-moleti* = '*eminere*'. But this is not convincing, though it would suit Mull well enough.

TANIATIDE, the TANATUS of Solinus, 22, 8, TANATOS, Bede.

tanat- O.W., O.Co., O.Bret. *tanet-*, 'enflammé', from O.Ir. *tene*, W. *tan* 'fire'; Ekwall, *ERN*. 391, compares the personal name TANET (*Lib. Lan*. 201); he also suggests (*Dict. Eng. Place-names*, s.v.) that the reference is to 'bright island' or 'fire island' from a beacon or lighthouse: but the fire may have been something else.

Meaning: 'bright island' or 'fire island'.

VECTIS, *Οὐηκτίς*, Ptol. *Geogr*. ii, 3, 33: VECTIS, Pliny, *NH*. iv, 16, 30, Sueton. *Vespas*. 4: VECTA, Eutropius, vii, 19, *Panegyr*. v, 15.

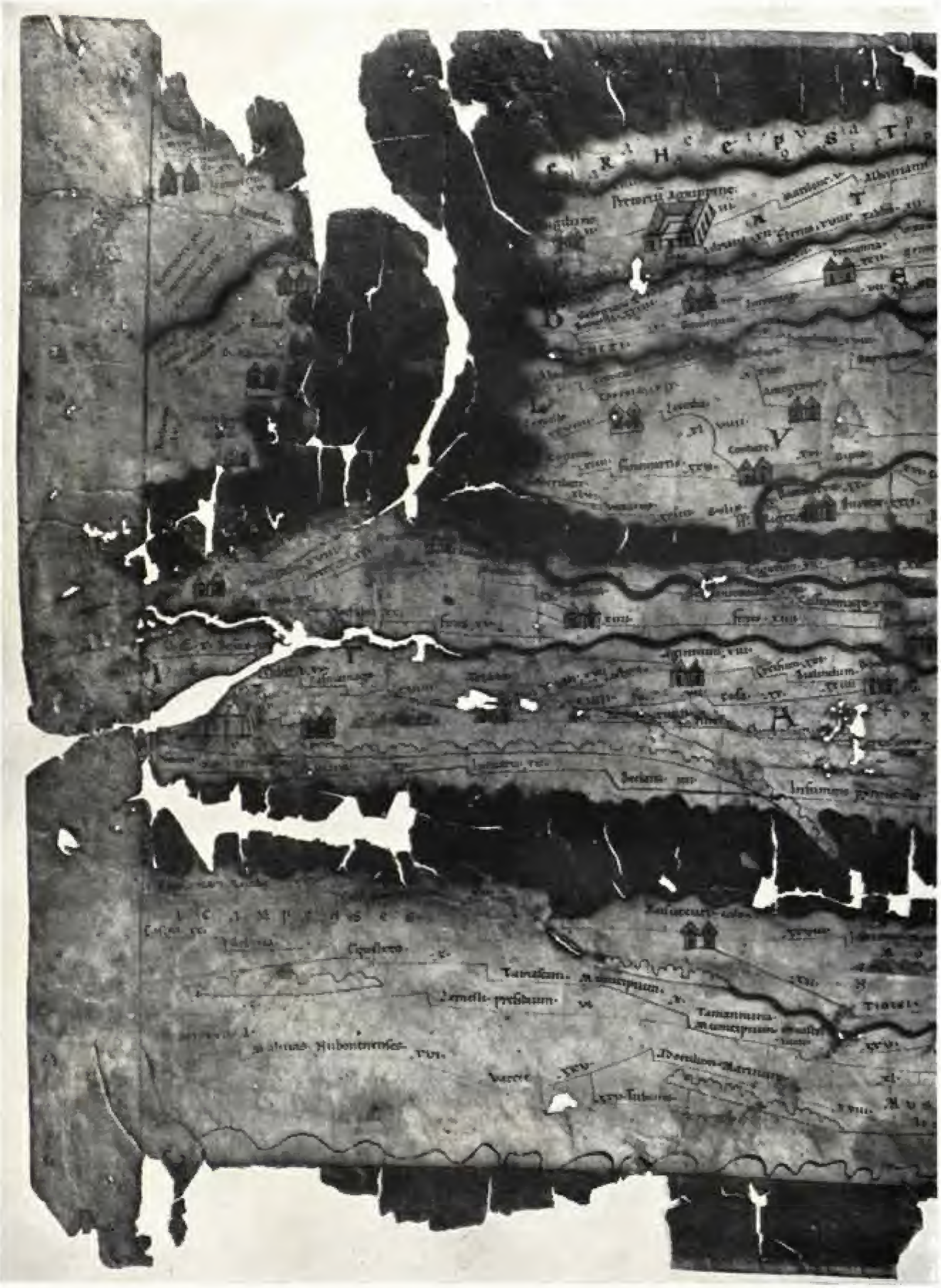
Forster (*Der Flussname Themse und seine Sippe*, Munich 1938) cites Mommsen, *Nennius* (*Mon. Germ. Hist*. xiii, 1), 148, *n*. 2, for the gloss *insulam* GUEID *vel* GUITH, *quod latine* divorcium *dici potest*. This may be connected with W. *gwaith* (fem.) 'course, turn, time': and the situation of Wight, in the fork of the Solent, would suit such a derivation uncommonly well, as is pointed out by H. Kökeritz, *The Place-names of the Isle of Wight* (Uppsala, 1940).

W. *gwaith* (masc.) 'work', adduced by Ekwall (*Dict. Eng. Place-names*, s.v. Wight) is much less promising.

Meaning: The 'fork' or 'divide'.

14719

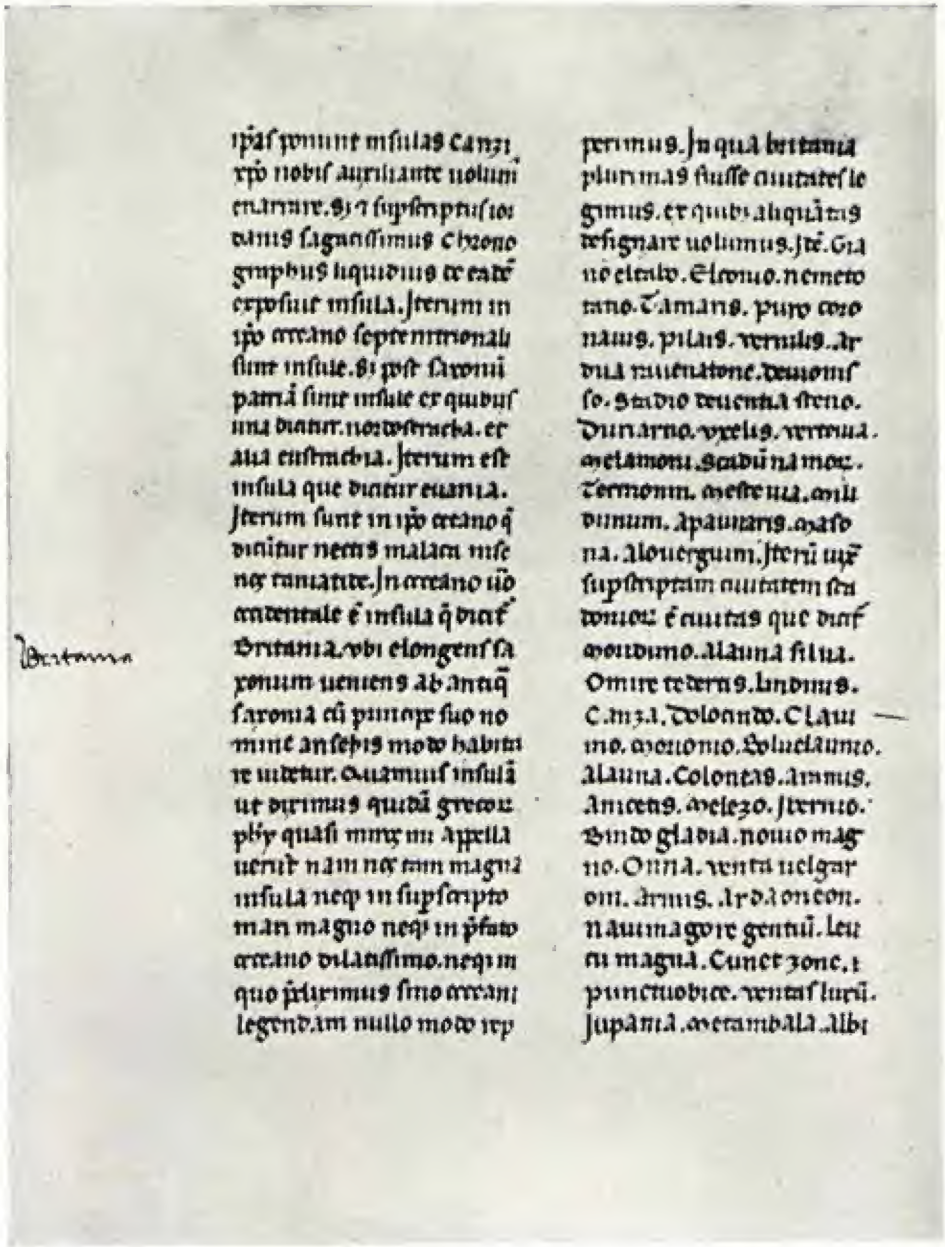
PLATE I



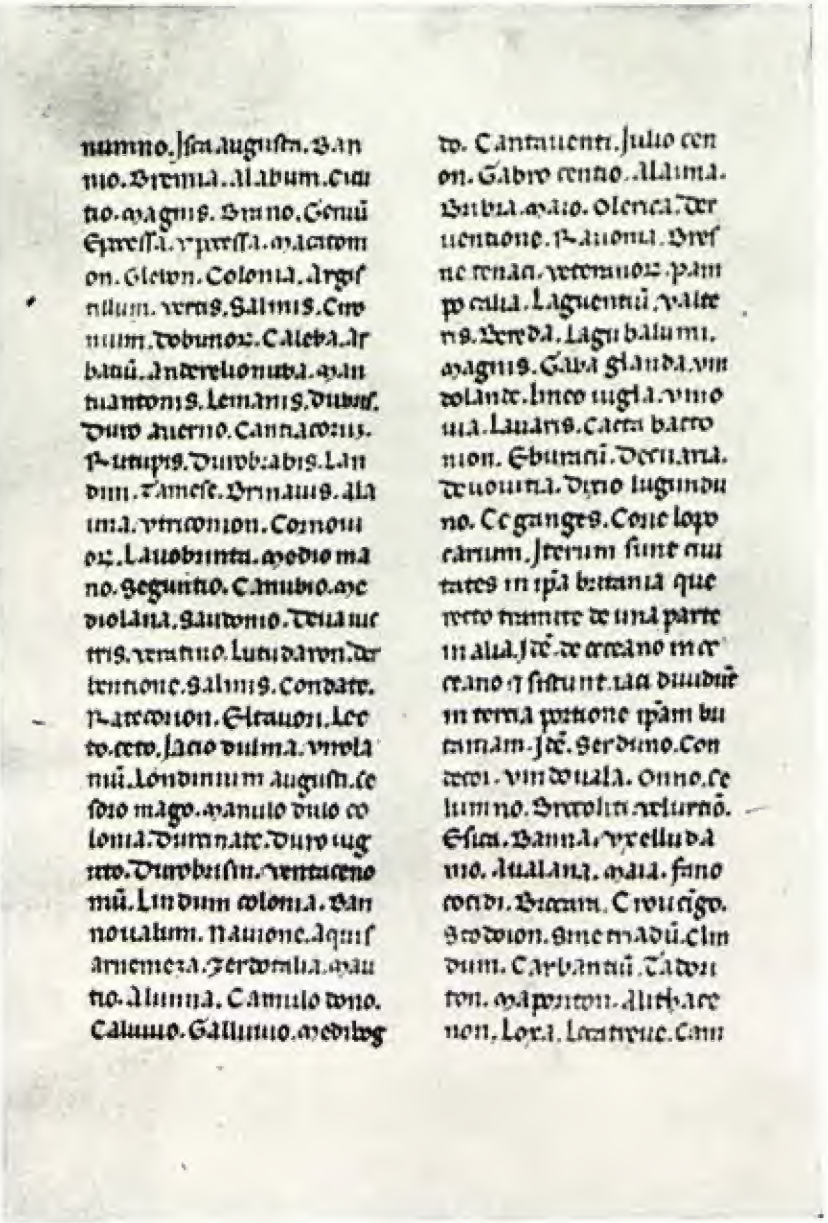
The Peutinger Map (*Tabula Peutingeriana*): the surviving left-hand portion, showing in the top left-hand corner the south coast of Britain. The rest of Britain, Spain and Africa was on a lost sheet further to the left

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

PLATE II

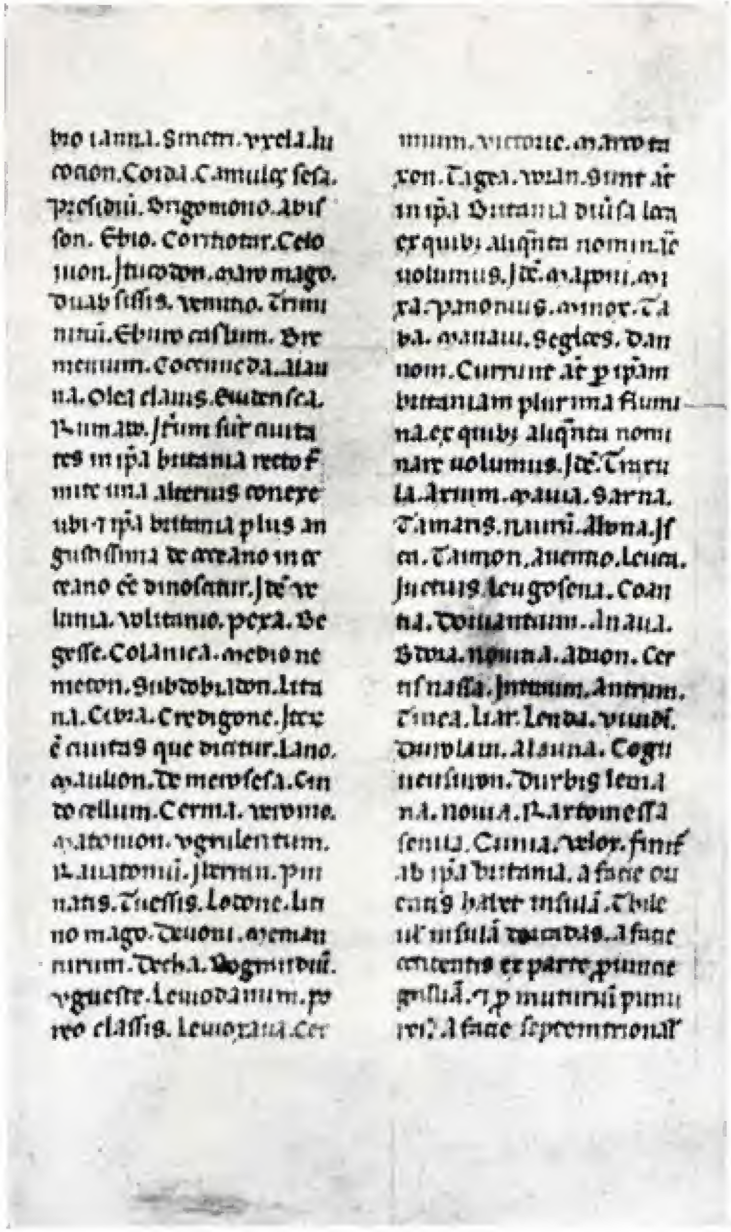


Cod. Vatican. Urb. Lat. 961, fol. 45 *v*. The Vatican Library

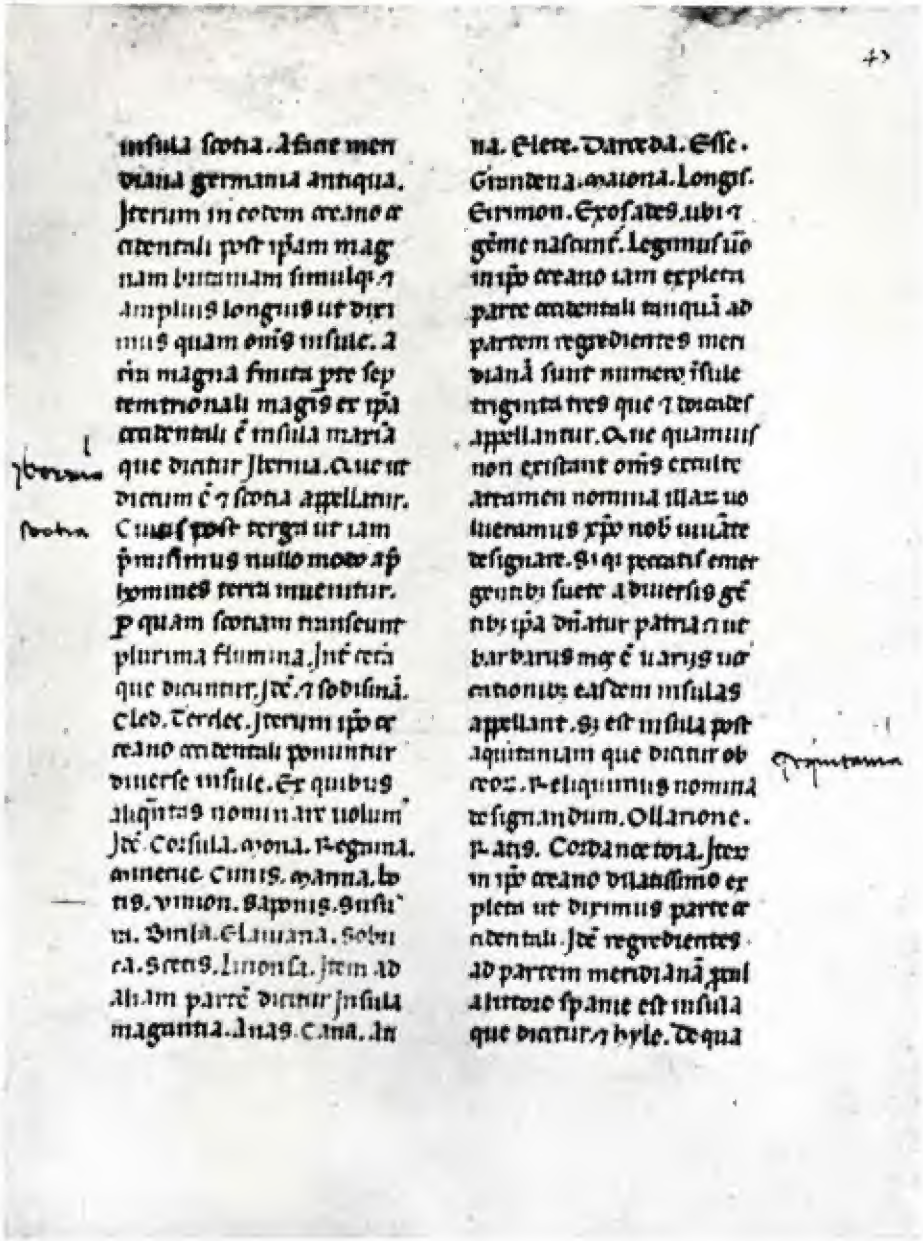


Cod. Vatican. Urb. Lat. 961, fol. 46 *r*. The Vatican Library

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



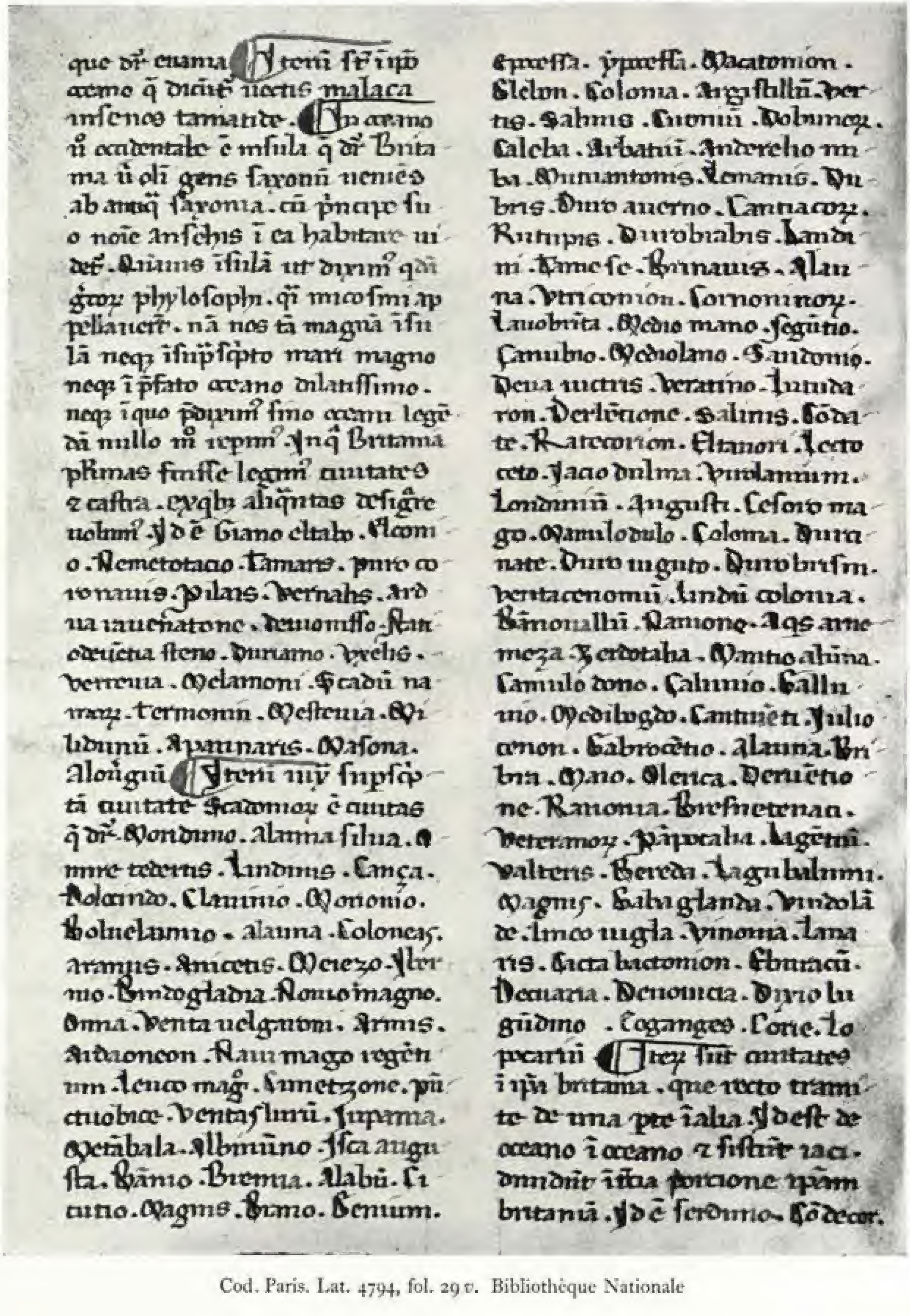
Cod. Vatican. Urb. Lat. 961, fol. 46 *v*. The Vatican Library



Cod. Vatican. Urb. Lat. 961, fol. 47 *r*. The Vatican Library

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

PLATE IV

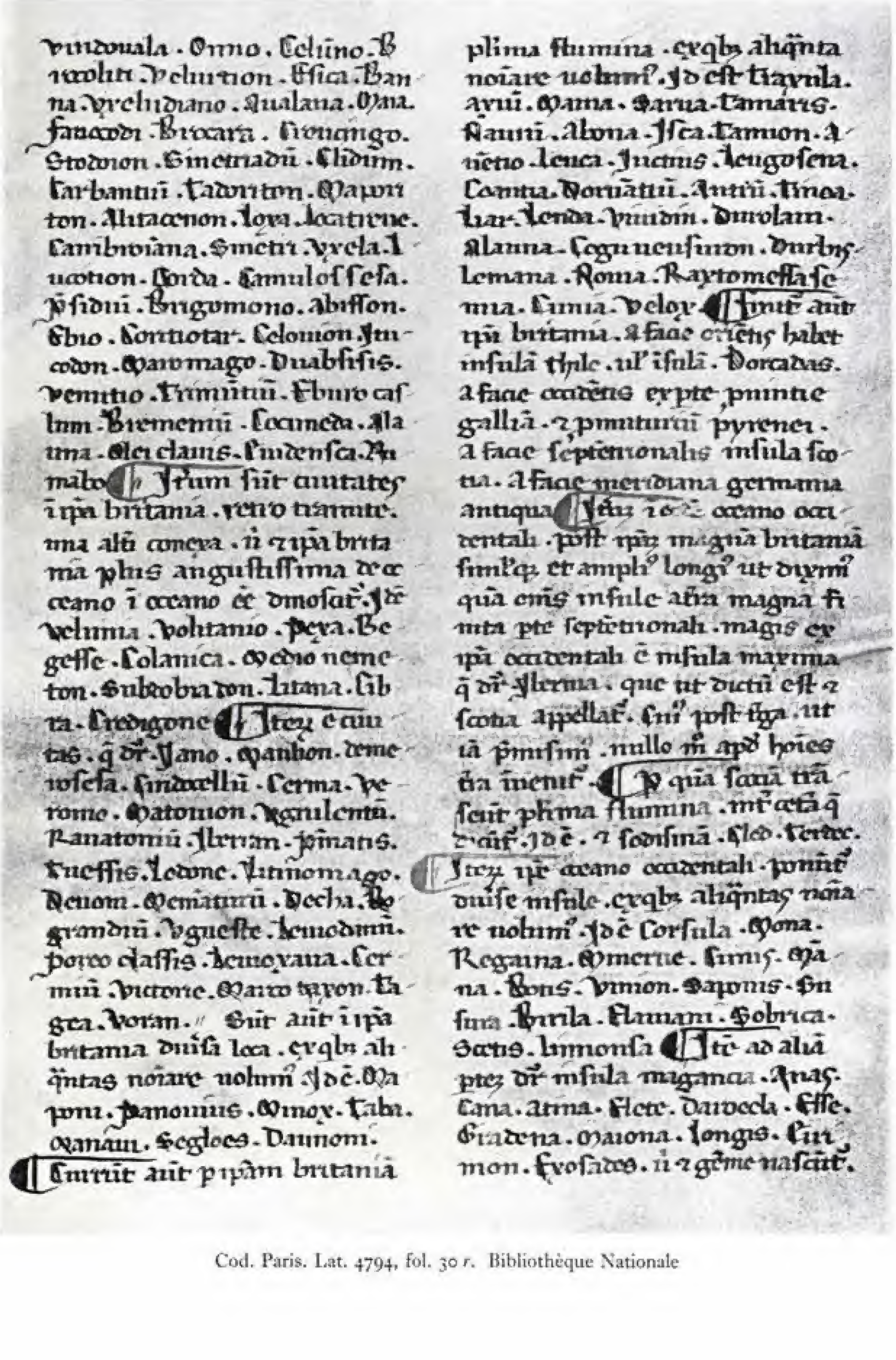


que dr̄ euania. Iteni sr̄ ī ipō
oceno q̄ dicit̄ uectis malaca
insenos tamande. In oceano
ū occidentale ē insula q̄ dr̄ Brita
nia ū oli gens saxonū ueniēs
ab antiq̄ saxonia. cū p̄ncipe su
o noīe Ansehis ī ea habitare ui
det̄. Quā nos īsulā ut diximꝰ qdā
grecorꝫ phylosophi. q̄ micosmi ap
pellauerit̄. nā nos tā magnā īsu
lā neq; īsup̄scripto mari magno
neq; ī p̄fato oceano dilatissimo.
neq; ī quo p̄diximꝰ sino oceani legē
dā nullo m̄ repimꝰ. In q̄ Brittania
plurimas fuisse legimꝰ ciuitates
⁊ castra. ex q̄bꝫ aliq̄ntas designare
uolumꝰ. Id ē Giano eltabo. Elcom
o. Nemetotacio. Tamaris. puro co
ronauis. Pilais. Vernalis. Ard
ua rauenatone. Deuionisso. Stan
oderuena steno. Durnano. Vxelis.
Verteuia. Melamoni. Scadū na
morꝫ. Termonin. Mesteuia. Mi
lidunū. Apaunaris. Masona.
Alouiguī. Iteni iux̄ sup̄scrip
tā ciuitate Scadunorꝫ ē ciuitas
q̄ dr̄. Mondumo. Alauna silua. A
mnre tederis. Lindinis. Canca.
Nolonnao. Clauinio. Morionio.
Bolnelaunio. Alauna. Colonecꝫ.
Aranus. Anicetis. Metezo. Iter
mo. Bindogladia. Noiuomagno.
Onna. Venta uelgarom. Armis.
Ardaoneon. Rauimago regēti
um. Leuco mag̊. Cunetzone. Pū
ctuobice. Venta silurū. Iupania.
Metambala. Albinūno. Isca augu
sta. Bānio. Bremia. Alabū. Ci
cutio. Magnis. Bramo. Benium.

Epocessa. ypocessa. Macatonion.
Glebon. Colonia. Argistillū. Ver
tis. Salinis. Cunonii. Dolmnecꝫ.
Calcha. Arbanū. Anderelio nu
ba. Mutuantonis. Lemanis. Du
bris. Duro auerno. Cantiacorꝫ.
Rutupis. Durobrabis. Landi
ni. Tamese. Brinauis. Alau
na. Vtriconion. Cornoniorꝫ.
Lauobrinta. Medio mano. Segūtio.
Canubio. Mediolano. Sandonio.
Deua uictris. Veratino. Lutuda
ron. Derbentione. Salinis. Conda
te. Ratecorion. Eltanori. Lecto
ceto. Iacio dulma. Virolanium.
Londiniū. Augusti. Cesaro ma
go. Camulodulo. Colonia. Duro
lite. Duro uiguto. Durobrisin.
Ventacenomū. Lindū colonia.
Bānouallū. Navione. Aqs arne
meza. Zerdotalia. Mantio alūna.
Camulodono. Calunio. Galla
uio. Medibogdo. Cantiueti. Iulio
cenon. Gabrocentio. Alauna. Bri
bra. Maio. Olerica. Derueutio
ne. Ramonia. Bresnetenaci.
Veteranorꝫ. Pāpocalia. Lagētiū.
Valteris. Bereda. Lagubalium.
Magnis. Gabaglanda. Vindolā
de. Lineo uigla. Vinouia. Lana
tis. Caccabactonion. Eburacū.
Decuaria. Deuouicia. Dixio lu
gūdino. Cogangeos. Corie. Lo
pocarū. Iterꝫ sūt ciuitates
ī ipā britania. que recto trami
te de una pte ī alia. Id est de
oceano ī oceano ⁊ sistunt iaci.
dinandiut ī ipsa portione ipām
britaniā. Id ē Serduno. Codecor.

Cod. Paris. Lat. 4794, fol. 29 v. Bibliothèque Nationale

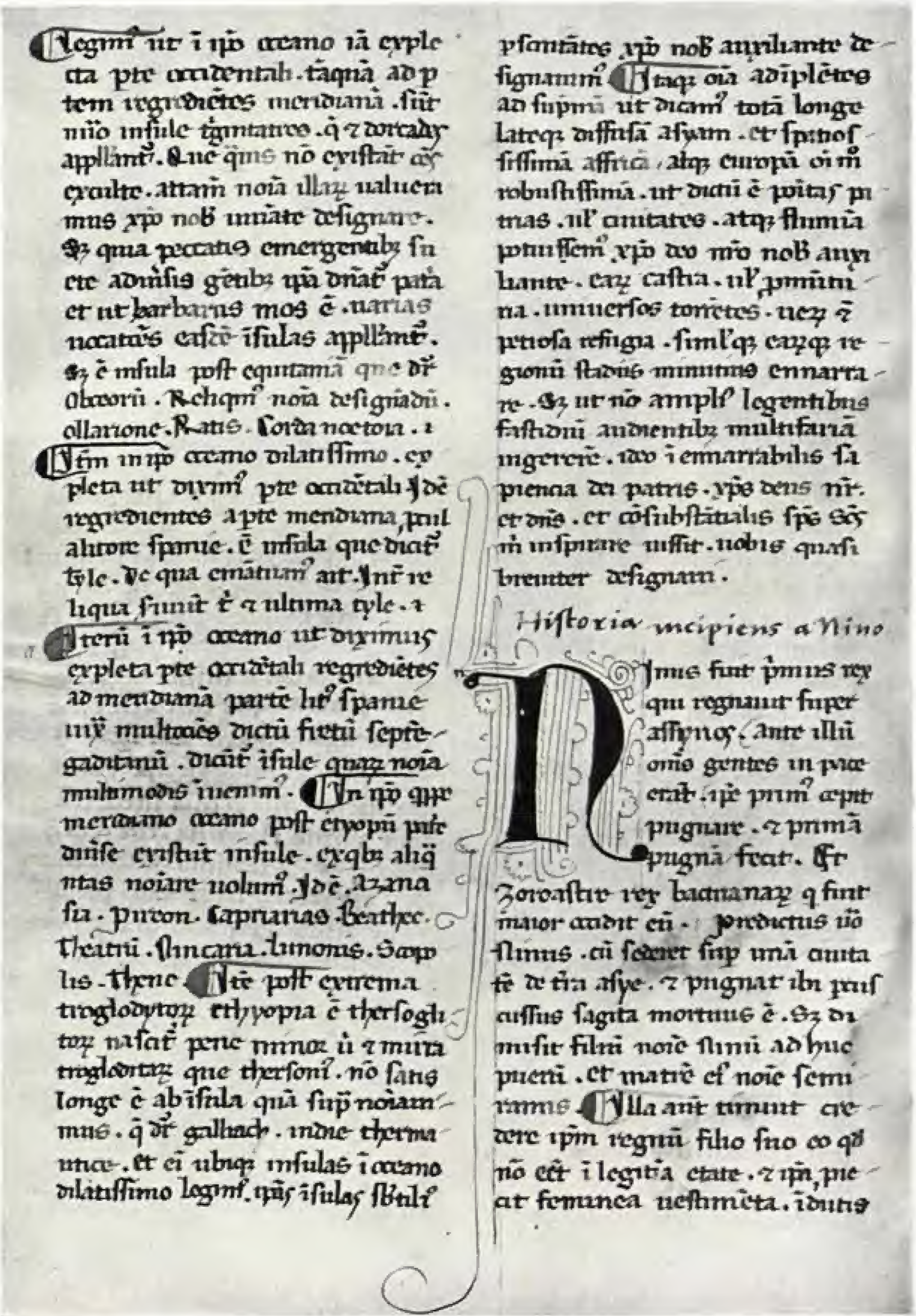
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



vindouala . Onno . Celuno . B
rocoliti . Velurtion . Essica . Ban
na . Vxelludiano . Aualana . Ma
fanocodi . Brocara . Croucingo .
Stodoion . Smetriadū . Clidum .
Carbantiū . Tadoriton . Mapori
ton . Alitacenon . Loxa . Locatreue .
Cambroiāna . Smetri . Vxela . L
ucotion . Corda . Camulossesa .
P̄sidiu . Brigomono . Abisson .
Ebio . Coritiotar . Celouion . Itu
codon . Maromago . Duabsisis .
Venutio . Trimūtiū . Eburo cas
lum . Bremeniū . Coccuneda . Ala
una . Oleiclauis . Lindensca . An
mabo . Iterum sūt ciuitates
ī ip̄a britania . recto tramite .
una alii conexa . ū ī ip̄a brita
nia plus angustissima de oc
ceano ī oceano ēē dinoscit̄ . Id ē
Velunia . Volitanio . Pexa . Be
gesse . Colanica . Medio neme
ton . Subdobiadon . Litana . Cib
ra . Credigone . Item ē ciui
tas . q̄ d̄r . Iano . Maulion . Deme
tosesia . Cindocellū . Cerma . Ve
rome . Matouion . Regulentū .
Ranatoniū . Iberran . P̄mattis .
Tuessis . Ledone . Litinomago .
Deuoni . Memanturū . Decha . Bo
grandiū . Vgueste . Leuiodanū .
Poreo classis . Leuioxaua . Cer
miū . Victorie . Marco maxon . Ta
gea . Voran . // Sunt aūt ī ip̄a
britania diuersa loca . ex qbȝ ali
qn̄tas noiare uolum̄ . Id ē . Ma
poni . Panouius . Minox . Tabi .
Manaui . Segloes . Dannoni .
Currit aūt p ip̄am britania
plima flumina . ex qbȝ aliq̄nta
noiare uolum̄ . Id est Tiaxula .
Axiū . Mama . Sarua . Tamaris .
Naurū . Abona . Isca . Tamion . A
uētio . Leuca . Iuctius . Leugosena .
Coanta . Dorvātiū . Anttiū . Tinoa .
Liar . Lenda . Iuiudin . Durolaui .
Alauna . Coguueusuron . Durbis .
Lemana . Roma . Raxtomessa se
nua . Cunia . Velox . Finit aūt
ip̄a britania . a facie oriēs habet
insulā thyle . uł isulā . Dorcadas .
a facie occidēns ex pte p̄muncie
galliā . et p̄muntoriū pyrenei .
a facie septentrionalis insula sco
tia . a facie meridiana germania
antiqua . Item ī eod̄ oceano occi
dentali . post ip̄a magnā britaniā
simił et amplius longius ut dixim̄
quā eius insule alia magna si
nita pte septētrionali . magis ex
ip̄a occidentali ē insula maxima
q̄ d̄r Ybernia . que ut dictū est et
scotia appellat̄ . Cuius post terga . ut
tā p̄missim̄ . nullo mō apd̄ hoies
tra inuenit̄ . Per quā scotiā tra
seunt plima flumina . int̄ cetā q̄
t̄nsit̄ . Id ē . et scodisinā . Sleb . Tertie .
Item ip̄o oceano occidentali . ponunt̄
diuise insule . ex qbȝ aliq̄ntas noīa
re uolum̄ . Id ē Corsula . Mona .
Regaina . Minerue . Cunis . Ma
na . Bons . Vimion . Saponis . Sn
sura . Birila . Elnnani . Sobrica .
Sactis . Linnonsa . Item ad aliā
ptez d̄r insula Magancia . Anas
Cana . Arrna . Elete . Daruecla . Esse .
Gradena . Maiona . Longis . Cin
mon . Exosades . ū et gēme nascūt̄ .

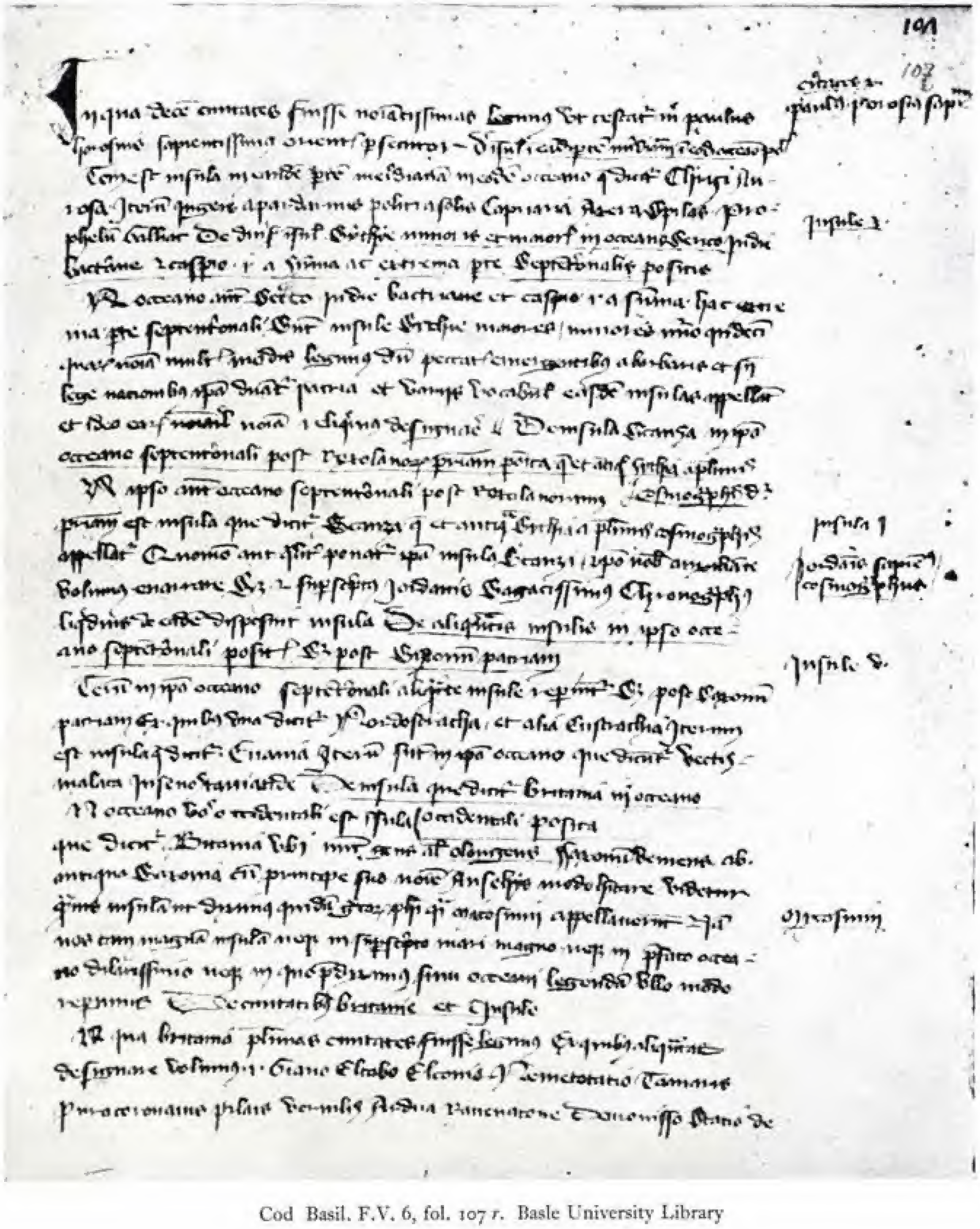
Cod. Paris. Lat. 4794, fol. 30 *r*. Bibliothèque Nationale

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



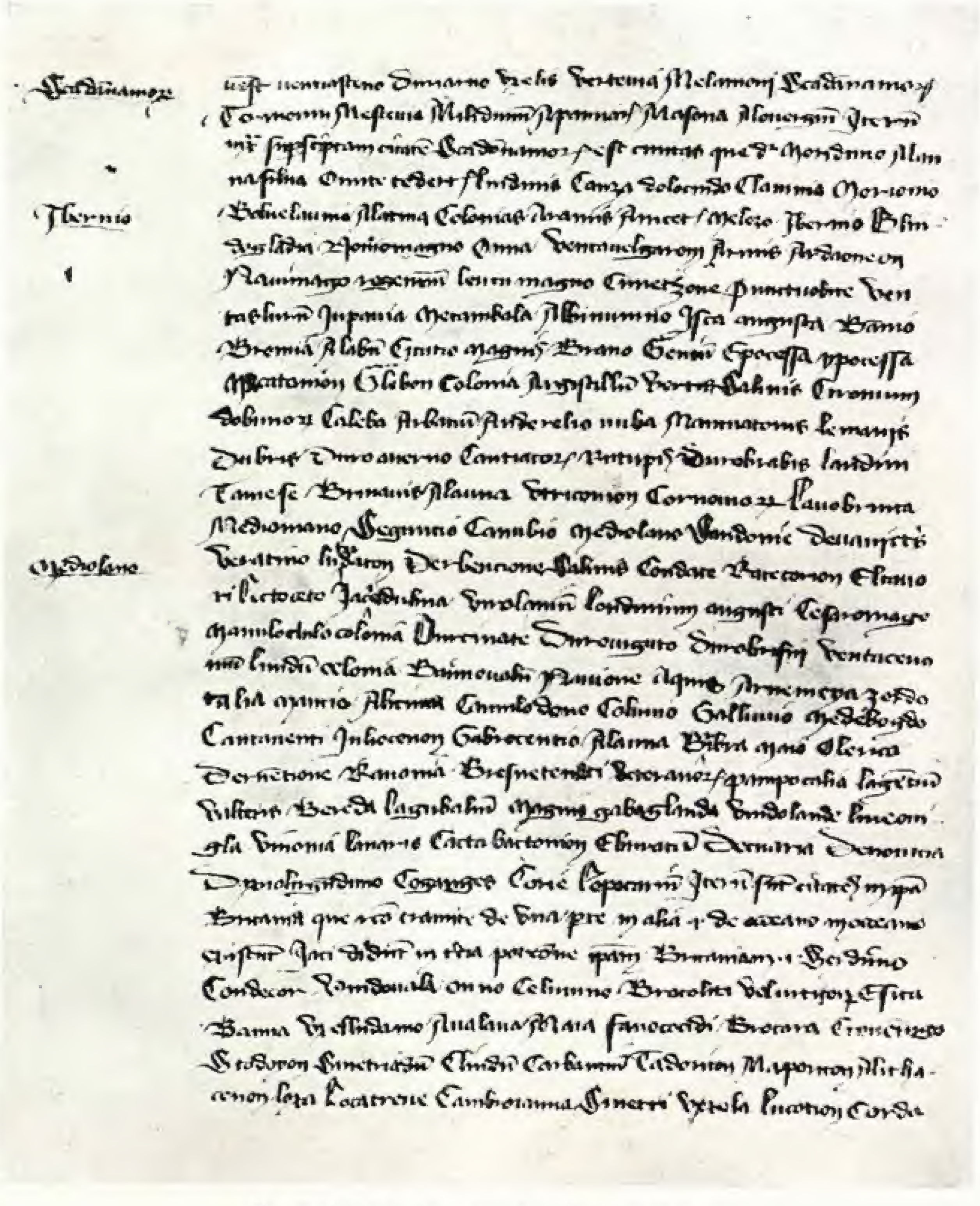
Cod. Paris. Lat. 4794, fol. 30 *v*. Bibliothèque Nationale

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



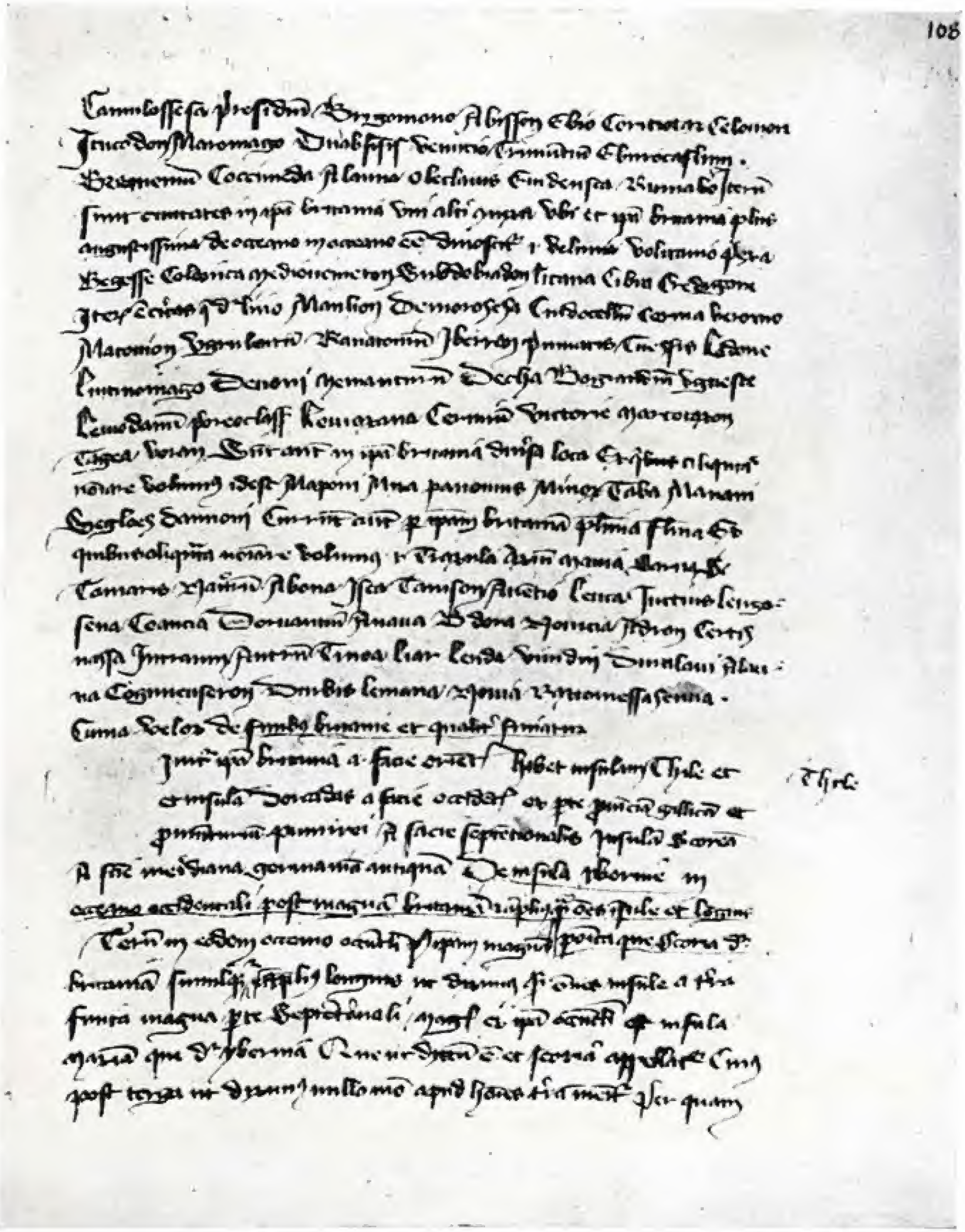
Cod Basil. F.V. 6, fol. 107 *r*. Basle University Library

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



Cod. Basil. F.V. 6, fol. 107 *v.* Basle University Library

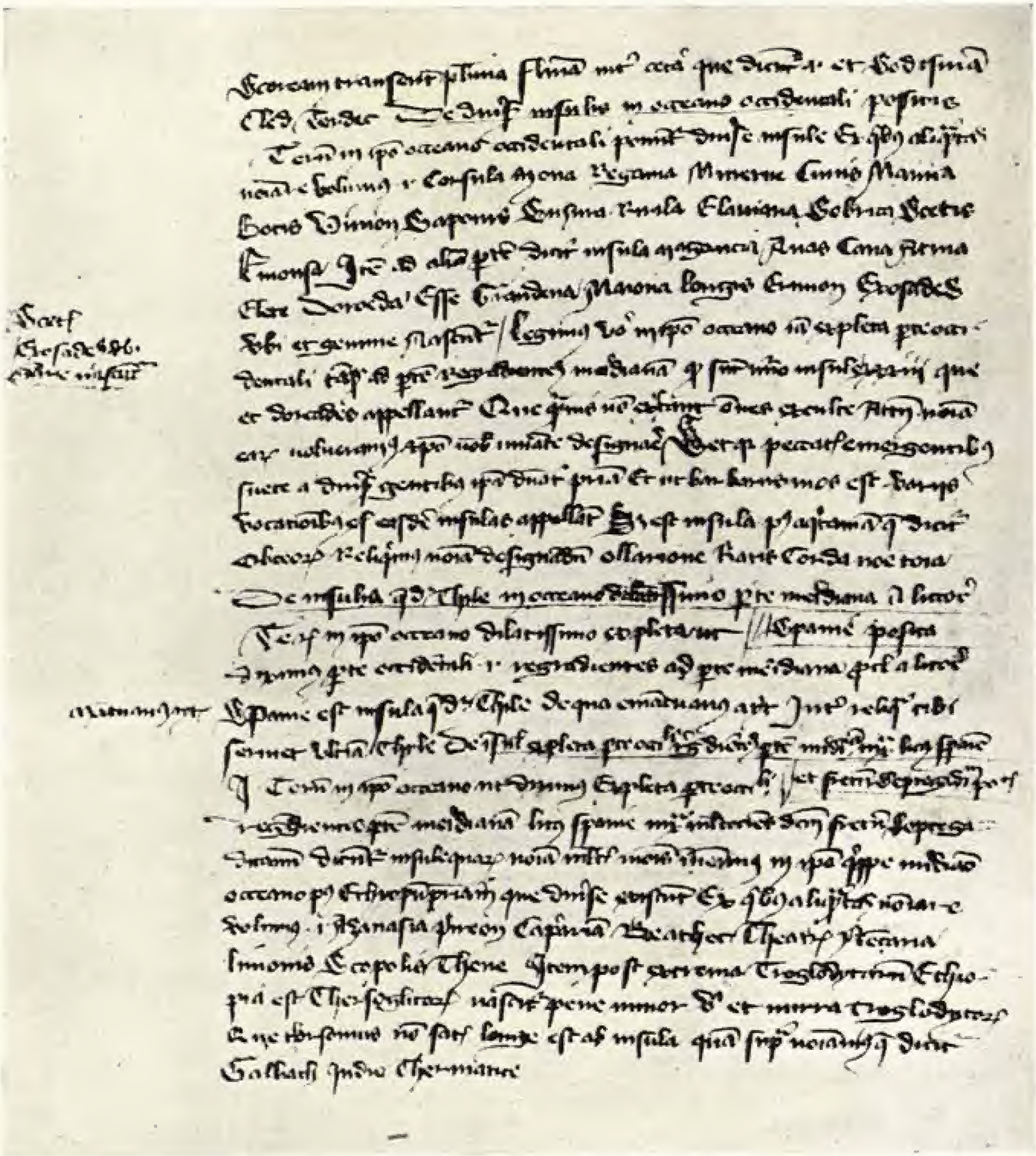
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



Cod. Basil. F.V. 6, fol. 108 *r*. Basle University Library

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

PLATE X



Cod. Basil. F.V. 6, fol. 108 *v.* Basle University Library

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama[1]

By Dr. W. L. HILDBURGH, F.S.A.

[*Read 23rd March 1939*]

THE idea, long since accepted, that the English alabaster-carvers of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries depicted in their reliefs things that they had seen in presentations of the religious plays common in their times has, I believe, not seriously been questioned. As Prior, writing in 1913, put it, 'since the scenes [as they appeared in the carvings] were those of contemporary representation in passion-plays and mysteries, the pasteboard make-ups of the religious stage, which were on view in every great city, were at hand as models to the shop-carvers. We may take it that in table-sculpture we . . . find . . . as it were, stage soldiers and property virgins';[2] 'the blackening of the faces of the ruffians and executioners and heretics, as seen in many of the tables, was no doubt a stage trick';[3] and 'The feather tights on angels . . . have the unmistakable appearance of a stage outfit'.[4] Émile Mâle, discussing (in 1904) the effect, on medieval art, of the religious plays,[5] had already observed[6] that, although *les érudits* had *posé mille questions* concerning how the mystery-plays had been staged, the answer was clearly to be seen in numberless paintings, stained-glass windows, miniatures, and altar-pieces, which 'nous offrent sans cesse l'image exact de ce qu'on voyait au théâtre'.[7]

Mâle's proposition—which in its general lines, although not in all particulars, I take to be sound in relation to French art—is not easy to apply to English, since so comparatively little English medieval art of value for an inquiry into the matter has survived, with (as I think), the notable exception of the alabaster carvings. From the scanty remains of metalwork and embroideries, there is practically nothing to be had; the somewhat more plentiful glass and wood-carving—things imperilled by accident or by decay and whose fragile nature or combustibility invite destruction by the iconoclast—but little more; from monumental sculpture and from the small carvings

---

[1] Bibliographical Key. The following list gives, within ( ), the numbers of the pages whereon may be found bibliographical details of works subsequently cited only by authors' names or by titles (in full or abbreviated).

'An Alabaster Table of the Annunciation with the Crucifix' (63); Biver (53); Bouillet (80); *Catalogue of Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster Work* (51); Chambers (74); *Chester Plays* (59); Cohen (61); *Digby Plays* (70); Didron (65); 'Earliest Type [of English Alabaster Panel Carvings]' (56); '. . . Embattled Type [English Alabasters of the]' (53); Foster (73); James (59); Jameson, *History of our Lord* (82); Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna* (61); Kehrer (58); *Ludus Coventriae* (55); Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII*^{e} *siècle* (51); Medley (68); Petit de Julleville (72); *Picture Book of English Alabaster Carvings* (63); Prior and Gardner (53); Rostand (71); 'Saint Catherine Panels in English Alabaster at Vienna' (73); Sharp (55); Squilbeck (66); 'The Virgin Triptych at Danzig' (62); 'The Woodwork of English Alabaster Retables' (82); *Towneley Plays* (55); *York Plays* (54); Young (59).

[2] Cf. E. S. Prior, 'The Sculpture of Alabaster Tables', in *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster Work*, London (Society of Antiquaries), 1913, p. 21.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, note.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

[5] Cf. 'La renouvellement de l'art par les "mystères" à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, xxxi (1904), 215 seqq., 283 seqq., 370 seqq.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 390.

[7] Mâle has treated the subject also in his *L'Art religieux du XII*^{e} *siècle en France*; cf. 3rd ed., Paris, 1928, chap. iv, 'Enrichissement de l'iconographie: La liturgie et le drame liturgique'.

4014

in ivory, something, though not a great deal; among wall-paintings there is comparatively little of use for our purpose, and that little is fragmentary; and of panel-painting almost nothing survives. Manuscript illuminations—though among them there is not, so far as I know, any representation of a medieval English stage shown as such—might, however, yield us a good deal of value even though the illuminator's art was fundamentally an aristocratic one.

But in the surviving English alabaster carvings we have, I think, a source of information concerning the medieval English stage whose value has never adequately been realized. Their number is extremely large as compared with the number of existing relics of almost any other medieval English art; including fragments of sizes suitable for study, it probably exceeds three thousand. And their art was, as was that of the English mystery-plays, a *people's* art; not an art, like that of the goldsmith, of the illuminator of manuscripts, or of the embroiderer, designed rather for appeal to wealthy noble or to richly endowed abbey. Actor and alabasterman had essentially the same problem; that was, to present to unlettered minds, and in such a way as to impress strongly upon them, Biblical story and legends of the lives of saintly persons. The principal difference between them lay, not in the visual factor common to both, but in that the actor had movement and speech for the driving home of his lesson, while the alabasterman had, as counterbalance, the power to select for his record just those particular details which seemed to him most significant as symbols. And player and carver not only had precisely the same basic matter to materialize, but presumably both gave visible forms to the imaginings of types of mind closely similar to each other, since the guilds responsible for the presentation of the plays were themselves composed of craftsmen—sometimes, indeed, as in the case of the carvers and the painters of Coventry, just such craftsmen as were the alabaster-carvers.[1]

Furthermore, the circumstances conditioning the tasks of the actor and the alabasterman were in many respects the same; each had but a limited, and usually rectangular, space in which to work, and in consequence was able to present comparatively few characters at one time. We may presume the action on the stages, commonly small ones,[2] to have taken place largely in the form of suitably dramatic postures and gestures, made alive—and how alive, we may realize if we but read the texts of the plays—by the dialogue, while the alabasterman's material, which did not lend itself to minuteness of sculpture, compelled him to give his characters just such dramatic postures and gestures. As to scenery, the stage generally doubtless (and certainly in the case of the 'pageants', as we are shown by the surviving monetary accounts of the Coventry play-producing guilds) had a minimum, while the alabasterman was held to simplicity by lack of room for much more than his characters and by his instinctive feeling of the impropriety of painting (his material would not permit of his carving) minute scenic details in association with his necessarily rather large human figures; and conditions similar to these applied to both stage costumes and the alabasterman's representations of garments.

---

[1] It was 'by no means the case' that the performers 'would require much practice and training to insure a proficiency worthy of public exhibition', 'for the historical representations were taught to apprentices along with their respective trades, and formed a constituent part of the art and mystery of the craft'; cf. G. Oliver, *History of the Holy Trinity Guild at Sleaford*, Lincoln, 1837, p. 74, n. 93.

[2] The 'pageants'—cars which served at least some of the guilds as the stages for their plays—had to be small enough to be movable about the narrow streets of a medieval town, and in many cases appear to have needed no more than ten or a dozen men to move them.

It is for such reasons only natural that there should have been many parallelisms between the way of presenting a scene on the English stage and the way of presenting it in the alabaster tables; and, if such parallelisms, interchanges between the theatre and, either directly or (through other pictorial art) indirectly, the alabasterman's workshop. Still, I am inclined to think that though the stage conceivably may sometimes have borrowed from static art incidents or specific grouping or gestures, the borrowing almost always was in the opposite direction—i.e. that the carver obtained, whether direct or through paintings, very much more inspiration from the stage than he bestowed upon it. The drama, although doubtless governed largely by the conventions which so greatly influenced medieval representational art, was far more fluid than the rigid stone with which the carvers had to deal, and it was decidedly easier to try a fresh rendering or a novel incident in a play than in the restricted area of an alabaster table, whose general pattern—quite commonly a pattern based on a more or less specific combination of certain salient elements and then perfected through continued repetition—would require alteration, and quite possibly much shifting of the relative positions of the participants in a scene, and perhaps also modifications of their postures. Furthermore, the alabaster-carver seems in general to have lacked invention; his work was routine in its nature, and very probably often along lines we now associate with mass-production. When, for example, he had to depict a burial of some Saint, he adapted for it his more or less standardized pattern for the 'Entombment of our Lord';[1] for a birth, that of his 'Nativity of Christ';[2] for a trial scene he might repeat his pattern for a trial in a reredos of the Passion;[3] and for some other exceptional subject, that of some subject he had frequently to represent.[4]

Had the English alabaster-carvers to depict scenes from the Old Testament—a thing that, curiously, they seem virtually never to have been called upon to do[5]—we should probably find in those scenes just such parallels to the medieval drama as exhibited in several English mystery-plays still existent, as we find in the plays upon the Gospels and their derivatives.

---

[1] As in the case of the 'Entombment of St. Etheldreda', reproduced in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., xxix (1917), p. 90. The same pattern served, with further small adaptations, for such 'Martyrdom' scenes as those of St. Lawrence and of St. Erasmus.

[2] Compare the 'Naming of St. John Baptist', in the Versailles Museum (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* viii [1928], pl. xvi; *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvii [1920], p. 213 with pl. i), with the 'Nativity of our Lord' panel of the reredos at La Celle (cf. Count Paul Biver, 'Some Examples of English Alabasters in France', in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxvii [1910], pl. viii and pp. 71 seqq.; *Cat. cit.*, fig. 16).

[3] Compare the British Museum's 'Trial of St. Peter' (cf. P. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxiv [1917], pl. vii and p. 112) with the Cluny Museum's 'Christ before Caiaphas' (cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvi [1919], pl. vii and p. 137).

[4] Compare the tables of 'St. Michael weighing Souls in the presence of the B.V.M.' (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* x [1930], pl. vi) with the Beauvais Museum's embattled 'Annunciation' (cf. E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Cambridge, 1912, fig. 550; Nelson, 'English Alabasters of the Embattled Type', in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxv [1918], pl. ii).

[5] Possibly an exception from this general rule is (unless perhaps it be a fragment of a 'Harrowing of Hell' table) an 'Adam and Eve', in the Angers Museum (no. 2349), of which I know only through its mention by J. Destrée in 'Sculptures en albâtre de Nottingham', in *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, xxiii (1909), p. 466. The 'Tree of Jesse', of which several English alabaster tables have been reported, is, although most of the persons in it belong to the Old Testament, essentially a Gospel subject.

We should, nevertheless, always keep well in mind that, although in certain carvings the depiction of details may correspond with what the text, or the stage directions, of an English play may indicate to us of the way that play was presented on the stage, such correspondence does not necessarily signify that the carving derived, even indirectly, those details from the stage; it may well have been that player and alabasterman drew them from the same founts—whether the Gospels, Canonical or Apocryphal, or current legends, or traditional pictorial representations based on such literary sources—and in consequence gave parallel forms to particular details. Thus, although we have simple alabaster tables of—to take at random a few out of many examples—'Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet', 'The Last Supper', or 'The Marys at the Tomb', paralleling in every way the texts of the plays covering those subjects, we see nothing in them suggestive of a derivation from the drama rather than direct from the Gospel narratives. We labour, too, under a further disadvantage in that so comparatively few copies of the plays have survived for service in our comparisons.[1] The deductions I shall bring forward should, therefore, with some few exceptions which seem to be practically unquestionable, be regarded as of the order of probabilities—all of them I think fully possible, some of them very probable—rather than of the order of proven facts.

But it is even more important to keep in mind that a direct visual stimulus towards representation is so very much more potent—and particularly in the case of a craftsman unaccustomed to use his imagination freely—than an aural one, that we have the right to presume that the alabasterman's eye played a far larger part in the composition of his handiwork than did his ear; and that consequently, when we discover in the tables forms reasonably closely paralleling those of the plays, we may take it as a general rule that his forms may well have been inspired, whether indirectly through other pictorial art (painting or sculpture, perhaps based on patterns long current or/and continental in origin) or directly, by the plays. We shall have occasion to observe that the carver depicted incidents, appearing in the plays, derived from literary sources with which he was very unlikely to have had any contact closer than through those plays; and that occasionally (as, for example, in some of his representations of the 'Agony in the Garden' or of 'Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalen') he recorded things which seem to have had no basis excepting stage 'business' or chance proximity on the boards. If details, such as the ones I have just cited, indicate that the alabaster-carvers copied, with a fair degree of accuracy, things that they had actually seen on the stage, it would seem very probable that they copied also the stage presentations of other details for which we find parallels in the instructions or in the spoken texts of the plays; and, further, that costumes or accessories, as depicted in the tables, have been based on those actually used on the stage—a matter of special importance, since there survives so little other pictorial evidence to show us what the scenery of an English mystery-play was like.

Concerning the relative influences, on the costume and on the armour as depicted in the tables, of the plays and of contemporary fashions, it is not easy for us to adjudicate. It is probably true that, as Prior has put it, in the alabasters we find 'stage soldiers and property virgins. From first to last the armour of the soldiers of the Sepulchre and the dress of the Virgin scarcely alters'.[1] The costumes of Jesus, of Mary, and probably of the Apostles as well, varied little in the alabasters, as doubtless they varied little on the stage; the costumes of the commonalty followed, sometimes at a distance, those of the day. As for the armour, not only were, presumably, the carvers bound by tradition, but here again—and even more than in the case of civil costume—there seems to be no reason why they should have tried to depict only the latest fashions. We know, from records of payments made at Coventry in respect of plays given there, that stage costumes had to be bought or renewed from time to time, and that some of the guilds which produced the plays owned armour used in the plays;[2] and since such things wore out but slowly—and when worn out probably often were replaced by things of similar cut—it seems likely that the stage tended to perpetuate for its service costumes and armour already obsolete in the outer world. Thus, although it may well be that the alabaster-carvers followed forms, quite possibly in many cases traceable to the stage, traditional in their craft, I think it very probable that they may have tended to continue to follow those forms because they saw them to some extent supported by their continued presentation on the stage.

---

[1] For a list of surviving English plays, and of places in Great Britain where mystery-plays were performed, see Lucy Toulmin Smith's *York Plays*, Oxford, 1885, pp. lxiv–lxviii.

We are fortunate in that certain surviving groups of plays are associable, more or less closely, with at least two of the districts where it would seem that alabaster tables were carved.[3] One of the groups includes the series played at York[4] and the series, connected with Yorkshire, known as the 'Towneley Plays';[5] the other was the extensive series performed, presumably on a large fixed stage or on several fixed stages, at Coventry.[6] For Coventry we have, further, accounts relating to many monetary transactions concerned with the wheeled stages (the 'pageants') for, seemingly, another series of mystery-plays, for which we have not the text, their properties (including costumes), and their performers; and, in addition, a very few of the actual objects used in presenting those plays.[7] There is evidence indicating that alabaster tables were carved at York,[8] though the great centre of the English medieval alabaster industry appears to have been in the vicinity of the district whose quarries provided the stone —that is, about Chellaston and Tutbury, in Derbyshire—and most specially at Nottingham.[9] Now, Nottingham lay at no great distance from Coventry, wherefore we may presume that many of the craftsmen of Nottingham went to Coventry for the Corpus Christi celebrations and to see the plays performed in connexion with them; that they may not have needed, in order to see the plays, to go even so far as Coventry is suggested by evidence making it appear that the Coventry plays may at times have been performed in neighbouring towns.[1] Consequently, any parallels that we are able to establish between the alabaster tables and the plays performed at York or at Coventry have particular interest for us.

---

[1] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, p. 21.

[2] Armour for the purpose was, in some cases, hired.

[3] We must, however, beware of putting undue reliance, in seeking the localities where certain groups of tables were carved, on details of particular plays; we must keep in mind that, quite apart from resemblances resulting from the use of the same basic material, likenesses in respect of their details between the plays of different districts might, in the absence of any form of restraint of imitating, well have been brought about through the copying, by the players of one district, of successful special features of plays performed in other districts.

[4] Cf. *York Plays*.

[5] Cf. *Towneley Plays*, London (Early English Text Society), 1897.

[6] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie called Corpus Christi*, London (E.E.T.S.), 1922.

[7] Cf. T. Sharp, *Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries Anciently Performed at Coventry*, Coventry, 1825.

[8] Cf. W. H. St. John Hope, 'On the Early Working of Alabaster in England', in *Cat. cit.*, pp. 14 seq.; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

[9] Cf. Hope, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 9 seq.; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 460 seqq.

The earliest of the English alabasterman's scenic panels[2] seem in general to have been designed to display the *essence* of the event depicted, mainly through recording the presence of the persons—and then only the most important of them—taking part in it; they give something of the effect of a company of players grouped, at the end of a scene, either in a *tableau vivant* or to receive the plaudits of an audience, and they certainly could not have yielded much, if indeed any, inspiration to living actors. From such early tables, whose patterns seem to have been strongly influenced by, if not perhaps always based upon, patterns developed by ivory-carvers or by illuminators of manuscripts, and whose style of carving derived directly from the style expressed on tombs, fonts, and the like, development proceeded along two cardinal lines. One development pertained to pattern, in the perfecting of which the carvers of the alabaster tables displayed great talent. Soon, through repetition, the stock subjects came to be depicted in panels whose figures were so formed and interrelated as to impart to a well-carved panel some considerable decorative merit, quite apart from its merely representational value. The other development was along the line of accessories, that is, in incident, in dramatic gesture or facial expression, and in detail of scenic background or of costume. It is in this second development that, as I think, we may often trace effects of the contemporary English mystery-plays, just as in the tables of the earliest types we seem sometimes able to see effects—even though they be ones already appertaining to the apparatus of religious art in general—of the liturgical dramas.

Of such liturgical dramas, the earliest known seems to be an English one, illustrating the Resurrection, written by St. Dunstan in 967 for performance by English clergy,[3] in which the ceremonial presentation of that event is described in detail.[4] Of the English liturgical plays concerned with the Nativity, none is known to survive—presumably most, if not all, were destroyed in the period of the dissolution and destruction of the English monasteries—though there are records of such plays having been performed at Lincoln, York, Salisbury, and Lichfield.[5]

Although no very early copies of the texts of the vernacular plays seem to have survived, there appears reason to suppose that in England the popular presentations of religious drama began in the thirteenth century or in the early fourteenth,[6] and thus not very long before the time that the production of the English alabaster tables—the earliest of which are thought to have been carved about 1340—presumably was initiated. Even in alabaster tables of Professor Prior's 'Class I' (presumed to have been carved between about 1340 and 1380)[1] it is possible to see parallels to the mystery-plays—in the Virgin Mary fainting at the foot of the Cross, in the Risen Christ stepping upon a soldier as He leaves His sarcophagus, and in some other matters—though, since those same parallels are to be found also in other forms of representational art of well before 1340, we cannot say what (if any) influence the specifically English religious drama had in bringing them about.

---

[1] Cf. J. O. Halliwell's 'Introduction' to the Shakespeare Society's edition of the 'Ludus Coventriae', London, 1841, p. xi, n. referring to *Wright's Historia Histronica*, 8vo, Lond. 1699, p. 17.

[2] For examples, see Nelson's 'Earliest Type of English Alabaster Panel Carvings', in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvi (1919), pp. 84 seqq.

[3] Cf. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, 1928, p. 126.

[4] Cf. Migne, *Patrologiae*, cxxxvii, col. 493.

[5] Cf. S. B. Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays*, New York, 1909, p. xii.

[6] Lucy Toulmin Smith, in her *York Plays*, says (p. xlv): 'Although the date of composition of the York Plays is not known, it may, I believe, safely be set as far back as 1340 or 1350.'

But in a number of the tables of Prior's second group—the tables with embattled tops, carved presumably between about 1380 and 1420[2]—the influence of the contemporary stage seems to be clearly manifest. Gradually the scenes become more filled with figures, and the figures more animated and with more of their details represented. And the characteristic embattling itself appears as if it might well have been derived from the English 'pageants', for it is just such an edging as one could have expected to see topping a stage towards the end of the fourteenth century. Although we have not, so far as I know, any contemporary drawing or painting of an English stage of that, or of any closely subsequent period, we do have, on the one hand, an English alabaster table (in Paderborn Cathedral;[3] see pl. XI, *a*[4]), of the early, laterally elongated type, representing the 'Adoration of the Kings' and looking as if it might well be a sort of generalized combination of two scenes in a Nativity-play, which is topped by a simple flat (i.e. not, as later, bowed outwards) battlementing such as could have been along the top of the front of one of the wheeled stages; and, on the other hand, we have a record—but unfortunately a late one—of battlementing applied in precisely that way. In the records of the expenses of the Coventry Drapers' Company, an association responsible for the presentation of one of the mysteries, there is a note that in the year 1540 there was paid 'for mending the bateling yn the toppe of the pagent. . . . viij^{d}'[5]—an entry suggesting strongly that by 1540 battlementing had been in use for the tops of pageants over a period at least long enough for it to have got into disrepair, and, further, that at that date it was a traditional adjunct surviving from a period when battlementing was a frequent form of architectural ornamentation. It is, perhaps, more than a chance coincidence that Nottingham has been suggested, by Prior, as the centre where the tables with the embattled headings were carved.[6]

There are a number of other alabaster tables—in Long Melford church, at Stonyhurst College[7] and elsewhere[8]—similar to the Paderborn table both in shape and in general design, but lacking that table's embattled heading. A feature that these tables have in common is some combination of a scene of the 'Nativity of Christ' with a scene of the 'Adoration of the Kings'; a combination which was, I think, very probably brought about through the influence of the religious drama.[1]

---

[1] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, pp. 24, 26; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 470 seqq.; Nelson, 'Earliest Type . . .'.

[2] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, pp. 25, 29; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 475 seqq.; Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type'.

[3] Cf. A. Ludorff, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Paderborn*, Münster i. W., 1899, pl. 44 and p. 98. For a discussion of its type, and the influence of that type on the later English alabaster 'Adoration' tables, cf. Hildburgh, in *Antiq. Journ.* iii (1923), pp. 30 seq.

[4] Reproduced from a postcard.

[5] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 67; H. Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, London (E.E.T.S.), 1902, p. 99. The Frontispiece of Sharp's *Dissertation* is a fanciful reconstruction, by David Jee, based on the surviving *written* (but not on immediately relevant pictorial) material, of the presentation of a play at Coventry, in which the stage is depicted as a wheeled vehicle surmounted by battlementing.

[6] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, p. 30; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

[7] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 4.

[8] Cf. Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type', pls. IV–VI and pp. 88 seqq.; besides these there is, in the British Museum, a large fragment of a similar table.

A later pattern (see pl. XI, *b*[2]) for tables of the 'Adoration of the Kings', seemingly first adopted by the English alabastermen in the period of the embattled forms, shows the Virgin seated (sometimes in bed), holding her Son, one King kneeling to present his gift, a second pointing to the Star, and the third, often with a hand upraised in wonder, standing awaiting his turn, while the aged and weary Joseph is seated close by, and the Ox and the Ass[3] are somewhere visible. In continental art—French[4] and Italian[5] of the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries, and German[6] of the thirteenth and about the first half of the fourteenth—there are simple (i.e. not combined with a 'Nativity') 'Adorations' in which the disposition of the principal figures so closely resembles the disposition in this later pattern as to suggest that they must have been the inspiration of the pattern when the English 'Adoration' tables replaced the horizontal setting of the Stonyhurst table and its fellows by a vertical setting, even though the new English pattern retained the 'Nativity' elements, taken over from the horizontal tables, which were lacking from the continental 'Adorations'. English 'Adoration' tables of the early pattern, a group whose presumable (of those I have cited) representative is the embattled oblong table at Paderborn, embody certain features which to me suggest strongly that the group was produced under the direct influence of the English stage, and more or less independent of the type—already long established in media other than English alabaster—forming the basis of the pattern soon to supplant it.

In ivory carvings, French or English, the usual thing seems to have been to depict the 'Nativity' and the 'Adoration of the Kings' as two separate events; even in a presumably English ivory of about 1300, whereon the two subjects are shown together in one panel,[7] we find on one side of the panel a complete 'Adoration', with the Virgin crowned and enthroned, and on the other side a 'Nativity' representing her in bed, with the Child in a manger above her, the heads of the Ox and the Ass above Him, and Joseph seated at the foot of the bed. In the early alabaster 'Adoration' tables the scene seems essentially a 'Nativity' into which the Kings have been introduced; the Virgin is in bed, the Ox and the Ass still are present, and there are present also several minor characters—some on one table, some on another—who look to have entered from the stage-plays. Of these subsidiary characters, two are the midwives[1] called in (according to the Apocryphal Gospels) by Joseph—one a woman depicted with her hand somewhere on the Virgin's bed,[2] the other a woman[3] who seems to be given no especial attitude (excepting perhaps that of adoration) to identify her—and others an angel with a stringed instrument and a boy with a pipe. Now, because of practical considerations, it probably was fairly usual to present on the same stage the plays of the Birth and of the Adoration of the Kings, and perhaps also the play of the Adoration of the Shepherds—indeed, at Coventry the 'pageant' of the Shearmen and Taylors included all three—whence might well arise sculptural combinations, such as we find on the tables of our early group, varying more or less in details, of incidents from those plays. Medieval opinion varied as to whether it was thirteen days, or two years, after the birth that the Magi arrived; but in either case it would seem that the midwives should properly have no place in a scene of their adoration.[4] The boy with the pipe[5] probably is a relic of a 'Shepherds' play; and the angel with the musical instrument[6] a stage-equivalent of one of those angel-musicians to be seen in a gallery in some alabaster 'Nativity' tables (e.g. the one illustrated in pl. xi, *c*)[7] and in (continental) pictorial renderings of the Nativity and of the Adorations.

---

[1] H. Kehrer, in *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, ii, Leipzig, 1909, p. 217, suggests tentatively that the combination may have been due to 'Eastern' influence, because the 'Magiergeschichte ist Fest-Perikope des 25. Dezember und nicht des 6. Januar'.

[2] Reproduced from a table in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[3] It seems unlikely, in view of the restricted space usually available, that these beasts appeared in living form in the English mystery-plays, though they might well have been there represented by a pair of dummy heads, made of wood or of pasteboard, paralleling the pair of heads (and no more than heads) depicted in our alabaster 'Adoration' tables. A short article on their appearances in pictorial and in dramatic art, in *The Times* (London) of 23rd December 1938, was supplemented by letters printed in the issues of 29th December, and of 8th, 11th, and 13th January 1939. As Mr. C. J. P. Cave referred (in the first of these letters) to a fifteenth-century roof-boss, at Nantwich, showing the Child lying in a cloth whose ends were held in the mouths of the two beasts, and stated that this example, an English one, was the only one of that peculiar rendering he had encountered, I think well to mention that, so far as I know, the form does not occur in English alabaster tables.

The presence of the Ox and the Ass in representations of the Nativity is believed to rest, as to the 'two animals', upon a Greek mistranslation of Habakkuk iii, 2, and their selection as the 'two animals' thus introduced upon Isaiah i, 3. In this connexion I would suggest tentatively that their introduction, at an early date in the history of Christianity, may perhaps have been brought about through a wish to express symbolically (even though by symbols derived from outworn religious conceptions) an association between the Christ Child and a time—the beginning of a new year, marked by the moon (symbolized by the Ox) and by the sun (symbolized by the Ass)—at which He was believed to have been born.

[4] Cf. Kehrer, *op. cit.* ii, figs. 178, 179, 180, 181 (and pp. 160 seqq.), 63; and É. Mâle, 'Les rois mages et le drame liturgique', in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1910, pp. 262 seqq.

[5] Cf. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, figs. 54, 58, 60.

[6] *Ibid.*, figs. 186, 187, 188, 182, 183, 184.

[7] In the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 243–1867); cf. M. H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory*, part ii, London (V. & A. Museum), 1929, pl. 88 and p. 5.

Although there are a number of continental sculptural representations of the Kings coming, with rich retinues, to do homage at the stable of the Nativity,[8] those representations look to be far too elaborate to have served as inspiration for the simple, little more than symbolical, scenes on our present group of English 'Adoration' tables.

---

[1] In the 'Nativity' of the reredos at La Celle the midwife Salome is shown touching the clothing of the Child, in accordance with the instruction inscribed on a scroll held by an angel, in order that her stricken hand may be cured (cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, p. 76).

[2] In the Stonyhurst table (cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 4), at the foot of the bed, standing at the Kings' left; in the tables at Treslothan (cf. 'Earliest Type . . .', pl. v), Long Melford (*ibid.*, pl. iv), Zuckau (cf. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, p. 218, fig. 258), and Paderborn (see pl. xi, *a*), at the head of the bed. In the table at Bottenbroich (cf. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, p. 217, fig. 257), a tiny figure at the foot of the bed, with one hand on the frame of the bed and the other (seemingly) on the bed-clothing. The 'realism' of this curiously recurrent detail, already a feature of early representations of the Nativity (cf. M. H. Longhurst, *English Ivories*, London, 1926, fig. 4 ['Carolingian, 10th–11th century'], and no. XIII ['English, 10th–11th century'] with discussion on p. 77), suggests the possibility of its having been inspired by something—conceivably associated with the paralysing of the unbelieving Salome's hand (cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, p. 47; *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 143 seq.; *The Chester Plays*, i, London [E.E.T.S.], 1892, p. 125) and possibly with that of the unbelieving man whose hands stuck to the Virgin's death-bed (cf. James, *op. cit.*, p. 221) or bier (*ibid.*, pp. 214 seq., 217, 223; *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 369)—in the liturgical drama.

[3] In the Stonyhurst table, standing at the Kings' right.

[4] Although I know of no appearance of the midwives in the English 'Magi' plays, it would seem that they had parts in continental plays of the kind, because concerning them K. Young remarks (cf. *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, Oxford, 1933, ii, 47) that 'It seems clear [that their appearance] . . . arises from demands of stagecraft'.

[5] He appears, but only in the British Museum's incomplete table, beside a King, at the foot of the bed.

[6] At the head of the bed; but only in the Bottenbroich table.

[7] Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2nd Ser. xxix (1917), p. 85. It should be observed that the detachable traceried heading has inadvertently been set inverted.

[8] A number of fourteenth-century examples are reproduced by Kehrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 seqq.: fig. 212, Milan, *ca.* 1347; fig. 211, Thann (Alsace), *ca.* 1355; fig. 210, Ulm, *ca.* 1360; fig. 214, Hassfurt, *ca.* 1370.

I think it, therefore, fairly certain that the English stage had much to do with the particular form the scene took in that group.

It is important that we should not attribute to the influence of the English stage too many of the numerous parallels we can find between the English mystery-plays and the English alabasters, for the reason that some of the presentations in English alabaster so resemble certain older—and in some cases much older—continental forms as to suggest that they were inspired by those forms, which, in their turn, may or may not have been directly influenced by religious drama. Mâle's warning—concerned primarily with French art—against too freely attributing to liturgical sources pictorial iconography paralleling that of the drama, because often, as he showed by examples, certain iconographical details appeared in sculpture or in painting long before they appeared in dramatic art,[1] is well illustrated by two matters in connexion with English alabaster tables of the 'Adoration of the Kings'.

I have mentioned above a type of 'Adoration' table, an example of which is reproduced in pl. XI, *b*, appearing first in the 'embattled' period and continuing until the end of the English alabaster industry, which so closely followed a regular continental (French, Italian, and German) pattern as to suggest that it was based on that pattern. In the continental form the seated Virgin, holding the Child, receives the homage of the Three Kings, one of whom kneels, while another points to the Star. The English alabasterman's regular addition of Joseph to that continental form seems reasonably certain to have been due to a tradition deriving from the horizontally long tables—those of the 'Earliest Type'—whose own pattern appears, as we have seen, to have come about through the direct influence of the English mystery-plays. Now, since Joseph had been shown in early continental 'Adoration' scenes, but was absent from the usual continental 'Adorations' of the medieval period with which we are here concerned, we would seem, in his regular appearance on the English tables, to have, due to the influence of the English drama,[2] the restoration of an iconographical detail which had fallen out of currency. Again, Mâle, in his paper 'Les Rois mages et le drame liturgique', following Kehrer,[3] ascribes to the liturgical drama the transition from the Early Christian type of 'Adoration'—a type in which three Kings (or Wise Men), closely resembling each other and making the same gesture, advance in one line—to the type in which one King kneels and another King points to the Star; and as evidence for this ascription he quotes from French liturgical plays containing stage-directions to that effect.[4] But since a Wise Man pointing out the Star to his two companions appears on a sarcophagus of the fourth century,[5] and a King so doing in manuscripts of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries,[6] and since the leading Wise Man kneels, while his two comrades stand behind him, on an ampulla of about the end of the sixth century[7] and in an early eleventh-century fresco,[8] it is perhaps not quite safe to say, with assurance, just what the continental prototypes of our embattled (and later) 'Adoration' tables owe to the religious drama and what they owe to tradition in other arts.

---

[1] *L'Art religieux du XII*^{e} *siècle* (1928 ed.), pp. 121 seq.

[2] This view seems to be corroborated by the text of *The Chester Plays* (i, p. 181), in which 'Tertius Rex' says, as the Kings are about to approach the Blessed Virgin, 'A fayre mayden, Sirres, yonder I see, an olde man sittinge at her knee.'

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 129 seqq., 'Der französische Schauspieltypus'.

[4] Cf. *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1910, p. 264. In the *Towneley Plays* (p. 156) we find, instead, stage-directions, '*here knele* all *thre kyngys downe*', and '*here ryse thay* all *vp*'.

[5] Cf. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.

[6] *Ibid.*, figs. 19, 20; cf. also figs. 24, 26.

[7] *Ibid.*, fig. 33 and p. 50.

[8] *Ibid.*, fig. 50.

I think that we may perhaps perceive some further traces of stage-presentations in a number of the later alabaster tables of the 'Nativity' and of the 'Adoration of the Kings'. One such trace seems to be the showing of the Star, to which one King points, as if—as in the table reproduced in pl. XI, *b*, and in many other 'Adoration' tables[1]—it were fixed to the canopy of the Virgin's bed, because such fixing is just the sort of trick that one can imagine as originating on a small stage with little head-room (in this paralleling the alabasters), in order to follow a stage-direction like that in the Chester Nativity play, wherein, when Mary tells the returning Joseph that she has a son, 'Gods sonne, as you may see', '*tunc stella apparebit*'.[2]

The depicting, as in a table of the altar-piece at Génissac,[3] of Joseph, at the Virgin's bedside, heating food or water for her use, similarly looks as if it had originated in a play.

The angelic musicians, in the 'Nativity' of pl. XI, *c*, not improbably represent another feature of some plays, for the vernacular stage often had at the back a balcony representing 'Heaven' (cf. p. 68 *infra*), and in pl. XI, *c*, we may see what to some extent resembles a balcony with a painted cloth, symbolizing clouds, hung from it; its transverse scroll, formerly inscribed, presumably is the carver's contribution to the representation.[4]

So far as I know, there is no written record as to how the part of the Infant Christ was filled in the English mystery-plays; and even for France, whose written records concerning Nativity-plays are fuller than the English, it seems not to be known whether the parts of new-born children were played by living infants or by *enfans fustifs*—that is, wooden dolls—such as are known to have been used to represent Herod's son killed in the Massacre of the Innocents.[5] It seems, however, only reasonable to think that images were used instead of real children; for, on the one hand, the small open stages, repeatedly wheeled from place to place for performances, must have been very unsuitable for the employment of living infants, and, on the other, infants too young to be conscious of the sublimity of their role might sometimes have conducted themselves in a manner unbefitting God's essential dignity. Furthermore, in the Beverley Candlemas procession, of the late fourteenth century, which contained a number of theatrical elements, the Child was represented by a doll (cf. p. 71 *infra*).

[1] e.g. those illustrated by Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxi (1914), pls. I, II; and by Maclagan, in *Burlington Magazine*, xxxvi (1920), pl. I.

[2] Cf. *Chester Plays*, i, p. 124. In a French play of the 'Coming of the Magi' the Star 'appears to have been drawn on a string in such a way as to be always above the heads of the Magi in their journeying'; cf. Young, *op. cit.* ii, p. 74. In the elaborate 'Adoration' at Thann (cf. p. 59, n. 8 *supra*) the Star is on the roof of the shed-like stable.

[3] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX.

[4] In the 'Nativity' table of the reredos in St. Michel's Church, Bordeaux (cf. *Cat. cit.*, fig. 14; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 563; Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII), the three angelic musicians are otherwise disposed. Concerning such musicians, Mrs. A. B. Jameson says (*Legends of the Madonna*, 1907, p. 313): 'The angelic choristers in the sky, or upon the roof of the stable . . . in early pictures are always three in number.'

[5] Cf. Gustave Cohen, *Le Livre de conduite du régisseur . . . pour le mystère de la Passion*, Paris, 1925, p. cvii. This book is concerned with a manuscript describing the *mise en scène* of Passion-plays staged at Mons in 1501.

Since alabaster did not lend itself to delicacy of carving, and since the English alabasterman usually did not try for such delicacy, the simple figures of the Infant in 'Nativity' or in 'Adoration' tables help us but little in the matter. In a number of such tables, however, as in the table of pl. xi, *c*,[1] the Child is depicted as if lying upon a concave object, almond-shaped in outline, which generally retains traces of painted or of carved rays and seems clearly meant to represent an aureole. In those tables the Child looks as if it were an unclothed doll laid upon a sort of long dish sufficiently concave to contain it, this impression being strengthened by the way the image appears in the scene, because it looks as if it rests only on the mandorla and is without other support. That the carvers were portraying an object—a combination of a doll with a representation of an aureole, either temporary or made permanent in one piece—which they were accustomed to see on the stage is suggested by several circumstances. Not only does the combination of the Child with His aureole often look to be either rigidly leaning against something[2] or floating in the air[3]—a matter which conceivably may be due to the inability of the carvers to handle perspective—but the 'aureole' is concave, whereas it might perfectly well have been plane, and its periphery has been carved in relief, whereas it might otherwise have been merely painted upon a surface left flat to take it.

In simple (i.e. not combined with an 'Adoration of the Kings') 'Nativity' tables of the embattled types we sometimes find a cradle set beside the Virgin's bed,[4] but in these tables the Child is shown without an aureole; on the other hand, the rather elaborate embattled 'Adoration of the Kings' of the Danzig Marienkirche's Virgin Triptych[5] shows no cradle, but has a large, somewhat lozenge-shaped, glory with sharply carved rays which do not extend as far as the Child's outstretched arms. This glory, embodied in a scene of the 'continental' pattern (of which I have spoken above; cf. p. 60), looks as if it might well have been derived from pictorial, and quite possibly continental, art, and differs distinctly from the form which I take to be probably derived from the English stage. In association with that 'stage' form, not only does the likeness of the Child look like that of an image, but in each of the cases I shall cite it looks as if it were an image primarily intended to stand upright and not for use in a recumbent position. Thus, in a 'Nativity' in the Marseilles Museum[6] there is no gesture; in three others—a 'Nativity'[7] formerly in Dr. Nelson's collection and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, an 'Adoration' at Dieppe reproduced by Nelson,[8] and a 'Nativity' in West Horsley Church[9]—the Child appears to be standing with one hand outstretched towards His Mother, in the first with His left hand on a globe and in the second with His feet on a globe; and in another 'Adoration'[10] He appears to be seated with His feet on a globe and His right hand raised in benediction. I am much inclined to think that what the carver, in each of these cases, was depicting was, in fact, a doll, made for the player who took the Virgin's part to hold while shown in bed, and thereafter set in a pasteboard representation of an aureole for adoration by her or by the Kings; and consequently that the tables above cited yield evidence that a doll, and not a living infant, was used on the English stage in plays of the Nativity and of the Adoration of the Kings.

---

[1] For other examples, in addition to the one in the reredos in St. Michel, Bordeaux, cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiv (1927), pls. v, vii, and lxxvi (1919), pls. iv, v (figs. 1 and 2), and pp. 135 seq.

[2] As in all but the next to the last of the examples just cited.

[3] As in the next to the last example just cited.

[4] Cf. Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type', pls. iv, v.

[5] Cf. Nelson, 'The Virgin Triptych at Danzig', in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvi, pl. iii.

[6] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvi, pl. v, 1, and p. 136.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. iv.

[8] *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiv, pl. v.

[9] *Ibid.* lxxxvi, pl. v and p. 136.

[10] *Ibid.* lxxxiv, pl. vii.

What seems corroborative evidence in the matter may be seen in at least one text, in some tables of subjects other than the 'Nativity' and the 'Adoration of the Kings', and in certain other directions. Thus, in one of the Coventry plays we find, after one of the characters has made the curious statement that the Child shall be the son of the Trinity, the stage-direction that 'here the holy gost discendit with iij bemys [beams] to our lady. the sone of the godhed nest [next] with iij bemys to the holy gost . the fadyr godly with iij bemys to the sone. And so entre All thre to here bosom . and Mary seyth . . .';[1] a direction which could, clearly, have been carried out only through the use of small images—presumably such images as the French are known to have used in their plays for the representation of a soul, in the shape of a doll or of a bird, made of papier mâché.[2] It seems quite probable that in certain tables representing the 'Annunciation'[3] or the 'Incarnation',[4] in which a doll-like figure comes through the air towards Mary, we have carvers' portrayals of similar employments of images[5] on the English stage, even though—since analogous representations occur in continental pictorial art of the period—the determining cause of such portrayals may not have been the influence of that stage. Thus, in the table[6] representing the 'Incarnation' in conjunction with the 'Parliament of Heaven'—whereof a Coventry play gives us the text[7]—the Child coming in a glory towards Mary is both so like the Child with His glory of the 'Nativity' and 'Adoration' tables which I have cited above, and so suggestive of an image sliding down a cord,[8] that I think we may well accept it as evidence confirming our suppositions regarding the employment of dolls in the English mystery-plays.

What I take to be other evidence indicating the employment of an effigy in the place of a living person, in English mystery-plays, is to be found in some of the tables of the 'Ascension of our Lord'; evidence which, furthermore, seems to substantiate my suggestion with reference to the Child in 'Nativity' and in 'Adoration' tables (cf. p. 62 *supra*) that such an effigy might have been in one with a representation of an aureole. Although most 'Ascension' tables follow the convention, of which the table of pl. XI, *d*[9] gives an example, prevalent from about the end of the twelfth century until about the sixteenth, in accordance with which the Apostles are depicted grouped about a small mound or platform, symbolizing the 'mountain',[1] above which are the Saviour's feet and the lower part of His garment and the cloud into which He is being received,[2] there are some in which His whole body, occasionally within an aureole, is shown. I am inclined to think that these latter, and especially those including the aureole, record the use in the English mystery-plays of an effigy where the Ascension was to be represented. In the Towneley 'Ascension' there occurs the stage-direction '& sic ascendit, cantantibus angelis "Ascendo ad patrem meum" ',[3] and in the *Ludus Coventriae*[4] there is a similar stage-direction, indicating that an actual ascension of some kind was carried out on the stage. The technical difficulty of carrying out, with a living actor, such a direction could have been surmounted easily through the substitution of an effigy of the Saviour, small enough to be raised into the uppermost part of the pageant or other stage and comparatively light in weight, for the living actor who until then had played the part of Christ.

---

[1] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 107. On some associations, in English pictorial art, of the Trinity with the Annunciation, cf. my 'An Alabaster Table of the Annunciation with the Crucifix: a Study in English Iconography', in *Archaeologia*, lxxiv (1924), pp. 207 seq.

[2] Cf. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. cviii.

[3] As in the reredos of St. Michel, Bordeaux (cf. p. 62, n. 1, *supra*), the Danzig reredos, and the table reproduced by Nelson in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiv (1927), pl. V.

[4] Cf. the Victoria and Albert Museum's *A Picture Book of English Alabaster Carvings*, 1925, pl. 12; Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiii (1926), pl. VII; '. . . the Annunciation with the Crucifix', pl. XLVI.

[5] It would seem not unlikely that an image of the Dove was sometimes used in Annunciation-plays; but a likeness of the Dove was so common in medieval pictorial representations of the Annunciation that, presumably, the alabasters can add nothing definite to our other evidence in the matter.

[6] Cf. n. 4 just above.

[7] *Ludus Coventriae*, pp. 97 seqq.

[8] In an 'Incarnation' picture at Würzburg, the Child slides down a string; in another, at Tamsweg, there is a chain between God the Father and Mary (cf. A. Heimann, 'Trinitas Creator Mundi', in *Journ. Warburg Institute*, ii [1938], p. 51).

[9] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 8.

That something of the sort was in fact done is strongly suggested by at least three of the few 'Ascension' tables in which the Saviour is depicted in Person instead of (as far more commonly) symbolically by only His feet and the lower part of His garment, because in those three He is portrayed on a considerably smaller scale than that of the other participants in the event, and not (as usually in the alabaster tables) on the same, or on an even larger, scale. Thus, in the 'Ascension' of the Danzig reredos,[5] where He seems to be standing, with hands upraised[6] and presumably at the moment just before the Ascension, He appears as if less than two-thirds of the size of the Apostles; in the somewhat similar 'Ascension' of the reredos in St. Michel, Bordeaux,[7] He looks to be only about half their size; and in the table (see pl. XII, *d*)[8] formerly belonging to the late Prebendary Clark-Maxwell, where He is shown in grave-clothes and holding a bannered cross-staff, standing (presumably on a cloud) within a rayed mandorla, His figure is not much more than half the size of the figures of the Apostles.

In an 'Ascension' table in the Versailles Library[9] the Saviour—on about the same scale as the Apostles and with a circular nimbus round His head—stands with upraised hands on the squarish top, rabbetted all round, of a sort of pillar; and in a number of tables of the conventional type, wherein Christ is represented by His feet and the lower part of His garment only, there appears a squared top, suggesting a small platform, very distinctly smaller than the part just below it, present in, for example, two tables of the 'Earliest Type', one formerly in Naworth Castle,[1] the other formerly in my collection,[2] both now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, as well as in several tables of the succeeding 'Embattled Type'.[3] This little square represents, presumably, some kind of a little platform—in the early tables depicted on a 'mountain' seemingly much broader than the top of a pillar—from which was lifted up, perhaps a living actor, perhaps an effigy. And I think that we may well presume it to have originated in a stage-property, a board whereon were represented impressions of the Saviour's feet,[4] because the very early 'Ascension' formerly in my collection is carved with such impressions.

---

[1] Matt. xxviii, 16; for fuller references in the Apocryphal Gospels, cf. James, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 112, 519.

[2] Acts i, 9. For other tables following this convention, see *Cat. cit.*, no. 3 and pl. IV, Biver, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Maclagan, in *Burl. Mag.* xxxvi, pl. I, and *Antiq. Journ.* xii, pl. LXXXV; Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type', pl. X; etc. On the convention in other forms of art, cf. E. T. Dewald, 'Iconography of the Ascension', in *Amer. Journ. Archaeology*, 2nd Ser., xix (1915), pp. 315 seq. Mâle's suggestion that the convention of symbolizing the Ascension by a pair of feet below a cloud derives from the religious plays has been rejected by Meyer Schapiro, who ascribes it rather to Anglo-Saxon literary sources; cf. 'The Image of the Disappearing Christ: The Ascension in English Art around the Year 1000', in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 6th Ser., xxiii (1943), pp. 135–58.

[3] *Towneley Plays*, p. 361.

[4] *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 350.

[5] Cf. 'The Virgin Triptych at Danzig', pl. III.

[6] Luke, xxiv, 50, 51.

[7] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII; J. A. Brutails, *Album d'objets d'art existant dans les Églises de la Gironde*, Bordeaux, 1907, pl. 25.

[8] Reproduced from fig. I in my 'Notes', in *Antiq Journ.* i, pp. 225 seqq. The table is now the property of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[9] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvii, pl. I.

I think that the 'mountain' of the 'Ascension' tables, seldom so fully visible as in the table of pl. XII, *d*—if to be seen at all it is largely concealed by at least two of the participants in the event—very possibly depicts another piece of the *décor* of an English Ascension-play; and since in the table in question it appears to have a surface representing the ground, and its pillar-like portion rises from a broad (and consequently firmly-set) base having a similar surface, I think that we may reasonably suppose its original to have been a stage-property[5] on which was placed, and thus raised above the general level of the stage, more probably (for the reasons cited above) an effigy of the Risen Christ than an actor representing Him, and from which at the proper moment the effigy was raised.

There are, indeed, records of effigies, similar to those I have postulated, having been used in contemporary Ascension-plays on the Continent. A manuscript of the fourteenth century gives details of a dramatic ceremony performed in a church at Moosburg,[6] Bavaria, wherein fifteen persons—who represented the Apostles (holding each his symbol), the Virgin Mary, and two angels,[7] thus paralleling exactly the embattled table of our pl. XI, *d*—took part, in which an effigy of Christ (in place of Whom a concealed person spoke) was by means of cords raised to, and drawn through, the roof of the church; and effigies of the kind, formerly similarly used, still survive (e.g. a Swiss one, of the seventeenth or the eighteenth century, embodying a mandorla paralleling the mandorla of the table of our pl. XII, *d*, in the Folklore Museum at Bâle).[8]

---

[1] Cf. Maclagan, in *Antiq. Journ.* xii, pl. LXXXV.

[2] The table previously J. O. Fison's; cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 3.

[3] Cf. Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type', pl. X.

[4] Cf. A. N. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, ii, London, 1907, p. 217. A ground for such representations possibly was 'the prints of Christ's feet on a slab of basalt, a paving-stone of the Via Appia, . . . worshipped from time immemorial in the church of Domine quo vadis' (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, quoting King's *Gnostics*).

[5] In the 'Ascension' table, which still retains its original colouring, of the Victoria and Albert Museum's reredos (cf. *A Picture Book cit.*, pl. 4; Maclagan, in *Burl. Mag.* xxxvi [1920], pl. 1), the 'mountain' is red with scattered groups of dark lines perhaps representing tufts of grass, while the ground on which stand Mary and the Apostles is green bestrewn with little conventionalized flowers.

[6] Cf. Young, *op. cit.* i, pp. 484 seqq.

[7] As Matthias had not yet been chosen (Acts i), the fifteenth person presumably was the one who spoke the lines assigned to Christ.

[8] Cf. Young, *op. cit.* i, pl. XI and p. 488 (n. 3), citing E. A. Stückelberg, in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, xiii (1909), pp. 150 seq., where are given also 'references to other similar *imagines*'. In this object our Lord is represented as clothed only in a loin-cloth, with His bannered cross-staff in His right hand and with His left resting on the loin-cloth. Since in the more common type of 'Ascension' tables Christ wears (as shown by the little of Him visible) a long garment, it is worth observing that in the Danzig 'Ascension' He seems to wear only the loin-cloth, and that in the Versailles 'Ascension', as in the one of our pl. XII, *d*, He appears in only loin-cloth and shroud. I believe that Ascension practices in which effigies of the Saviour are used are still continued in a number of European countries.

I have pointed out above that in a number of English alabaster tables of the 'Nativity' and of the 'Adoration of the Kings', the manner of depicting the Child's nimbus suggests strongly that on the English stage of the time that nimbus was represented by a sort of concave object upon whose inner surface rays were portrayed. In a considerable proportion of the numerous tables of the 'Assumption of the Blessed Virgin' there would seem to be further evidence for the dramatic use of apparatus of that kind. In the tables I have in mind she stands in front of a great aureole upheld by angels in postures far more human than angelic, thus suggesting that in at least some English Assumption-plays living actors held behind Mary a great concave object of cloth or of cardboard, representing her aureole.

As some few examples illustrating this, we may take the table at Naworth Castle,[1] in which the concave 'nimbus' is upheld by two angels on either side, the lower two kneeling on the flower-starred ground and the upper two on bracket-like supports provided for them; the very similar table in the Virgin reredos at Châtelaudren,[2] in which the lower two angels stand erect; the table (see pl. XII, *b*)[3] formerly belonging to our late Fellow Mr. F. A. Crisp and now to the Victoria and Albert Museum, in which the two lower angels kneel on the ground, one of the upper ones kneels on a support, and the other upper one seems to be standing in a sort of 'pulpit' (see below); the one belonging to the late Marquess of Ripon,[4] in which each of the four angels holds the edge of the nimbus with one hand and has the other hand and its arm behind the nimbus, as if to steady it, the two lower angels kneeling and the two upper standing in 'pulpits'; and the table (see pl. XII, *a*)[5] of the combined 'Assumption' and 'Coronation' (by the Three Persons, all in human form, of the Trinity), in the Arlon Archaeological Museum, in which the two upper angels are in 'pulpits', one of the lower ones, in the usual girded alb, stands, and the other lower one, clothed in feathers, kneels on one knee.

The view that in the tables showing Mary's nimbus in concave form the alabastermen depicted something they had seen on the stage is, I think, strengthened by the occurrence in certain tables of nimbi flat, like nimbi to be seen in paintings. Thus, in the tall panel from Hornby Castle,[6] formerly in Dr. Nelson's collection and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Virgin is shown within an almost flat aureole formed of rays (carved, not painted on a smooth surface as in the other tables), and six angels are shown against, but not in any way supporting, the aureole. Again, in an 'Assumption' table (see pl. XII, *c*)[7] in the Verviers Museum, displaying a flat nimbus whose rays are carved, the angels look as if they are holding on to the rays and being lifted with them, rather than that they are supporting or raising the nimbus.

There are a number of other features, besides the nimbi, in the above-cited 'Assumption' tables, which I take to be possibly associable with the presentation of the subject on the English stage. The angels are very human-looking, not only in their postures but also their in general appearance, and in the tables with the Virgin with a concave aureole they are represented as supported in some material way; they look, in most cases, like human actors wearing representations of wings. And in the larger proportion of the examples I have cited, those wings distinctly have the air of stage-properties, for their surfaces are smooth with a thick edge all round,[1] just as if they had been made of cardboard or of cloth, with a border of stiffer material to keep them firm and in shape.[2]

---

[1] Cf. Maclagan, in *Antiq. Journ.* xii (1932), pl. LXXXVI.

[2] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiv (1927), pl. IX.

[3] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 58.

[4] *Ibid.*, no. 53.

[5] Reproduced from J. Squilbeck's 'Quelques sculptures anglaises d'albâtre conservées en Belgique', in *Antiq. Journ.* xviii (1938), pl. XXV, 2.

[6] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvii (1920), pl. X.

[7] Reproduced from Squilbeck, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, 3.

One of the angels—presumably St. Michael, who in the Coventry Assumption-play brings back the Virgin's soul (doubtless represented by a doll[3]) to her body[4]—at the foot of the table of pl. XII, *a* is of special interest to us, for he is clothed, not in the girdled alb of the other angels, but in the feathers[5] which, as Professor Prior long since pointed out, very probably represent feathered tights worn in the mystery-plays.[6]

In the 'Assumption' table of pl. XII, *b*, in the late Marquess of Ripon's, in one belonging to the Leeds Philosophical Society,[7] and in others, the upper pair of supporting angels are depicted as if standing in pockets deep enough to hold them to at least their knees, and in one case even to the waist.[8] I think it quite probable that in these tables are represented such 'Pulpits for the Angels' as, made by 'carpenters' of 'boorde', are mentioned in the accounts for the Coventry Drapers' Doomsday-play in 1534.[9] While it is indeed possible that the 'pulpits' there mentioned were no more than simple raised platforms[10] on each of which stood one or more actors, there must, were that actually the case, have been such temptation to conceal in part, by means of painted cloths representing clouds, the actors on those platforms in order to suggest angels floating in the air, that I think we have good grounds for presuming that the alabasters reproduce for us, in at least some degree, the 'pulpits' in question. Angels in tables of some other subjects similarly suggest actors standing in pockets of some kind. Particularly interesting in this respect are the angels in the 'St. Catherine in Prison' table in the d'Este Collection in Vienna, who stand in pulpit-like erections at either side of the 'prison'.[11]

There is one other matter in which I think that something of medieval stagecraft is recorded for us in 'Assumption' tables; that is, the ways in which Heaven is symbolized. In many such tables Heaven is represented by a half-length figure of God the Father[1] between two figures of angels, who sometimes have their hands raised in adoration,[2] but much more often are playing musical instruments.[3] In some 'Assumption' tables—e.g. the one reproduced in our pl. xii, *b*, and one bought by the National Art Collections Fund and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum[4]—the boundary of Heaven is indicated by what looks like a band of painted cloth extending across the table behind the Virgin's aureole; in others—e.g. a table in the Liverpool Museum[5]—the boundary is represented by a band crenellated as are the heavenly walls in certain tables of other subjects; and in others—e.g. one[6] in the Victoria and Albert Museum—it is represented by an irregularly wavy line presumably betokening clouds. I am inclined to think that these ways of suggesting Heaven derive from the scenery in English plays of the Assumption; certainly the first and the third give an impression of cloth hung from a gallery in which sat an actor representing the Heavenly Father, between musicians clothed as angels. On the way in which Heaven was represented on the medieval stage, Medley says: 'At the back of the scene there ran a gallery or another raised platform representing paradise. It was here that, in the great set plays, God and the angels sat looking down on the deeds of men . . . on the stage below.'[7] A contemporary parallel for such a representation of God as appears in our alabasters occurred at Besançon, where in 1452 there was established a dramatization of the Gospel narrative of the Annunciation, presented in one of the cathedral churches, in which an image of the Dove of the Holy Spirit descended, from a gallery in which 'was stationed an elderly man to represent God', upon the young girl representing Mary.[8]

---

[1] On wings of this form, cf. Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

[2] Wings for the angels are mentioned among the properties for the Coventry Drapers' Pageant in 1534; cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[3] On French practices of this kind, cf. p. 61 *supra*.

[4] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 372. In this play St. Michael speaks also the concluding words (*ibid.*, p. 373). There is a French legend, according to which St. Michael took charge of Mary's departing soul (cf. Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 432 *n*); and in painting he may be shown announcing to her approaching death (*ibid.*, p. 436).

[5] In medieval English art St. Michael was very often depicted as feathered; for a few typical examples, cf. F. Bond, *Dedications of English Churches*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 35 (painting at South Leigh), 37 (painting at Ranworth), 39 (relief at Westminster), and Hildburgh, in *Antiq. Journ.* x (1930), pl. VI (alabaster).

[6] Cf. p. 51, *supra*. On this he has said further (cf. Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 516), in connexion with examples (*ibid.*, figs. 601–3, and 526) of the third quarter of the fifteenth century: 'It may be that the angelic host was regarded as a sort of heavenly bird, but rather we think such a dress had been devised for the mystery plays of the fifteenth century.'

[7] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 59; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 564.

[8] Angels in the tables who do not support a nimbus (e.g. angels holding chalices in 'Crucifixion' tables, or the angel taking the soul of the 'Good Thief') do not appear to be depicted as if in 'pulpits'.

[9] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[10] The *O.E.D.*'s references (under 'Pulpit'), although giving us some reason to assume that the 'pulpits' were of the nature of church-pulpits, yet seem to leave the matter open.

[11] Cf. Nelson, 'Saint Catherine Panels in English Alabaster at Vienna', in *Trans. Historic Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 1922, pl. III.

At the end of the Coventry Assumption-play the Virgin is crowned by her Son, wherefore it is perhaps worth observing that in a number of our 'Assumption' tables (e.g. those of pl. xii *a*, *c*) we find her Coronation[9] combined with her Assumption, even though the crowning is, in the only tables of the kind that I recall, done by all Three Persons of the Trinity.[10] I believe that a combination of the Coronation with the Assumption was rare in medieval art, excepting that of England. Whether or not it derives from the English stage, I cannot say; there seems a possibility that it may have done so, because of Christ's words in the Coventry Assumption-play: 'Yow to worchepe Moder. it likyth the hol trinyte | Wherfore I crowne you here. in this kyndam of glory. . . .'[11]

---

[1] In most 'Assumption' tables in which the Deity appears singly (i.e. not as the Trinity; cf. *infra*), there is no symbol to specify His Person; occasionally, however—as in a table bought by the National Art Collections Fund for the Victoria and Albert Museum (cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 54)—He holds the Orb.

[2] As in the Naworth Castle table, and in the table of the Châtelaudren reredos.

[3] As in the table of pl. xii, *b*, in the Marquess of Ripon's table, and in many other tables which have been published. The Coventry Assumption-play has a stage-direction '*hic discendet angelus ludent*ibus *citharis et dicet marie*'.

[4] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 54.

[5] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxx (1913), pl. v.

[6] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* iv, pl. liii.

[7] Cf. D. J. Medley, 'The Setting of the Miracle Plays', in *Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc.*, N.S. v (1908), part ii, p. 60.

[8] Cf. Young, *op. cit.* ii, p. 247.

[9] There are many tables of the 'Coronation' as a separate subject, showing the Virgin being crowned either by Christ alone or by the Trinity. Some reredoses (e.g. the complete one in the Capilla de los Alas, at Avilés [cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xxiv (1944), pl. xi; *Boletín de la Sociedad de Excursiones*, 1907, pl. facing p. 10]) contain both a table of the 'Assumption' and a table of the 'Coronation'.

[10] e.g. in the table of pl. xii, *a*, with the Holy Spirit in human form; or in that of pl. xii, *c*, with the Dove.

[11] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 373.

As in most 'Assumption' tables St. Thomas is shown receiving our Lady's girdle,[1] it is perhaps worth noting that in the York 'Appearance of our Lady to Thomas' she gives her girdle to him to take to his brethren, as his proof of having spoken with her.[2]

The dedication of the child Mary, as a Virgin of the Temple, is represented in a number of English alabaster tables[3] depicting her miraculously ascending the steps to the high priest, standing waiting to receive her. In the Apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew we are told how, when Mary was three years old, she was brought to the Temple, and without aid mounted the fifteen steps it had 'according to the fifteen psalms of degrees'.[4] In the alabasters, the mound upon which the Temple stood is, presumably because of lack of room, not represented, and the flight of steps leads directly to the top of an altar (the 'altar of burnt offering') at one side of, or behind, which stands the high priest. In some tables (e.g. the ones in the Madrid Museum, the La Celle reredos, and the Nuremberg Museum) the high priest is shown only above his waist; in others (e.g. the Mondoñedo [pl. XIII, *a*][5] and Kinwarton ones) he is shown from feet to head.

I am inclined to think that from these tables we may gather something of how Mary's presentation was set forth on the English stage, even though we have to keep clearly in mind that dramatist and carver alike were putting into visual form the same narrative. The restrictions in height—of the vehicle, when a pageant served as stage, in the one case and of the panel in the other—must have tended to cause their respective problems to follow parallel courses, wherefore in the stage-presentations the alabasterman might well have discerned a ready solution of the problem set him; and that he accepted such a solution seems to be indicated by the presence in the tables of certain details which suggest stage, rather than purely imaginative, design. Since in the Coventry Dedication-play Mary ascends the fifteen steps and stops on each one to repeat the words of a Psalm and some words of English text,[6] it would seem highly probable that steps of some kind were set up on the stage; and since anything but a fairly large stage could hardly have allowed sufficient room for a symbolization, within which a man could stand erect, of the Temple to be wholly above the top step, it would seem quite probable that the Temple was symbolized on the stage, as it was in the table of the La Celle reredos (unfortunately, because of breakages, the other tables are silent on this matter), by an archway about half the height of a man,[7] with the altar shown, with a view to economizing space, as having its top about level with the top of the flight of steps. The arrangement in the tables suggests that on the stage the high priest stood on a platform, somewhat lower than the top of the steps and hidden behind the 'altar'. It is perhaps worth observing that, in the 'Dedication' tables which I have cited, the 'steps' look much more like 'property' steps than like such steps as would in reality have led up the mound on which stood the Temple, and could well have been depicted more accurately in the tables.

---

[1] According to Joseph of Arimathaea; cf. James, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

[2] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 486.

[3] One each in the Madrid Archaeological Museum (cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser. xxix [1917], p. 77), the Nuremberg Museum (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* v [1925], pl. XI), in Mondoñedo Cathedral (cf. *ibid*, xxiv, pl. X; M. Amor Meilán, *Geografía general del reino de Galicia: Provincia de Lugo*, Barcelona, 1929, p. 448 and pl.), at Kinwarton (cf. P. B. Chatwin, 'Kinwarton Alabaster Table', in *Trans. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.* lvii [1933], pl. XXXIV), and the reredos at La Celle (cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. XI).

[4] Cf. B. Harris Cowper's *The Apocryphal Gospels*, London, 1897, 'Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew', chap. vi. The accepted number, fifteen, seems to rest on a passage of Josephus; cf. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 251.

[5] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* xxiv [1944], pl. X (*c*).

[6] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, pp. 74 seqq.

[7] On the representation of edifices on the English medieval stage, cf. pp. 72, 73 *infra*.

In the La Celle table and the Kinwarton table, curiously, and contrary to tradition[1] and to at least one play, St. Anne is represented as supporting Mary in the way it would be but natural to steady a small child ascending unrailed steps on a stage; in the other tables, however, Mary is represented as going up entirely without help. In the Coventry Dedication-play, the high priest asks the child to ascend the steps alone, and says that, as she is only three years old, it will be a miracle if she can do so.[2] In the Madrid table, a censing angel kneels beside the steps, a detail which not improbably comes from a play, because, although Pseudo-Matthew does not seem to refer to the presence of angels at Mary's Dedication, at least one angel appears in the Coventry Dedication-play.[3] The little man, telling his beads in an opening beneath the steps, in the La Celle table, probably is a detail from a play rather than from an alabasterman's unaided imagination.

The 'Betrothal of the Blessed Virgin' appears to have been very rarely depicted in the English alabaster tables; I recall only one example, the one (see pl. XIII, *b*),[4] fortunately well preserved, in the Madrid Archaeological Museum. As in that example it is possible to see some parallels to the Coventry Betrothal-play, and as certain details of the table suggest a stage-production rather than the immediate products of an alabasterman's imagination, stimulated, whether directly through contemporary life or indirectly through paintings, I conjecture that it not improbably records for us something of the way in which the incident was presented on the medieval English stage. In it, Joseph, standing beneath a small pointed roof supported on thin columns —presumably representing the porch of a church[5]—grasps by its middle the wand[6] whereby he had been marked as the chosen suitor, while Mary, kneeling on a small mound, takes (or touches) the wand's lower end. Behind Joseph stands the high priest, in mitre like a bishop—as was the high priest in the stage-presentations of the Passion of our Lord[7]—and holding a crozier; and behind Mary are two of the damsels (the Coventry play speaks of, and names, three[8]) appointed by the high priest to remain with the Virgin after the ceremony.

There is in the Germanic Museum, at Nuremberg, a slightly mutilated table (see pl. XIII, *c*)[9] depicting the 'Purification of the Blessed Virgin', in which the high priest, wearing a mitre, stands within an arched opening, symbolizing the Temple, while Mary, crowned and carrying a candle, kneels before him, and five other persons— two of them doubtless representing Joseph and the prophetess Anna,[10] and the other three presumably Simeon[11] and two virgins of the Temple[12]—stand, each with a candle, behind her. And, in the Grillo Collection, at Saint-Lô, in Lower Normandy, there is another table of, presumably, Mary's 'Purification',[1] in which a woman with hands clasped together kneels before a man whose head is uncovered and who, standing in an entrance-way, holds in one hand a candle and makes a gesture of benediction with the other while two women with candles stand behind the kneeling woman. These two tables, which are the only ones of their kind of which I know, have a peculiar interest for us in that there seems no direct scriptural justification for them beyond St. Luke's statement[2] that 'when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present *him* to the Lord', and none for the way in which the candles are employed. As I have pointed out in a discussion of the Germanic Museum's table,[3] the carver of that table seems to have 'had an idea that Mary underwent a sort of churching in which one of the most striking features [that is, the procession with candles] of Candlemas Day had a place'. Although seemingly far from common in continental representations of Mary's purification, in English representations the carrying of candles appears to be a regular feature.[4] I think that very probably this is to be accounted for by the English mystery-plays: in the Coventry 'Purification' Joseph says: 'Take here these candelys thre | Mary. Symeon. And Anne | And I xal take the fowrte to me | to offre oure childe up thanne'[5] (in this play, in addition to the four persons just named, the high priest ['Capellanus'] and the Child are present); in the Chester play, Joseph says: 'A signe I offer here also | of virgine wax . . . as clene as this waxe nowe is | as clene is my wife . . .';[6] and in the Digby play: 'Ye pure Virgynes' are told by Anna to come forth with 'tapers of wex' to worship the Holy Child, and they 'holde tapers in ther handes' and Simeon compares a lighted taper with Christ.[7]

---

[1] Cf. Cowper, *loc. cit.*, chap. iv.

[2] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 74.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 80 seq.

[4] Cf. my 'Some English Alabasters in Spain', in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser. xxix, pp. 78 seq.

[5] Cf. p. 72 *infra.*

[6] As the wand is depicted in the form of a simple rod, it is perhaps worth observing that although the text of the Coventry Betrothal-play speaks of the flowering of the wand, there are no stage-directions as to that flowering.

[7] Cf. p. 78 *infra.*

[8] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 93.

[9] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* v (1925), pl. XI; text on pp. 56 seqq.

[10] Cf. Luke ii, pp. 36 seqq.

[11] *Ibid.* pp. 25 seqq.

[12] In *The Digby Plays* (E.E.T.S., London, 1896) the text of 'The Purification in the Temple (played on Candlemas Day, 1512)' refers to 'virgynes, as many as a man wyll', although the list of players (on p. xxxii) names only 'A virgyn'.

The Grillo Collection's 'Purification' table appears to derive from another English way of presenting its subject in dramatic form; but whether directly or through the stage, I doubt that we can say. In that table we have, presumably, not the mitred high priest, but Simeon with his candle, as we might have seen him on Candlemas Day at, say, Beverley, for there, according to an ordinance of the late fourteenth century, the local Gild of St. Mary had, on the 2nd February of every year, to go in formal procession to the church of the Blessed Virgin, one person clothed 'like to the glorious Virgin Mary, having what may seem a son in her arms; and two others shall be clad like to Joseph and Simeon; and two shall go as angels', and these persons were to be followed by the women members of the Gild, and then by the men, each member carrying 'a wax light weighing half a pound' (i.e. a long candle such as is shown in our alabasters); and when they were come into the church, 'the pageant Virgin shall offer her son to Simeon at the high altar'.[8]

---

[1] Cf. A. Rostand, 'Les Albâtres anglais du XVe siècle en Basse-Normandie', in *Bull. monumental*, lxxxvii (1928), pp. 294 (with reproduction) seq.

[2] ii, p. 22.

[3] *Antiq. Journ.* v, pp. 56 seqq.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 58.

[5] *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 167.

[6] *The Chester Plays*, i, p. 210.

[7] *The Digby Plays*, p. 19 seq.

[8] Cf. J. Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, London (E.E.T.S.), 1870, p. 149. The quotation above is a translation from the Latin original, written about 1390, preserved in the Public Record Office, in London. Young gives (*op. cit.* ii, pp. 252 seq.) a transcription of the Latin original, together with a summary in English. The offering of the Child to Simeon is based on Luke ii, 28.

It should be observed that in the two 'Purification' tables above discussed the Child is not shown; in them, the emphasis clearly is on the purification, in accordance with the Law,[1] forty days after the birth of a son. In certain other tables, however, the emphasis is—as in almost all continental depictions of the first appearance of the Child in the Temple[2]—rather on the presentation of the Child at the end of Mary's 'days of purification', and in them the sacrificial 'pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons'[3] appear. One such table, in the reredos at La Celle (Eure),[4] represents the Virgin holding the Child towards the high priest, Joseph carrying a basket wherein are the two birds, and two persons—presumably Simeon and Anna—bearing candles; another forms part of the reredos at San Benedetto a Settimo, near Pisa.[5] Although in such tables the iconography parallels the wording—e.g. that cited above from the Coventry 'Purification'—in some English mystery-plays, and may well be presumed to follow the stage-presentation of a play of the kind, I think it would be unsafe to attribute that iconography to the influence of the English drama; for, beyond the presence of the candles (which appear similarly also in other forms of English art of the time, as well as occasionally in continental art),[6] the tables seemingly depict nothing which could not have come through a direct visualization, by a painter or a sculptor, of St. Luke's description of the incident.

I am much inclined to think that the arched opening, within which stands the high priest of the Nuremberg Museum's 'Purification' table (see pl. XIII, *c*), depicts fairly accurately a type of stage-property used regularly to represent almost any kind of edifice wanted for the action. In other tables we may see something very similar to it, intended to represent variously, for example, the Temple (as in pl. XIII, *a*) or a prison. Although it may, so far as we can be sure, be indeed nothing more than a symbol, representing a building, devised by the alabaster-carvers to comply with the limitations set by the space available, yet it has so much the air of a stage-property, of pasteboard or of painted cloth, such as we might well expect to meet on a small stage,[7] that I think we may be justified in presuming it to reproduce such a property. The curious representation of an edifice, with its exaggeratedly large entrance, its tracery (? to symbolize large windows), and its roof with little chimneys, which in the 'Purification' of the Grillo Collection serves to represent the Temple, similarly suggests a stage-property.[8] Properties of that kind would but have paralleled the much more elaborate

---

[1] Leviticus xii.

[2] Compare D. C. Shorr, 'The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple', in *Art Bulletin*, xxviii (1946), pp. 17–32; in this the Child is present in all the thirty relevant illustrations accompanying the text, and only in the last of these does a candle—one in Joseph's hand—appear.

[3] Luke ii, 24.

[4] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII; *Cat. cit.*, pl. VII, Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 537.

[5] Cf. R. Papini, 'Polittici d'Alabastro', in *L'Arte*, xiii (1910), p. 205.

[6] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* v, p. 58. Mâle says (*L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle*, 1928, p. 123) that as early as about the middle of the twelfth century we get, in French art, two women holding lighted candles behind Mary, who presents the Child to Simeon, and that presumably the incident has been taken from some liturgical play.

[7] Concerning this matter L. Petit de Julleville says (*Les Mystères*, Paris, 1880, i, 396) that the silence of 'les éditeurs de mystères' 'au sujet de la représentation des autres [i.e. than Paradise, Hell, or Limbo] lieux, villes, bourgs, châteaux-forts, palais, murailles de villes, etc., nous porte à penser que cette représentation devait être assez sommaire, et se borner en général à une indication suffisamment claire, plutôt qu'à une figuration complète de l'objet'.

[8] The same building appears in another table, probably representing one of the 'Works of Mercy' and presumably from the same hand as this 'Purification', in a collection at Cherbourg; cf. Rostand, *op. cit.*, p. 280 (with reproduction).

'Hell-mouth' we know to have been used on the English stage of the period, as also on the continental.[1]

I think, also, that the 'prison' of St. Catherine, in a number of the many English alabaster tables concerned with her history,[2] similarly has the look of a stage-property. There is what seems to be reasonably certain confirmation of my view in a table, one of a group of four, at Vienna,[3] where she stands in a box-like erection flanked on either side, near its top, by a 'pulpit'—such as I have already referred to (p. 67 *supra*)—holding an angel; from a photograph of this (see pl. XIII, *d*) showing a line of shadow where the 'prison' meets the ground, one receives an impression that the carver was in fact depicting a movable piece of scenery placed on the stage. A table of the same subject, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries,[4] shows a 'prison' of similar character, strongly suggesting a stage-property. So, too, does a table, from Roscoff,[5] formerly in Dr. Nelson's collection and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[6]

A very large proportion of the surviving English alabasters have been, or still are, parts of retables concerned with Christ's Passion. Most of them follow, in their broad lines, the conventional, and often long traditional, representations of their subjects; wherefore it is generally in their unusual details, when such are present, that we have to seek for confirmation of our view that the alabasters to some extent mirror the stage of their time. Although we may observe many parallels to stage-presentations in the tables of the 'Passion', as in other remains of medieval art, it is possible to ascribe most of such parallels to the employment of the same ancient sources as bases for both plays and alabasters.

In alabaster tables of the 'Entry into Jerusalem' we may see, lying upon the ground where Jesus is riding (as in an incomplete table in the Victoria and Albert Museum[7]) or about to be thrown down before Him (as in a fine table belonging to the Duke of Rutland (see pl. XIV, *a*),[8] small branching stems terminating in little knobs. These stems seem, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[9] to represent willow-branches with male catkins, which doubtless on the stage (as certainly in many churches, and in the street processions, on Palm Sunday in medieval England)[10] were used in the stead of true palm, strewed, with flowers, 'in the way agaynst his comynge'.[11] Although it is presumable that the carvers may have been inspired, in respect to the details of their 'Entry' tables, by the Palm Sunday processions[1] rather than by the stage, yet as we find in a Coventry Entry-play the words 'late vs than welcome hym with flowrys and brawnchis of the tre' and a stage-instruction for a number of children to cast flowers before the Saviour[2]—children perhaps represented by the two little figures in a lower corner of the Duke of Rutland's table—I think that we have good grounds for presuming that the willow of the tables was a reflection of the plays. Incidentally, it may be observed that the alabastermen must have been aware that what they depicted in their 'Entry' tables was not true palm, as many of their images of Saints hold true palm-branches.[3]

---

[1] Cf. pp. 88 seqq. *infra*.

[2] For a long list of such tables, cf. Nelson, 'Saint Catherine Panels in English Alabaster at Vienna', in *Trans. Historic Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 1922, pp. 130 seq.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. III.

[4] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 61.

[5] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvii (1920), pp. 223 (with fig. 2) seq.

[6] On the *décor* of the mystery-plays Medley remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 61) that '. . . when the scene shifted from Nazareth to Jerusalem, from . . . to . . . the actors who took part in the first scene only, must needs remain upon the platform . . . For these various scenes—castles, cottages, hills, and such like—would be represented by pieces of painted wood or cloth, just sufficient to indicate the locality intended. Herod's palace might well take the form of a structure which to the modern mind would suggest nothing more exalted than a sentry-box (the comparison is not my own).'

[7] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* iv (1924), pl. LII and pp. 378 seq.

[8] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* xvii (1937), pl. XLIX.

[9] *Antiq. Journ.* iv, p. 379.

[10] Cf. W. C. Hazlitt, *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, London, 1870, i, pp. 71 seqq.; *British Calendar Customs: England*, i (Movable Feasts, edited by A. R. Wright), Folk-Lore Soc., London, 1936, pp. 56 seq.; particularly interesting for us are a reference to willow as used in Yorkshire, and a Derbyshire reference to it as 'English Palm'.

[11] In the 'Northern Passion', an English poem composed early in the fourteenth century, on the basis of an earlier French original (cf. F. A. Foster's *The Northern Passion*, London [E.E.T.S.], ii, 1916, p. 2), which in many ways is connected with the English plays (cf. *ibid.*, chap. vi, 'The *Northern Passion* and the Drama'), several versions speak of people bringing branches of *palm* for the Entry (cf. *ibid.* i, 1913, pp. 10 seq.). In some early sixteenth-century editions of *Mirk's Festival* it is distinctly stated (cf. edition of about 1510, fol. xxvi *v*, and Wynkyn de Worde's

Zacchaeus, who 'little of stature . . . climbed up into a sycomore tree' when Jesus passed through Jericho,[4] appears in tables of the 'Entry' as though his action was at Jerusalem. I am inclined to ascribe the anachronism to an immediate effect of the plays, wherein it is paralleled, rather than to a survival in pictorial art of ancient iconography.[5]

The scene of the 'Agony in the Garden' seems to have been comparatively rarely depicted in the English alabaster tables. I recall only three existing examples of it: one, whose background has to some extent been restored, in the important group of 'Passion' tables in the Musée Th. Dobrée, at Nantes[6] (see pl. XIV, *b*);[7] the one in the complete altar-piece at Écaquelon;[8] and the one (see pl. XIV, *c*),[9] now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which I have suggested[10] may once have formed part of the reredos whereof some of the tables now form the altar-piece at Saint-Avit-les-Guespières. The composition of these three tables, with the Saviour kneeling in prayer while Peter, James, and John sleep, in its general lines follows, as presumably did the Agony-plays (and as certainly did a Coventry one),[11] the Gospel narratives.[12] But the chalice with its wafer which, presumably in allusion to the Saviour's prayer that the 'cup' be taken from Him,[12] appears in the Écaquelon table (where it is nimbed) and

---

edition of 1528, fol. xxvii *v*) that the people strewed branches of palm, with other flowers, in the way. Erbe's edition (E.E.T.S., 1905) of a manuscript version of the first half of the fifteenth century, although not making the matter entirely clear, strongly suggests (cf. p. 115) that palm, with other branches, were strewn in the way.

[1] For some brief notices of, and references to, such processions, cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, Oxford, 1913, ii, pp. 4 seq.; R. Withington, *English Pageantry*, Cambridge (Mass), 1918, i, pp. 15 seq.; Young, *op. cit.* i, p. 91.

[2] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 241. In the York Entry-play, children are in the front of the procession into Jerusalem.

[3] A possible exception to this appears in the 'Entombment' table of the Duke of Rutland's group (cf. pl. XIX, *b infra*), where St. John holds a branch which seems to combine elements of both true palm and willow, but conceivably has been intended to represent one of the other plants which served as 'palm' in England.

[4] Luke xix, 3, 4.

[5] Cf. my note on this, in *Antiq. Journ.* iv, pp. 378 seq.

[6] The group consists of the following nine tables (each about 20¼ × 11¾ in., excepting the 'Crucifixion', which is about 44 × 18 in.; the set, as originally constituted, is obviously incomplete), all from one reredos: 'Agony in the Garden', 'Betrayal', 'Scourging', 'Carrying of the Cross', 'Crucifixion', 'Entombment', 'Harrowing of Hell', 'Resurrection', and 'Appearance to the Magdalene'. The group is noted briefly in *Antiq. Journ.* x, pp. 44 seq. As it is to be published in some detail in *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Association*, xi (1946), I shall in this present paper concern myself with its tables only in such respects as they seem to me possibly records of medieval English stagecraft.

[7] I have to acknowledge the courtesy of M. F.-L. Pineau-Chaillou, Conservateur of the Musée, in giving me permission and facilities for photographing the group.

[8] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. III; Set of 100 Plates of Objects in the 'Exposition d'Art Religieux Ancien' at Rouen in 1931, Rouen (Imprimerie Lecerf), 1932, pl. XII.

[9] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* viii (1928), pl. XIV.

[10] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55.

[11] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, pp. 262 seq.

[12] Matthew xxvi; Mark xiv; Luke xxii.

in the one in London,[1] is an interesting detail, not only adopted from the stage, but very probably shown in the tables in much the same way as it appeared on the stage; in the former table it is shown standing on a sort of bracket, and in the latter on the top of the 'Mount'. Although the Gospels neither say that the 'cup' actually appeared, nor speak of the presence of an angel at the Agony, in the Coventry play I have cited, a stage-instruction tells us '*here An Aungel descendyth to jhesus* and *bryngyth to hym A chalys wit*h *An host th*er *in*'; and in that play the angel speaks, then Jesus speaks, and then the angel ascends—thus accounting for his absence from the tables—again.[2]

I am inclined to think that the curious bulbous foliage of the Nantes 'Agony' table may have been based on stage-foliage; but also, on the other hand, that the foliage of the Victoria and Albert Museum's table has been conditioned by the sculptural qualities of alabaster rather than by forms of stage-scenery. It certainly seems probable that on the stage the 'Garden' of the Agony (a stage-instruction of the Coventry play tells us that it should be a place '*lych to A park*')[3] was symbolized by a display of one or more representations of trees. We know that a substantial 'Apeltrie' was one of the properties of the Coventry Cappers' pageant,[4] I presume for the Garden of the Sepulchre, and the bulbous foliage (depicted again, together with padlike foliage, in the Nantes 'Appearance to the Magdalene') seems well adapted for application on the stage, where it might have been painted in some such way as is suggested by the bulbous foliage (still retaining part of its applied colouring) in the table of the 'Burial of the Baptist's Head' in the Danzig Marienkirche.[5] Had the skilled craftsmen who carved the tables of the Nantes group and the Marienkirche's group wished to do so, they could easily, and in a workmanlike manner, have produced more realistic foliage.

I also think that, in the very realistic sword—soon to be used at the 'Betrayal'—which Peter holds in the Nantes 'Agony' table, we may well have a detail drawn from a mystery-play, because the Nantes group seems, as we shall have further occasion to observe, to display exceptionally many reflections of the stage.

The 'Betrayal', as depicted in the English alabaster tables, shows, as I think, certain fairly clear evidences of the influence of the popular religious drama on the alabasterman's art. The earliest table of the subject that I recall is the one (see pl. XV, *a*)[6] in Hawkley church, Hampshire, carved presumably about the middle of the fourteenth century or a little later, in which the figures—our Lord, Judas, Peter, a man with a lantern, three soldiers, and the wounded Malchus—are ranged as if in a *tableau-vivant*,[7] all standing in formal attitudes excepting the recumbent Malchus in the foreground. But with the coming in, about 1380, of the embattled tables, the scene became more animated—due, one may presume, to the growing popularity of presentations of sacred subjects in dramatic, rather than in liturgical, forms—and in the embattled tables it assumed a conformation which, in its general terms, remained unchanged until the extinction of the medieval English alabaster industry. How much that conformation, which differs from that of the 'Earliest Type' rather in its animation and in the postures and the arrangements of its participants than in any deviation from the Gospel narratives, owes to the specifically English plays and how much to continental art similarly influenced by its local mystery-plays is difficult to say; what is, however, unquestionable is that the presentation in the English tables parallels closely the English stage-presentations of the subject.

---

[1] It appears also in some continental late medieval pictorial art.

[2] *Ludus Coventriae*, pp. 263 seq. In the York Agony-play the angel comes, but *without* the chalice and the Host, to comfort Jesus; cf. Smith, *York Plays*, pp. 244 seq.

[3] *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 262.

[4] Cf. p. 95 *infra*.

[5] Cf. Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type', pl. XX.

[6] Reproduced, by courtesy of the Royal Archaeological Institute, from Nelson, 'Earliest Type . . .', pl. VII.

[7] Cf. p. 56 *supra*.

St. John tells us that 'Judas then, having received a band of *men* and officers . . . cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons';[1] and the Coventry Betrayal-play elaborates this, in a stage-instruction, to '. . . *th*er *xal come in A x personys wehl be-seen in white Arneys* and *bregandery*s and *some dysgysed in odyr garmenty*s *wi*th *swerdys gleyvys* and *other straunge wepon*e *as cressettys wi*th *feyr* and *lanternys* and *torchis lyth* and *judas*. . . .'[2] In many 'Betrayal' tables we may observe parallels to the Coventry play's instructions, in the variety of weapons carried, in the lantern (a regular feature, present even in the early table of pl. XV, *a*), and occasionally (e.g. in a table in the British Museum)[3] in the cresset or torch shown in addition to the lantern.[4]

There are, however, a number of small details of the 'Betrayal' tables which seem to go beyond the formal instructions of the plays and to suggest that they originated, not in the Gospel accounts, nor in the written portions of the plays, but very probably on the boards themselves. Thus, in the 'Betrayal' table of the Nantes group (see pl. XV, *d*), Malchus's sprawling posture and the somewhat comic solicitude of his companion seem reflections of the rough humour that is so often manifest in the wording of the plays, and doubtless not only fitted the taste of the spectators but served also to relieve the tension induced by the painful events enacted before them. So, too, the soldier with his dagger raised to strike St. Peter, to be seen in the 'Betrayal' table (see pl. XV, *c*)[5] of the Duke of Rutland's group,[6] seems more probably an invention for the stage than conceived by the comparatively conservative alabastermen. Similarly, in the embattled 'Betrayal' table (see pl. XV, *b*)[7] of the 'Passion' group formerly at Palma de Mallorca and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[8] the gesture of the civilian who pushes sideways Peter's head, and that of the soldier who seizes roughly the Saviour's garment, seem to be inspired rather by the stage's tendency towards exaggeration than by the less impassioned imagination of the workshop.

In the embattled table of pl. XV, *b*, assignable to the period in which the drama seems first to have enlivened the action of the alabaster tables, there are two interesting details, presumably adopted from the stage, which are to be seen also in many other tables of the same period and later. One of these is the very dark colour of the faces of the wicked persons, intended to indicate their villainous natures; in some tables the faces of the torturers and other iniquitous persons are black,[9] as are those of demons in other tables, and as the medieval stage represented the souls of the damned.[1] There may profitably be noted here another symbol of wickedness, sometimes present in the alabasters, likewise presumably derived from the stage; that is, a dragon- or demon-like extrusion from the head or the head-gear of an exceptionally evil person, as in pl. xvi, *b* and pl. xvii, *b*.[2] The other detail, of the table of pl. xv, *d*, to which I refer is the gilt hair, such as we find very often given to the Virgin Mary and the Apostles and other holy persons, of the Saviour, and perhaps also of St. Peter (whose hair in some 'Betrayal' tables is still gilt). Included in the Coventry stage-properties paid for in 1490 was 'a chevêl gyld for Ihê', and Sharp mentions also a similar 'cheverel or false hair (Peruke) . . . in 1490 . . . for Peter, described to have been gilt'.[3]

---

[1] John xviii, 3.

[2] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 264 seq.

[3] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxii (1925), pl. III.

[4] In a table formerly in my collection, it occupies the usual place of the (there absent) lantern.

[5] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* xvii, pl. XLIX.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 181 seq.

[7] Reproduced, by courtesy of the Royal Archaeological Institute, from my paper in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxviii (1931), pl. III.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 231 seqq.

[9] This has been cited by Prior as one of the stage-tricks copied by the alabaster-carvers; cf. p. 51 *supra.* It is perhaps worth recalling here, in view of the many effects of the Crusades on European thought, that 'It is a general belief of the Muslims that the wicked will rise to judgment with their faces black'; cf. E. W. Lane's trans. of *The Thousand and One Nights*, London, 1859, n. 24 to chap. viii (i. p. 549).

In the Duke of Rutland's 'Betrayal' table (pl. xv, *c*) there is a minor detail which may perhaps be of considerable importance in helping towards a co-ordination—at present still uncertain—of the tables with the districts wherein they respectively were carved. In almost every 'Betrayal' table which I recall, the lantern is upheld by some person in the background, and there is no lantern in the foreground near the wounded Malchus. In the Duke's table, on the other hand, Malchus appears actually with the lantern, thus suggesting that the group whereof it forms a part is to be associated with York, because in the York Betrayal-play Malchus is the one who brings a light to guide the party,[4] and in the Towneley play (which is connected with York; cf. p. 55 *supra*) Pilate tells Malchus to go with a lantern before the party,[5] whereas there is nothing in the Coventry plays—which plays I take to have been in some way connected with the inspiration of a number of details of alabasters carved at Nottingham—to lead one to think of Malchus as the lantern-bearer. Perhaps further support for an attribution of the Duke's group to York rather than to Nottingham may lie in the showing of Zacchaeus in his tree in the 'Entry' table (see pl. xiv, *a*) of that group, since Zacchaeus in the tree appears in the York Entry-play;[6] but as he may perhaps have been brought into the table from other sources (cf. p. 74 *supra*), the point should not be given undue weight as evidence. Possibly, too, the peculiar padlike foliage in the 'Appearance to the Magdalene' of the Nantes group (cf. p. 74, n. 6 *supra*)—a group having a number of features suggesting that it is associable in some respects with the Duke of Rutland's group[7]—is further evidence that those two important groups were carved at or in the vicinity of York, since Prior tentatively attributed[8] to the York alabastermen that somewhat rare type of foliage.[9]

Of tables of the 'Trial before Caiaphas', I recall only one; i.e. the one (see pl. xvi, *d*)[10] in the Cluny Museum, in which Caiaphas appears, as commonly he appeared in the alabaster tables as in the English mystery-plays, mitred like a bishop,[1] and in the background of which is a man holding a parchment scroll, presumably as an indication that he is a 'scribe'.[2]

---

[1] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 seqq.

[2] Pl. xvi, *b* reproduced, by courtesy of the Royal Archaeological Institute, from Nelson's paper in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiii (1926), pl. i. For some other examples, cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 43; and Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxii, pls. vii and iii (in the latter the dragon-head has been broken off at the neck).

[3] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 32.

[4] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 250.

[5] Cf. *Towneley Plays*, p. 223.

[6] Cf. *York Plays*, xxiii, 214.

[7] It may, incidentally, be observed that Malchus's solicitous companion, of the Nantes table, appears, although in another posture, in the Duke's table. The 'Betrayal' table at Naworth Castle (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xii, pl. lxxxvii), very similar to the Duke's table in this and in other respects, has the lantern in its usual place in the background.

[8] Cf. Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 493, fig. 567 *a* and *b*.

[9] An excellent example of it is in a table of 'St. John Preaching' (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* x, pl. x and pp. 41 seq.), certainly from the same workshop and probably from the same hand as the tables of the Nantes group.

[10] Reproduced, by courtesy of the Royal Archaeological Institute, from Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvi (1919), pl. vii.

Of the 'Buffeting', I recall only three tables: the one in the Duke of Rutland's group (see pl. XVII, *a*),[3] the one in the reredos at Compiègne,[4] and an incomplete one published by Nelson.[5] Although in their main lines stage and tables alike followed the biblical narratives,[6] I think that in at least the Duke of Rutland's table we may see details added to those narratives by the drama. Christ is shown seated upon a stool, so paralleling the Towneley Buffeting-play, in which a stool is sent for in order that His tormentors may buffet Him the more easily;[7] two men hold over His face a veil[8]—Mark says that they covered His face, and Luke that they 'blindfolded' Him[9]—which in that same play is also sent for;[10] the two men holding the veil buffet Christ with their hands while two others strike at Him with, respectively, a long club and what looks to be a cudgel, thus recalling the question of the play's tormentors 'who smote the last?'[11] and behind Christ is a man with a scroll, presumably one of the 'doctors',[12] who seems with his right hand to be directing the buffeting. I am inclined to think that in the representations here of the long club and the cudgel we have further evidence of the influence of an acting-version of the scene, because to me both of the weapons—and particularly the longer one, curved as though through impact with the Victim's head—look to resemble stage properties, such as bags of leather or of cloth filled with wool or other soft material, rather than weapons made of stiff wood. If the rough clowning of the torturers fittingly interpreted the words assigned to them in the plays, it must have gone hard with any actor compelled to submit to blows from real weapons. And there is indeed evidence (cf. p. 81, n. 6 *infra*) that just such stage properties were actually in use. A curious detail of the Compiègne 'Buffeting' is that one of the two torturers holding the veil has in his hand something looking like an elongated parallelepiped of soft substance, and the other has his hand on what seems to be a piece of similar substance resting on the Saviour's head. It may perhaps be that the former holds a handful of hair torn from our Lord's head, and that the latter is in the act of tearing more, but I have not found in the plays any suggestion of that particular brutality, though I do not think it would be beyond them. The gestures of the corresponding men in the table of pl. XVII, *a* conceivably may be regarded as prompted by some similar intention.[13] I would suggest tentatively, however, in view of what I have pointed out above concerning the weapons in pl. XVII, *a*, that what the carvers were depicting was padding to soften the effects of the vigorous buffeting called for by the text of the plays, quite possibly accompanied by some device, similar or analogous to one commonly used by clowns, for producing a sound like that of a heavy slap. Unfortunately, it is now no longer clear precisely what the carvers meant to portray.

---

[1] In the York play of the trial, Pilate and the soldiers speak of Caiaphas as a 'Busshopp'; cf. *York Plays*, pp. 289, 261. In the Coventry play (cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 230) instructions concerning Annas's costume, in detail, say that it should be like that of a 'busshop' of the 'hoold' law, including his mitre. Items of the expenditure at Coventry show that the stage-costumes of Caiaphas and Annas were like those of Christian bishops; cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[2] Cf. Mark xiv, 53.

[3] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* xvii, pl. XLIX.

[4] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII.

[5] Cf. *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxii (1925), pl. VII and p. 32. There is a fragment, showing only Christ and one soldier, in the Rouen Museum.

[6] Mark xiv, 65; Luke xxii, 64.

[7] *Towneley Plays*, p. 239; *York Plays*, pp. 267 seq. The Coventry play gives instructions (cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 276) that He shall be set upon a stool.

[8] In *Ludus Coventriae* (p. 276) the instructions say that a cloth shall be cast over His face.

[9] In the Rouen Museum's fragment a bandage blindfolds Him.

[10] *Towneley Plays*, p. 240.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

[12] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, pp. 275 seq.

[13] In the incomplete 'Buffeting' which Nelson published

Christ's appearance before Herod is represented in an incomplete table (see pl. XVI, *c*)[1] formerly in Dr. Nelson's collection and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Saviour, with hands bound by a rope held by an attendant, stands before Herod, behind whom stands an accuser, richly garbed; in an upper corner of the table is the face of Judas, turning shamedly from the scene. Herod, in a chair representing a throne, wears a crown wound with a turban and holds a sceptre; above him is a fragment of an architectural composition which, as Nelson has suggested,[2] presumably represented his palace, wherein Christ was brought before him. Herod's turban-wound crown, which very likely reproduces a detail of a stage-production, differs from the simple crown from which issues a dragon's head which is Herod's head-gear in the table of pl. XVI, *b*. The nature of Herod's head-gear in the tables is perhaps of some concern to us, because we find, among the entries in connexion with the Coventry pageants of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, several relating to the making and the repairing of Herod's 'crest',[3] and it would be interesting if we could correlate—a thing I have not been able to do—reasonably closely those entries with what we may see in the alabasters. Since in this table Herod holds a sceptre, and in the table (see pl. XVI, *b*) representing Herod with the Baptist he holds a falchion, it is worth observing that in the Coventry accounts for 1490 are charges for 'A "fawchon", a "septur", and "a Creste for heroude" repaired'.[4]

Another matter possibly of significance for our inquiry is the costume of Christ in the table of pl. XVI, *c*; it, as are His hair and His beard, is gilded. In the Coventry accounts there are a number of entries concerning the materials for, and the making of, garments for the player taking the part of Jesus (or, as the accounts put it, 'God'). I judge these garments to have been of two distinct kinds: one to represent true clothing, the other very close-fitting and intended primarily to conceal the player's skin. I think that it is perhaps to a garment of the first kind that a Coventry entry of 1565, 'pd. for payntyng & gyldyng gods cote',[5] applies. But there are a number of other entries in the Coventry accounts which to me suggest a possibility—regarding which, unfortunately, it is unlikely that the alabaster carvings can ever enlighten us—which I do not recall having seen advanced; that is, that when on the stage it was necessary to represent our Lord stripped for the torturers, or, perhaps, in grave-clothes after His death, the display of an

---

there are, just below the break, two almost isolated hands which he spoke of as plucking at the Saviour's hair. One of these clearly corresponds to the free hand of the man with the cudgel in the table of pl. XVII, *a*; but the other, presumably the left hand of a man corresponding to the man with the long club, although in a position enabling him to do such plucking, perhaps is rather pressing something on Christ's head.

[1] Reproduced, by courtesy of the Royal Archaeological Institute, from Nelson's paper in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxiv (1917), pl. XIII; on the colours of the costumes in this table, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 119 seq.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, n. 2.

[3] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 29 (mending his crest; seven plates for his 'Crest of iron'; colours and gold-foil and silver-foil for his crest and 'fawchon'; silver paper, gold paper, gold-foil, and green foil, for making the crest; 'mendyng of Arroddes Crast').

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

actor's bared body[1] was evaded by his wearing a close-fitting costume of white leather, thus avoiding both an exposure which we may well believe to have been repugnant to contemporary taste and ill effects from blows and the like and from cold. That possibility perhaps explains such items as those 'for sowyng of gods kote of leddur and for makyng of the hands to the same kote' (1498),[2] 'for a peyre of gloves for god' (1557),[3] 'for a Cote for god and for a payre of gloves' (1562),[4] 'vi skynnys of whitled' [i.e. white leather] to godds gm̃ent' (1451),[2] five sheep-skins 'for gods coot' (1553),[2] and seven skins 'for godys cote' (1556).[4] A tight costume of soft white leather, with gloves attached, might well have been worn if Christ's skin was, as a sign of His goodness and purity, to be represented as white; we may recall, in this connexion, that at Coventry the souls of the saved were represented as white,[5] just as those of the damned were represented as black.[6]

The tables of 'Christ's Trial before Pilate' that I recall seem to show us little that the English alabastermen might not have taken directly from Matthew's account of the incident. I think, however, that we may reasonably ascribe to the influence of stage-presentations such details as the basin-bearer with a towel over his shoulder, who serves Pilate in a fragment in the Louvre Museum;[7] the attendant (seemingly also with a towel over his shoulder) pouring water upon Pilate's hands from a ewer in a table of the Compiègne reredos;[8] and the attendant similarly pouring water in an incomplete table in the Rouen Museum.[7]

In the earliest table of the 'Scourging of our Lord' with which I am acquainted—a table of Prior's 'Earliest Type' in the Victoria and Albert Museum[10]—the scene, of the simplest character and hardly more than symbolic, depicts Christ bound to a pillar between two men armed with scourges. A somewhat later, but still early, embattled table in the Carcassone Museum[11] follows closely the same pattern, but with the costumes more elaborate and with the addition of a third torturer (shown on a small scale in order not to disarrange the general pattern), without a scourge but pulling on the rope wherewith Christ's hands are bound—an action presumably due to the influence of the mystery-plays and entirely in keeping with the vicious and needless cruelty of the torturers, displayed in the words assigned to them in those plays. The number of torturers in the Carcassone table accords with the number taking part in the

---

[1] W. Hone's remark (cf. *Ancient Mysteries*, London, 1823, p. 220 n.), 'there can be no doubt that Adam and Eve appeared on the [Coventry] stage naked', seems to have been based on a misapprehension. In any case, we have direct, though late, evidence as to the costumes worn by the players of those parts, in the accounts of the Norwich Grocers, who in 1565 had for their play of 'The Creation of Eve' '2 cotes & a payre hosen for Eve, stayned', and 'A cote & hosen for Adam, Steyned' (cf. R. Fitch, 'Norwich Pageants', in *Norfolk Archaeology* [Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Soc.], v [1859], pp. 30, 9). On the question of nudity on the medieval stage, cf., further, Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.* i, pp. 382 seq.

[2] Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[3] Seemingly, gloves were by no means exclusively for God'; Sharp tells us (*op. cit.*, p. 35) that 'Most of the players had gloves'.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 66 seqq.

[6] Cf. p. 77 *supra.*

[7] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvi, p. 137 and pl. VII.

[8] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII.

[9] A table, lacking its lower part, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, shows Pilate washing his hands in a basin in a holder (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* i, pl. VIII); and tables respectively in the Naples Museum's reredos (cf. *Cat. cit.*, pl. I) and in the Vire Museum (cf. Rostand, *op. cit.*, p. 308) show him with his hands upraised. There is a table, also, in the Toulouse Museum (cf. A. Bouillet, in *Bull. monumental*, lxv [1901], 62).

[10] Cf. Hildburgh, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxviii (1931), pl. I. Didron records (*op. cit.* ii, p. 316) that the traditionary 'Byzantine Guide to Painting' specifies two scourgers.

[11] Cf. Nelson, '... Embattled Type', pl. XV.

Scourging in certain of the plays; e.g. in the corresponding Towneley play. But in later embattled tables, such as the one in the Douai Museum,[1] there are four torturers, all armed with scourges, as there are—perhaps largely because of the symmetry thus possible in the pattern—in almost all the later 'Scourging' tables, and in at least some of the plays.[2]

Although in the ordinary run of 'Scourging' tables there seems to appear nothing, beyond the general animation of the scene, to ascribe to the effect of the mystery-plays, in the 'Scourging' table of the group in the Nantes Museum (see pl. XVII, *b*) there are several details which to me suggest immediate effects of the plays. Thus, besides the three torturers armed with scourges, there are a fourth man whose right hand is on a dagger and who seems to be urging the torturers to greater exertions, and a fifth man who presumably is Pilate,[3] since in the London table of 'Christ before Pilate'[4] and the Vire Museum's table of the same subject[4] Pilate wears head-gear similar to that here; some plays represent him to have been present at the Scourging,[5] and he here holds a mace as he did at Coventry, where a stage-property representing it is still preserved.[6] Furthermore, several unusual details of the torturers look as if derived from the stage. The strange beasts of the head-gear of the two active torturers parallel examples to which I have referred above as indicative of depravity;[7] and the torturer pressing upon the rope with his foot is analogous to the third torturer of the Carcassone 'Scourging' table, and is paralleled exactly in certain other tables.[8] For the little bells round the waist of one torturer and on his sleeves and on those of his active companion, I have found no parallels either in the alabaster tables[9] or in the texts of the plays; one surmises that they were worn in the plays either to accentuate the roughly humorous character of the torturers or by their sound to mark each blow. The torturer who holds his scourge in his teeth while he adjusts his hose is—although something corresponding may occasionally be seen in continental art—so far as I know, unique in 'Scourging' tables, a bit of rough clowning according well with the torturers' boastful threats. I have, however, no texts to indicate whether his action is due to an excess of zeal or to a feeling of compunction towards a task become distasteful to him—that possibly it was the latter is suggested by his head-gear, which lacks a monster though his active companions each display one. Finally, the torturer who holds the rope appears to be spitting on the Saviour; an action in line with the 'Second Torturer's' spitting in Christ's face in the Towneley Scourging-play.[10]

Presumably due to, or at least associable with, the English mystery-plays is a certain detail in one of the rare tables representing the 'Crowning with Thorns', now in the Johnson Collection in the Philadelphia Museum (see pl. XVII, *c*).[11] In this, Christ is shown covered with a robe of rich material (as indicated by the painted ornament and border), seated seemingly on a sort of bench, a long rope held by a ruffianly soldier over His crossed wrists, while another soldier, who holds his cap in mock reverence, is about to put a bulrush (a good stage-equivalent for the reed) for a sceptre into the Saviour's hand, and two others are using forks (part of one fork is now missing) to force the Crown of Thorns on to His head. This use of *forks* so accords with an instruction in a Coventry play—that when Jesus has been scourged, they put upon Him a cloth of silk, and set Him on a stool, and put a crown of thorns on His head 'with forkys'[1]—that I think we may well regard it as a detail derived from the stage. Some other small details of this table seem, as very probably copied from stage-presentations, worthy of note—the unshaven face of the ruffian with the 'reed' and that of his neighbour who holds what looks like a large whistle (? for derision); and the hat, set back to front, of the man with the rope.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, pl. XIII; *Cat. cit.*, pl. V.

[2] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 332.

[3] Cf. Matthew xxvii, 26.

[4] Cf. p. 80, n. 9, *supra*.

[5] Cf. *Towneley Plays*, pp. 247 seqq.

[6] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pl. IX. The 'mace' consisted of a wooden staff to which was attached a head made of leather stuffed with wool and with some smaller similar pieces, representing spikes, fastened to it. Mr. Gillie Potter has suggested to me that its construction would have permitted Pilate to use it in his buffoonery. I presume that a number of leather-covered balls for Pilate, found with the 'mace', were analogously associated with his waggery.

[7] Cf. p. 77 *supra*.

[8] e.g. one in the Afferden altarpiece; cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xvii, pl. XLVIII.

[9] In 'Adoration' tables the Kings sometimes wear similar grelots; cf. *Antiq. Journ.* iii, pp. 29 seq. and pl. VII; Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. I; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., xxxii (1920), p. 129.

[10] *Towneley Plays*, p. 245.

[11] Reproduced by courtesy of the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

A somewhat similar table of the same subject,[2] formerly belonging to Dr. Nelson and now to the Victoria and Albert Museum, shows the Crown, seemingly in the form of a torse (in the other table it is not entirely clear whether a torse or a ring of twigs is intended), being forced down by the use of straight staves, instead of forks, and a pliant rod held by a soldier at either end. It may be that the alabastermen found difficulty in carving satisfactory representations of thorns in their soft material; but if it indeed be a torse that is depicted in the tables, there seems a possibility that on the stage something of the kind was used rather than a prickly ring of twigs.

In tables of the 'Carrying of the Cross' Christ sometimes is shown fully clothed,[3] sometimes—and probably more often—wearing only the loin-cloth of the Crucifixion,[4] although the Gospels tell us that after He had been scourged He was clothed again in His own garments and led to be crucified.[5] It would seem probable that the depicting of the Saviour as wearing only the loin-cloth on His way to Calvary derives directly from the religious plays, for we find, in the Shermen's play at York, the four soldiers stripping Him of His raiment while on the way,[6] even though they do not divide it until He hangs on the Cross. As an excellent, and exceptionally detailed, example of a table of the 'Carrying of the Cross', the one of the 'Passion' group in the Nantes Museum[7] (see pl. XIV, *d*) will serve.[8] Jesus, wearing the loin-cloth and with a rope round His waist, is led by one executioner, while three others—John's statement that Christ's raiment was divided into four parts[9] implies that there were four executioners and the implication is followed in the plays—bearing ropes, nails, and a hammer, press upon the Cross in order to make it harder to support, and the Virgin Mary and St. John try by lifting to help Christ bear His burden. Somewhat curiously, Simon the Cyrenian, who was impressed for the purpose of helping to carry the Cross, is not depicted here, even though he appears prominently both in the scriptural accounts and in the plays; it is only occasionally that he is shown in the tables—there is a table (not yet published) in the Victoria and Albert Museum wherein he is represented as, aided by the Virgin, helping to carry the Cross, while St. John is in the background. The drawing of Christ by means of the rope round His waist, paralleling instructions[1] or speeches[2] in the plays; the aid given by the Virgin, who also in the Towneley 'Flagellacio' play helps (or tries to help) to carry the Cross,[3] and St. John (whose parts in the pitiful drama were doubtless made as important as possible); and the cruel actions of, and the implements carried by, the executioners, all seem to me so to smack of the mystery-plays as to suggest that they were inspired by those or analogous plays rather than directly by the meagre biblical accounts.

---

[1] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 294. The instructions follow, in their general terms, the Gospel accounts of the event.

[2] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxii (1925), pl. III and pp. 27 seq.

[3] There is a fine example in the altarpiece at Saint-Avit-les-Guespières (cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. V; Nelson, 'The Woodwork of English Alabaster Retables', in *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 1920, pl. facing p. 55). There is a table (not yet published) showing Christ similarly clad in the Victoria and Albert Museum; and a large fragment of a table of the same kind is at Blunham, Beds. (cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 14).

[4] On this matter, cf. Mrs. A. B. Jameson (and Lady Eastlake), *History of our Lord*, 1865, ii, pp. 100 seqq.

[5] Matthew xxvii, 31; Mark xv, 20.

[6] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 347. The Towneley play speaks (p. 258) also of four soldiers, but does not refer to the stripping on the way. The York play says that three soldiers—the number in the 'Road to Calvary'—stripped Christ.

[7] Cf. p. 74, n. 6 *supra*.

[8] Another fine example is in the 'Passion' group belonging to the Duke of Rutland (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xvii, pl. L); another, similarly showing the loin-cloth, is in the Compiègne reredos (cf. Biver, *op. cit.*; *Cat. cit.*, pl. VIII; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 538); another, of simpler pattern, is reproduced in *Antiq. Journ.* i, pl. VIII; and other examples could be cited.

[9] John xix, 23

Very few English alabaster tables of the 'Nailing to the Cross'—a subject comparatively rare among artistic representations concerned with Christ's Passion—seem to have survived. Fortunately for our inquiry there is a very complete one among the seven scenic-panels rebuilt into a reredos in Afferden church;[4] and a large fragment of another, of very similar pattern, formerly in Dr. Nelson's collection[5] and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum; there is also a table of the subject in the Musée Saint-Raymond, at Toulouse. In the Afferden table (see pl. xvii, *d*),[6] three men pull on knotted ropes, one at either hand of the Saviour and one at His feet, while three others, each holding a hammer, are about to nail Him to the Cross. I surmise that this manner of depicting the 'Nailing to the Cross' was brought about, or at least strongly influenced by, the stage, where cords presumably would have been needed to attach to the cross the player acting the part of Christ Crucified,[7] and the necessity for such cords might well have brought about the introduction into the plays of texts purporting to account for them.

In the Afferden table the man at Christ's left hand appears to have his cord knotted round the wood as well as behind that hand, as if to tie the wrist—whose hand seems to be extended beyond the end of the crosspiece—to the Cross; but the man at Christ's right hand appears to have his cord round only the wrist, and (as indicated by his attitude) to be pulling vigorously, while that hand falls short of its end of the crosspiece. If the above interpretation of the rendering be correct, we have in the present table a fairly close approximation to the scene as given in several English mystery-plays. Thus, in the York Crucifixion-play, after Christ's right hand has been nailed to the Cross, the executioners discover that the hole bored for the nail to go through the left hand is too far out, and in consequence 'i Miles' is told to pull the left hand by means of a cord until its nail can be driven through it; then, the hole for the third nail having been found to be likewise too distant, 'ij Miles' knots a cord round the Saviour's legs and His body is stretched until the nail can be driven through the feet into its hole.[1] The corresponding Towneley play has a similar scene;[2] and so has the Chester Crucifixion-play.[3] Nelson has pointed out[4] that the fragmentary 'Nailing' table now in the Victoria and Albert Museum presents the subject in a similar way. It is interesting to find the incident described in the 'Northern Passion'[5] (I think that it does not appear in the French original of the poem), which seems to have been written in the early fourteenth century—and thus to have anticipated its description in the 'Revelations' of St. Birgitta ('Bridget') of Sweden[6]—in almost the same form as in the Afferden table. The York play, our copy of which seems to have been transcribed a little later than 1415,[7] presumably derived the details of the incident from the 'Northern Passion', whence it derived many other details. It seems quite possible, however, that since the details in question so strongly savour of the stage the poem's details may have been based on an earlier use of ropes in Crucifixion-plays, either merely for the purpose of holding the player on his cross or in a piece of stage 'business' paralleling the description in the poem.

---

[1] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 294.

[2] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 336.

[3] Cf. *Towneley Plays*, p. 254.

[4] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xvii, pl. xlviii and p. 181; *ibid.* xii, pp. 304 seq.

[5] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvi (1919), pl. i and p. 133.

[6] Enlarged from a print, by courtesy of the Dutch State Office for the Care of Monuments, owner of the negative.

[7] There are paintings which show Christ bound to the Cross before being nailed to it; cf. Jameson, *History of our Lord*, ii, p. 133. Didron quotes (*op. cit.* ii, p. 317) the 'Byzantine Guide to Painting' as specifying "Three soldiers hold it [the body of Christ] by ropes at the arms and foot. Other soldiers bring nails and drive them with a hammer through His feet and hands.'

In even exceptionally elaborate English alabaster 'Crucifixion' tables—e.g. the one (see pl. XVIII, *a*) of the 'Passion' group in the Nantes Museum[8]—there seem to be no details for which, individually, we cannot present parallels in continental pictorial art. Although, as is natural, the principal features of our 'Crucifixion' tables have been derived from the Gospel narratives, some of those tables display minor features which look rather as if they had originated in dramatic, and passed thence into pictorial, art. For such minor features, as well as for the principal features, we may observe in English mystery-plays parallels so close that we must believe that there were connexions of some kind between the carvers and the English stage. It seems, however, difficult to determine at present the nature of those connexions; that is, whether the carvers were inspired directly by stage-presentations they themselves had witnessed, or by continental pictorial art which had itself been inspired by continental drama paralleling in incident the English, or in some other way. That the carvers may well have been inspired directly by the English plays seems to be indicated by the differences between the Nantes 'Crucifixion' and an exceptionally fine embattled 'Crucifixion' (see pl. XVIII, *b*)[9] made in the period when the influence of the English popular religious drama seems first to have entered the alabastermen's art.[10]

The Nantes 'Crucifixion'[11] shows Christ on the Cross, between two smaller crosses whereon hang the Two Thieves (who respectively render their souls to an angel and a fearsome demon), in the presence of the Virgin Mary, comforted by Mary Cleophas and Mary Magdalen, St. John, Longinus, the Centurion, and a number of soldiers and other people. Rare, in 'Crucifixion' tables, are the three executioners quarrelling at the foot of the Cross, after casting dice for Christ's raiment; rare, too, but less so, is the guiding of the blind Longinus's spear by the hand of another man. How closely the representation corresponds with the scene as presented on a Coventry stage is indicated by the principal instruction in the Coventry Crucifixion-play: '*here the sympyl men xul settyn up these ij crossys* and *hangyn up the thevys be the Armys* and *therwhylys xal the jewys cast dyce for his clothis* and *fytyn* and *stryvyn* and *in the mene tyme xal oure lady come wi*th *iij*[1] *maryes wi*th *her*e and *sen Johan wi*th *hem*e *settyng he*m *down A-syde A-fore the cros. oure lady swuonyng* and *mornyng* and *leyser*e *sey*ng'.[2] The executioners quarrelling, with their weapons drawn, give just such a comic touch for lightening—as often did the spoken words—the tragic tension of an audience, as we should expect to find in the presentation of a Crucifixion-scene on the medieval stage, with its emphasis on the brutal and quarrelsome natures of the executioners; it is, therefore, to the influence of the plays, rather than to that of a pictorial artist's imagination, that I am inclined to credit them. The use of *three* dice, represented in our table, is paralleled—'here are Dyce three'—in the Chester Crucifixion-play.[3]

---

[1] Cf. *York Plays*, pp. 351 seqq.

[2] Cf. *Towneley Plays*, pp. 261 seq.

[3] Cf. *Chester Plays* (E.E.T.S.), ii, p. 304.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] Cf. Foster, *op. cit.* i, pp. 188 seqq.

[6] *History of our Lord*, ii, pp. 132 seq.

[7] Concerning the date of the original, Lucy Toulmin Smith says, in *York Plays*, p. xlv: 'Although the date of composition of the York Plays is not known, it may, I believe, safely be set as far back as 1340 or 1350. . . .'

[8] Cf. p. 74, n. 6 *supra*.

[9] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* viii, pl. XVII.

[10] For an example of the earlier pattern, on which the pattern of this table was based, cf. Nelson's '. . . Earliest Type', pl. VII.

[11] About 44 in. high and 18 in. wide.

The man, sometimes to be seen also in continental painting,[4] who guides Longinus's spear—here a pike with tasselled head—was doubtless intended to emphasize the measure of the miraculous cure of Longinus's blindness, and seems so probably invented for the boards[5] rather than for painted portrayal, or even for a purely literary purpose,[6] that I think we should credit his appearance here to the stage; and this the more so because we find it paralleled in the Chester play, in which 'Longeus', having been told by Caiaphas to take a spear and with it to strike Jesus, says that he has not seen for seven years, whereupon the 'Fourth Iew' hands him a spear (and presumably, as seems to be indicated also by our alabaster, sets it in place) with which he strikes blindly the Saviour's side.[7] In the Coventry play the incident is presented in a closely similar way.[8] In the York 'Bocheres' play of 'Mortificacio Cristi', Pilate orders 'Mil' to strike Jesus with a spear, but 'Mil' having declined to do so, Pilate orders 'Longeus' to 'steppe forthe in this steede' and to hold a spear in his hands and strike with it. When 'Longeus' has struck and has been cured of his blindness, the

---

[1] I am inclined to think that this should have read ij, instead of iij, so agreeing with the 'Northern Passion' (cf. Foster, *op. cit.* i, pp. 203 seq.), as well as with the alabaster 'Crucifixion' tables. In the accompanying conversation, in the Coventry play, only the Virgin and the Magdalen, of the Marys, take part.

[2] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 298.

[3] Cf. *Chester Plays*, ii, p. 300.

[4] Cf. Jameson, *History of our Lord*, ii, p. 161.

[5] In a fragment of a French Resurrection-play, ascribed to the end of the twelfth century, 'Longin l'aveugle' pierces the side of Christ (cf. Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.* ii, p. 221); the necessity, on the stage, for guiding the hand of a blind man is so obvious that I think we may presume such guidance even in that comparatively early period.

[6] In the 'Northern Passion' (cf. Foster, *op. cit.* i, pp. 222 seq.) Longinus is blind and lame, and the Jews set him before the Cross, give him a sharp spear in his hand, place the point against Christ's side, and 'Put uppe thai sayd what so betyde'. I believe that the incident does not appear in the French original of the English poem (cf. (*ibid.* ii, p. 7). On the appearance of Longinus in the drama, English, French, or German, see R. J. Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus . . . and its connection with the Grail*, Baltimore (Bryn Mawr College Monographs), 1911, '§ 18: The Drama'.

[7] Cf. *Chester Plays*, pp. 312 seq.

[8] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 310.

Centurion expresses his wonder and belief.[1] Sometimes, in Crucifixion tables, Longinus points to his eye,[2] to indicate the cure that has been effected; or raises his hands in wonder.

The Coventry stage-instructions quoted above show that the Two Thieves appeared on the stage, just as they appear in many tables of the 'Crucifixion'; and in the Coventry play the Thieves have speaking-parts according with the Gospel accounts. There is not, however, so far as I recall, any passage in the plays paralleling what we may see in a number of 'Crucifixion' tables; namely, the taking of the soul of the Good Thief by an angel and of that of the Bad Thief by a demon. Yet, if my suggestions concerning the use of 'pulpits' by angels (cf. p. 66 *supra*) and the very probable use in England (as actually in France) of small effigies to represent souls (cf. p. 63 *supra*) are well founded, it would have been a simple enough matter, and one doubtless much appreciated by the onlookers, to show on the stage, almost exactly as shown in the tables, the taking of the souls of 'Dysmas' and 'jestes'.[3]

Occasionally, although in a comparatively small proportion of 'Crucifixion' tables, the Centurion is represented as mounted.[4] It would seem quite possible that this detail came to the alabasters from the English stage, for in the Towneley Resurrection-play, after Caiaphas has said that the Centurion has been left behind to arrest ribalds, a stage-instruction tells us '*Tunc veniet Centurio velut miles equitans*'.[5] On the other hand, while I know of no English table made before a date well into the fifteenth century wherein the detail appears, it occurs in Italian painting presumably ascribable to about the first half of the fourteenth century.[6] It may be observed that in the alabaster tables the figure of the Centurion is generally clearly indicated by the right hand raised and pointing to the Saviour, and is often accompanied (as in pl. xviii, *b*) by a scroll on which was painted the acknowledgement of His divinity. A curious, and so far as I know unique, feature of the Nantes 'Crucifixion' table (pl. xviii, *a*) is that in it the upper part of the Centurion's face looks to be masked; compare Christ's face in the 'Buffeting' table shown in pl. xvii, *a*.[7] I am unable to cite anything in the plays or in other literature which suggests an explanation for this; perhaps it was a result of a carver's thoughtless aberration, or merely of a lack of care in carving. I have thought that possibly in some play the Centurion might have been blindfolded in order to suggest his spiritual blindness in contradistinction to the physical blindness of Longinus; but I have no text or stage-instruction to corroborate such a notion, nor does a notion of the kind seem to me one likely to be exemplified on the popular stage.

---

[1] *York Plays*, p. 368.

[2] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 21.

[3] The names as given in the Coventry play quoted above.

[4] For an example of this, see *Cat. cit.*, no. 21 (this table is now the property of the Victoria and Albert Museum). Another (brought to my notice, with a photograph, by Miss Cicely Baker, Curator of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society's Museum), in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Drayton Parslow, Bucks., is further unusual in that it shows Longinus, also, horsed. To some extent paralleling this is a table (published by Nelson in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiii [1926], pp. 43 seq. and pl. viii; it was sold at Sotheby's, 20th May 1932, and bought by the Nottingham Museum) showing at Christ's right a mounted soldier (possibly again Longinus, although perhaps more probably Longinus is the bearded man beside him holding in his right hand part of the shaft of the spear); a mounted civilian is to Christ's left; the Centurion stands at the foot of the Cross.

[5] Cf. *Towneley Plays*, p. 307.

[6] Cf. Jameson, *History of our Lord*, ii, p. 210.

[7] Compare also the one reproduced in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxii, pl. facing p. 31.

In the embattled table, which still retains much of its original applied colouring, of pl. XVIII, *b* appears a further parallel between the stage and the alabasters; in it the Saviour's Cross is gilded, as was the corresponding 'property' at Coventry.[1]

The 'Deposition', while not rare, is a subject comparatively uncommon on surviving English alabaster tables. It is, in all the examples I recall, depicted in a simple pattern according with the accounts in the Gospels, Canonical or Apocryphal, and—as is but natural—in parallelism with the English plays based on those same Gospels.[2]

The tables, or isolated groups,[3] of 'Our Lady of Pity'—a subject which not improbably owes its origin to the religious drama—are paralleled by stage-instructions such as the one in the Coventry play, which says that when Christ '*is had down joseph leyth hy*m *in oure ladys lappe*',[4] or by such recitation as that of the Virgin Mary in the Digby 'The Burial of Christ', where she speaks of her Son's body 'Which now ded lies in my lappe'.[5] In one table, now lacking its heading, of the embattled type Joseph appears, in an adoring attitude, at Christ's feet, and one of the Marys at His head.[6] In another embattled table[7] John, Mary Magdalen, and Mary Cleophas appear, but not Joseph.

Of the 'Entombment of our Lord', in English alabaster, many examples have survived. In all of these, with—so far as I know—a single exception, there is an open sarcophagus into which Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus, in the presence of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen, are about to lay the body of Jesus. Minor variations in this general pattern are effected by the introduction of certain other persons, by changes in the positions of our Lord's arms and in the attitude of Mary Magdalen, by the display of the Cross in the background, by the occasional showing of a censing angel beside the tomb, and by the reversal of the arrangement as a whole.[8] The general pattern, obviously based, excepting for the sepulchre itself, on the Gospel accounts, parallels, although long previously established, the similarly based presentation of the event in the English popular religious drama.

The earliest 'Entombment' table with which I am acquainted is one in the Brussels Musées Royaux (see pl. XIX, *a*),[9] which has a further special interest in that it is an exception to the almost invariable rule that Nicodemus should be shown aiding Joseph of Arimathaea; it depicts the dead Saviour, in His winding-sheet, about to be laid in the tomb by Joseph and a woman (presumably the Magdalen), while the Virgin and another woman (presumably Mary Cleophas) stand behind the tomb and in front of the Cross. The influence of the English popular religious plays has, I think, not made itself felt in this table, which I take to have been carved not long after 1380. The depicting of the sepulchre as of the form of a sarcophagus, instead of as having that of a chamber in which (as all four Gospels tell us), several persons could be at the same time, doubtless originating in the liturgical drama,[1] came into pictorial art long before that drama developed into the popular plays. The Cross in the background is, presumably, also a relic of the old liturgical drama, in which, very probably—as indeed in the 'Bocheres' play at York[2]—the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Burial were combined in one play.

---

[1] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[2] Cf., for example, the stage-instructions in *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 311. For much information on the early iconography in general of the subject, see J. B. Ford and G. S. Vickers, 'The Relation of Nuno Gonçalves to the Pietà from Avignon, with a Consideration of the Iconography of the Pietà in France', in *Art Bulletin*, xxi (1939), pp. 5–12; and for lists of French and of Spanish representations of it, *ibid.* pp. 41 seqq.

[3] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* iv (1924), pl. LII.

[4] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 311.

[5] *Digby Plays*, p. 192; cf. similar expression on p. 196.

[6] Cf. Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type', pl. XVI, 2 and p. 326 seq.; or *Cat. cit.*, no. 16.

[7] Cf. Nelson, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, 1 and p. 326.

[8] Most often (as in all the examples here reproduced) the arrangement is from left to right; occasionally, as in an example in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 2416–1856; cf. the Museum's *A Picture Book of English Alabaster Carvings*, pl. 14; Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxii [1925], pl. VIII), the arrangement, including the corresponding placing of the figures, is from right to left.

[9] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* xviii (1938), pl. XXIII.

With the growth of the influence of the popular religious drama, more participants came to be depicted in the 'Entombment' tables—Nicodemus, mentioned by St. John, and St. John himself—and the Magdalen was brought into the foreground away from the others, as in the table, of the Nantes 'Passion' group, shown in pl. XIX, *c*; an odd detail of this table, which looks as if it might have come from the stage, is that the Magdalen, instead of being (either standing, kneeling, or sitting) on the ground, is seated on a bench beside the tomb. A further interesting detail, which is to be seen in many other tables and looks as if inspired by the popular plays, is the Magdalen's use of her hair to wipe the blood from the Saviour's wounds; most commonly she is depicted using it on His hand, as in the table of the Duke of Rutland's group (see pl. XIX, *b*),[3] but occasionally, as in the table shown in pl. XIX, *d*,[4] on the wound in His side. For such use of her hair there is, I think, no warrant beyond the Gospel mention[5] of her having used it to dry Christ's feet and His saying, of her pot of ointment—her usual emblem in art—'against the day of my burying hath she kept this';[6] nor is there further warrant in either the Apocryphal Gospels or, so far as I know, in any surviving English mystery-play. I think that we may very reasonably presume it to have been a bit of stage 'business' rather than the invention of a pictorial artist.

The descent of Christ into Limbo, to rescue the souls of those who had died before His sacrifice, seems to have been so rarely depicted in the alabaster tables that we may presume that the purchasers of those small reredoses which formed so great a proportion of the alabasterman's trade, regarding it as an event of comparatively minor instructional importance, preferred portrayals of other events. But the dramatic possibilities of the subject had long since made it a favourite for audiences and for players of the mysteries, and in England the 'Harrowing of Hell' (or 'Descent into Hell'), based on the 'Gospel of Nicodemus',[7] appeared in the plays of York, of Coventry, of Chester, and of other towns. In those plays, as in the corresponding French plays, one of the principal features was a representation of the entrance to 'Hell' in the form of the mouth of a huge marine monster; a form which must have seemed well founded, since, on the one hand, Hell was supposed to be in the bowels of the earth, and its entrance naturally have been thought of as a cavern-like hole, such as we to-day still speak of as the 'mouth' of a cave; and, on the other, a prefiguration of, and a parallel for, Christ's rescue of souls from Limbo was obvious in the rescue of Jonah from the belly of 'the great fish', 'the belly of hell',[1] while the description of Leviathan as a marine monster, breathing forth sparks and fire and 'smoke, as *out* of a seething pot or caldron', with scales so fast together 'that they cannot be sundered', and 'the doors of his face' unopenable save by the power of the Lord,[2] fitted a conception of a place of torture by fire.

---

[1] Mâle says (cf. *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, 1928, pp. 127 seqq.) that it was in the course of the twelfth century that, in French scenes of the 'Resurrection', the sarcophagus took the place of the tomb with a door; and he ascribes that replacement rather to the liturgical drama of the 'Resurrection' than (as suggested by G. Millet, in *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile*, 1916, pp. 517 seq.) to a Western artist's misunderstanding of a picture of the Grotto of the Holy Sepulchre.

[2] Cf. *York Plays*, pp. 363 seqq.

[3] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* xvii, pl. LI. For a list of some further examples, cf. *Folk-Lore*, xliv (1933), p. 42, n. 23.

[4] Reproduced from Nelson's '. . . Embattled Type', pl. XVII. The table, formerly in Dr. Nelson's collection, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[5] Luke vii, 38; John xii, 3.

[6] John xii, 7.

[7] Cf. James, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 seqq., 94 seq.; *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*, London (E.E.T.S.), 1907.

Whether this way of representing the entrance to the infernal regions first took shape in the liturgical drama or in pictorial art need not here concern us; as it certainly appeared in manuscript illuminations and in sculpture[3] long before the plays assumed their popular vernacular forms, it is hard to know whether the alabaster-carvers derived it from pictorial art or from dramatic. But there seem good reasons for believing that they derived it—although possibly not at first hand—from the English stage, because they appear (as we have had many opportunities of observing) to have obtained much of their scenic material from that source and not to have been inspired to any great extent by representational art of other kinds, and because in the 'Harrowing' tables we may discern other details suggesting stage prototypes. At Coventry the Cappers had a 'hellmouthe',[4] and the Drapers a 'hell hede' of cloth which often needed to be painted.[5] There was a Hell Mouth at Veximiel, in 1437, which opened and shut for demons to pass out and in;[5] and at Rouen, in 1474, a great pair of jaws opening or closing as required;[6] and a French manuscript of the sixteenth century, illustrating the *décor* for a Passion play, depicts as scenery to represent Hell a building having as its entrance the head of a large monster with the mouth open.[7]

One of the tables at Saint-Avit-les-Guespières[8] shows the 'Harrowing' in simple form, and seemingly with nothing to lead us to associate it with the stage rather than with pictorial art; there is the mouth, set with teeth and fangs, of a monstrous fish, extending to the top of the table, within which stand six souls, Adam and Eve in the lead, while Christ, in grave-clothes and torse and holding His bannered cross-staff, grasps Adam's arm to lead him forth. In the table (see pl. xx, *d*) of the 'Passion' group in the Nantes Museum are details which seem to point to a somewhat greater influence, either direct or indirect, of the drama, for on top of the monster's head there is a four-legged demon, presumably the keeper of the gate, peering at Christ, and below the head is a small, foul, newt-like creature; in the Towneley 'The Deliverance of Souls' 'Belzabub' says: 'Go spar the yates . . . And set the waches on the wall.'[9]

But in an earlier table—the earliest of the subject[10] whereof I know—the embattled one (see pl. xx, *c*) at Carcassone, there is so close a parallel to an English play that I think we must credit the stage with directly inspiring at least certain of its main details. The Saviour, in loin-cloth, torse, and shroud, and holding His cross-staff, takes Adam's hand—just as in the Chester play 'Tunc Iesus accipiet Adam pe*r* manu*m*'[1]—to lead him, followed by Eve and another soul, from the monster's open mouth, while beside and behind that mouth stands a gateway with open door, through which flames may be seen, guarded by a demon with a horn ready for blowing as a warning against assault. The guardian demon is doubtless the one who, in 'a drawing in an ancient calendar, representing Christ delivering souls from limbo' is 'blowing a horn as if to alarm his comrades';[2] perhaps he is that 'Tutiuillus', of the Towneley 'Judgment' play, who says 'Mi name is tutiuillus, my horne is blawen'.[3] The representation seems so closely to coincide with a stage-direction in the 'Harrowing of Hell' of the York 'Sadilleres'—'Scene II, *Hell; at one side Limbo, enclosing the patriarchs and prophets*'[4]—that we can hardly believe the coincidence to be a chance one; and, furthermore, the gateway has so close a family resemblance to such things in the tables as the 'Prison' of St. Catherine, to which I have alluded (p. 73) above, that I think we cannot look upon it as other than indicating how the torture-place of evil-doers and of wilful unbelievers was shown on at least some English stages.[5] The representing of flames within the gateway is interesting as perhaps depicting for us a feature of the contemporary stage-presentations; it seems quite probable that flames appeared in 'Harrowing' scenes of the late fourteenth century or the early fifteenth, as they certainly did in such scenes of about a century and a half later when, in 1557, the Coventry Drapers paid 'iiij d' for 'kepyng of fyer at hell mothe'.[6]

---

[1] Jonah ii, 2.

[2] Job xli, 14–21.

[3] An example, of about 1160, is on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral; cf. Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 77.

[4] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[6] Cf. Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.* ii, p. 37.

[7] Reproduced by Mâle, 'Renouvellement de l'art', p. 393.

[8] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. v; Nelson, 'The Woodwork of English Alabaster Retables', pl. facing p. 55.

[9] Cf. *Towneley Plays*, p. 297.

[10] Prior dates this about 1375; cf. Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

The alabaster tables of the 'Resurrection of our Lord' follow, in their general pattern, the scene as shown in pictorial art—e.g. manuscripts and ivory-carvings—continental as well as English and of much earlier times. In them we find the Sepulchre depicted as a sarcophagus—just as in the 'Entombment' tables I have discussed above—from which steps the Risen Christ, in loin-cloth and torse and shroud and with bannered cross-staff, and round which are soldiers; in some there is, further, an angel or a pair of angels in the upper background. I think it probable that the details of such tables derived largely from the stage, because in the English plays we may find either parallels to them or reasons whereby we may account for them. The tomb-chest, instead of a tomb-chamber large enough, as the Gospels indicate, to hold several persons together, is, we may well presume, a survival from the liturgical drama (cf. p. 88 *supra*). The cross-staff, which could have rendered valuable service to a player having to step, in a dignified way, out of a deep chest, seems likely to have entered art through such service on the stage.

---

[1] Cf. *Chester Plays*, ii, p. 325. The detail originates in the 'Gospel of Nicodemus'; cf. James, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[2] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[3] Cf. *Towneley Plays*, p. 375.

[4] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 374.

[5] It is interesting, in this connexion, to observe that the elaborate setting of the Rouen play of 1474, with its 'Enfer faict en maniere d'une grande gueuelle', included 'Le Limbe des Peres fait en manière de chartre [="prison, jail"]'; cf. Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.* ii, p. 38. In a seemingly even more elaborate *Résurrection*, of 1491, Limbo was 'au côté du parloir qui est sur le portail d'enfer, et plus haut que ledit parloir, en une habitation qui doit être en la façon d'une grosse tour carrée . . .', and was 'distinct du purgatoire'; *ibid.* i, p. 394.

[6] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 73. In the 'purgatoire' of the French play of 1491 there 'doit apparoir semblance d'aucuns tourments de feu artificiellement faits par eau de vie' (cf. Petit de Julleville, *loc. cit.*).

The soldiers, always heavily armoured and with weapons in their hands, doubtless reproduce for us the way those sent to guard the tomb appeared in the English vernacular plays, ready to repel the feared attack by adherents of Christ who might wish to carry off His body secretly and thereafter claim its disappearance as due to the promised miracle of the Rising. In the Chester play, for example, 'Cayphas' tells Pilate 'lett vs ordayne many a harde Knight, well armed, to stand and feight with power and with force',[1] and in other plays we find similar reasons given for the soldiers' heavy armaments. The number of soldiers appearing in a table may, as in a play, be either three or four.[2] The earliest 'Resurrection' table I recall—i.e. the one of about 1350, bequeathed by Lt.-Col. Croft Lyons to the Victoria and Albert Museum[3]—shows three, while another, similar in style but made a decade or two later, in the British Museum,[4] shows four; in the embattled tables, mostly attributable to about 1380–1420, there are occasionally three soldiers, but more often four.[5]

In all alabaster 'Resurrection' tables, with but rare exceptions,[6] the Risen Saviour, stepping from the tomb, is depicted with His foot upon a soldier, in conformity with representations of the Resurrection in other media in English medieval art. This peculiarity, seemingly very rare in medieval art outside of England, may be observed already in an English drawing made soon after 1213, and it appears to have been a feature of a large proportion of representations of the Resurrection in medieval England. I first recorded the peculiarity in some notes read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1922,[7] and I there (p. 35) pointed out how closely the table reproduced in pl. XXI, *a*[8] reflects a stage-direction, in the Chester Resurrection-play, saying 'Iesus resurgens et pede omnes milites quatiat',[9] and that same play's words of 'Primus miles' to Pilate 'That tyme that he his way tooke, durst I neither speak nor looke, . . . He set this foote vpon my Backe, . . .'.[10] It is interesting to see in the earliest of our 'Resurrection' tables, the Croft Lyons one, a similar stepping upon the back of the recumbent soldier. In various other tables the Saviour's foot rests on other parts of the soldier—e.g. his chest or his shoulder—and always in such a way as to give the impression of an incarnate being utilizing the soldier as a stepping-block. In my 'Iconographical Peculiarities in English Medieval Alabaster Carvings',[11] where I again discussed this distinctive feature, I arrived at the conclusion that it probably came from the stage. Later, having examined the extensive body of material collected and discussed by H. Schrade in his *Die Auferstehung Christi*,[12] through the circumstance that in some of the tables the soldiers are so disposed as to suggest that—even though it seems to be depicted without a cover—the coffin is still closed, I was led to think that 'in the unopened-coffin type of Resurrection picture, rather than in the religious plays, may possibly lie the origin of the English representations in which the treading upon a soldier appears, and that the plays in which that incident is referred to may conceivably have derived it from earlier pictorial representations of which it was a detail'.[1] Further consideration, however, and especially in the light of the extensive proofs we now have of the very close connexions between the alabaster tables and the English plays, has brought me back to my original view that the 'stepping' detail derives from the stage—though its appearance in English art of the early thirteenth century suggests that it originated in the liturgical drama rather than in the vernacular—and that when the attitudes of the soldiers and the placing of their accoutrements do not accord with the seeming lack of a coffin-lid, the discrepancies presumably are due to carelessness, perhaps in some instances brought about through pictorial representations wherein the Risen Saviour was portrayed as incorporeal, on the parts of the carvers. In representing the Resurrection on the stage with, presumably, a high-walled box as symbol of the Sepulchre, it would have been quite natural for the player personating our Lord to have stepped first upon the solid armour of a soldier reclining in front of the tomb rather than clumsily directly upon the ground.

---

[1] *Chester Plays*, ii, p. 333.

[2] So, in the Chester play there are three, and in the York play, four.

[3] For an excellent reproduction of this, see the Museum's *A Picture Book of English Alabaster Carvings*, pl. 2; a small and less distinct reproduction appears in *Cat. cit.*, no. 2, in Nelson's 'Earliest Type . . .', pl. III, and in Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 543.

[4] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, pl. III; Nelson, *loc. cit.*; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 545.

[5] For *three* soldiers, cf. Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type', pls. V, VIII; for *four*, cf. *ibid.*, pl. VII. Many further examples of both varieties could be cited.

[6] e.g. one in the Lille Museum; cf. *Antiq. Journ.* x (1930), p. 44.

[7] Printed in *Antiq. Journ.* iii, pp. 24 seqq.

[8] Reproduced from *id.*, pl. VII.

[9] Cf. *Chester Plays*, ii, p. 337.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 341.

[11] In *Folk-Lore*, xliv (1933); cf. pp. 37–41.

[12] Vol. i of his *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* Berlin and Leipzig, 1932. This, unfortunately, appeare too late for discussion in my paper above cited.

In the embattled 'Resurrection' tables, as well as in those of earlier make, the attitudes of the soldiers are quiet, as if they were asleep, but in some of the later tables, such as the one (in the 'Passion' group at Nantes) reproduced in pl. XXI, *d*, the soldiers appear more animated. Mâle, long since, noted the animation of the soldiers in pictorial Resurrection-scenes of the fifteenth century as being a direct effect of the influence of the mystery-plays—the soldiers no longer sleeping peacefully at the foot of the tomb, but, instead, falling back violently as the Saviour rises.[2] So, in the table of pl. XXI, *a*, the attitude of the soldier upon whom He steps seems to parallel the Chester play's 'Yea, I will Creep forth on my knee', of the fear-stricken 'Secundus miles'; and the attitude of the soldier with the halberd to parallel that same play's 'what is this great light, shininge here in my sight?', of 'Tertius miles' awaking in terror just after the Resurrection.[3] A soldier seemingly awake and screening his eyes from the glory of the Resurrection appears in the very early Croft Lyons 'Resurrection' table; unfortunately, the condition of that table's surface makes uncertain just what his attitude is meant to represent. But the shielding of the eyes from the light is shown clearly in the 'Resurrection' of the Duke of Rutland's group,[4] by the man at the foot of the tomb; and again in the 'Resurrection' (see pl. XXI, *d*), which retains many of its painted details, of the group in the Nantes Museum, where a soldier behind the tomb has his open hand above his wide eyes. In the latter table there is another interesting detail, in the soldier upon whom the Saviour has set His foot; his eyes are half-opened, with their pupils visible, and he has raised his sword as if to ward off peril, recalling the words of the Chester 'Primus miles' (he who told Pilate that Christ had stepped upon him), 'And as dead here can I lye, speak might I not, ne espye, . . . myne eyes the were so blynd'.[5] The Sepulchre, in this table, is clearly coverless.

---

[1] Cf. my 'Note on Medieval English Representations of "The Resurrection of our Lord"', in *Folk-Lore*, xlviii, p. 97.

[2] Cf. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1904, p. 296.

[3] Cf. *Chester Plays*, ii, p. 339.

[4] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xvii, pl. LI.

[5] Cf. *Chester Plays*, ii, p. 339.

In an upper corner of the Nantes 'Resurrection' is an angel, perhaps formerly companioned by a similar angel in the corner now missing. So far as I know, angels are not depicted in any embattled or in any earlier table; their earliest appearance seems to have been about the end of the time during which embattled tables were produced, because there is a fine censing pair in the tall 'Resurrection' of the Danzig Marienkirche's reredos,[1] which has an attached gabled heading—precursor of the detached gabled headings—while its four accompanying scenic tables have embattled headings. Although all four Evangelists speak of the presence of angels in connexion with the Resurrection (Matthew and Mark of one, Luke and John of two),[2] it would seem probable that their appearance in the alabasters derives directly from the stage and only indirectly from the Gospels. On the one hand, the two angels in the Duke of Rutland's 'Resurrection' swing censers and are in 'pulpits' like those to which I have referred above (cf. p. 67), and on the other, in the Chester play immediately before and during the actual Resurrection 'Tunc Cantabunt duo Angeli',[3] and two angels sit in the Sepulchre and talk with the Marys at it.[4] In some 'Resurrection' tables—such as the one in the reredos at Écaquelon (Eure),[5] where the angel stands in a 'pulpit' of quite unusual size and painted as if hung with little triangular flags, and another,[6] in the Victoria and Albert Museum, very similar in the attitudes and the placing of its figures but differing in its details—there is only one angel shown; these are paralleled in the York play, by the instruction 'tunc angelus cantat Resurgens',[7] and possibly also in the Coventry play with only one angel who speaks with the Three Marys after the Resurrection.[8]

It seems likely that the depicting, as a regular feature of our 'Resurrection' tables (and also of some tables of subsequent events connected with our Lord's Passion) of the Saviour in His winding sheet and torse, came into pictorial art from the drama. In our alabasters it occurs in even the earliest (the Croft Lyons one) I recall and it may be observed in all (excepting, and that only in respect of the torse, the Nantes table shown in pl. XXI, *d*) which I have cited. The statements of Luke (xxiv, 12) and John (xx, 5–7) concerning the finding in the tomb of the 'linen clothes' and the 'napkin, that was about his head' are, indeed, paralleled in the plays;[9] but the primary importance of keeping before an unlettered audience the point that the Saviour had risen from the dead, together with solicitude to avoid the possibility of irreverence, may well have led to a disregard of the discrepancy—of no great importance—between spoken text and visual illustration.

There is in the Victoria and Albert Museum a table,[10] rare in that three separate events are represented in it, and unique, so far as I know, in that one of those events is the 'Appearance of our Lord to His Mother'. Almost three-quarters of that table is filled by a 'Resurrection of our Lord'; above that, on a much smaller scale, are

---

[1] Cf. Nelson, 'The Virgin Triptych at Danzig', pl. III.

[2] Matthew xxviii, 2, 5; Mark xvi, 5; Luke xxiv, 4; John xx, 12.

[3] Cf. *Chester Plays*, ii, p. 337.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 344. In the Towneley play, also, there are two angels; cf. *Towneley Plays*, pp. 317 seq.

[5] Cf. p. 74, n. 8, *supra*.

[6] Unpublished.

[7] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 406 n. (the instruction is a marginal note in a later hand); cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 408 seq.

[8] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 329.

[9] Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 329, 332; *Chester Plays*, p. 346; *York Plays*, p. 409.

[10] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* viii, pp. 56 seqq. and pl. XV, 3.

His appearances to the two women, His Mother and Mary Magdalen, who most deeply mourned for Him. A little foliage, an unusual feature in 'Resurrection' tables, in the principal scene recalls the situation of the Sepulchre in a garden. Since both the 'Resurrection' and the 'Appearance to the Magdalen' are depicted in conformity with the dramas, as well as with the Gospel accounts on which the dramas were based, it should be observed that the third scene shows the Virgin in her chamber, with the book of prophecies open before her, in accordance with a very ancient tradition,[1] rather than in the way we should expect it to be shown if according with the text of the Coventry play wherein Christ speaks to His Mother immediately after His spirit, returned from Limbo, has reanimated His body,[2] and while the soldiers still sleep beside the tomb, so suggesting that in the play the Virgin was at the Sepulchre when her Son showed Himself to her.

Tables of the 'Appearance to the Magdalen' are not uncommon; often they are the full width of the other scenic-panels of their reredoses, but sometimes, having been made—as for the Écaquelon reredos[3]—to serve as the terminal scene of a 'Passion' altar-piece, they are only half that width. Although the Gospels (John xx, 14, 15) say only that the Magdalen, seeing Jesus in the garden wherein the Sepulchre was situate, spoke to Him 'supposing him to be the gardener', the Saviour is depicted in a number of tables as if He were indeed a gardener. In these He is shown holding a spade, sometimes in the loin-cloth and torse and a robe[4] and with the bannered cross-staff of the Resurrection, as in the table of the Duke of Rutland's group (see pl. XXI, *c*);[5] sometimes (as in a table reproduced in *Antiq. Journ.* viii, pl. XV, fig. 2), and in the table (not reproduced) of the Nantes Museum's group, in similar garb but with the cross-staff; sometimes, as in a table (see pl. XXI, *c*)[6] in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in what presumably is meant to represent a gardener's smock and hat. It has been stated[7] that there seems to have been a medieval belief that Christ appeared to the Magdalen in the actual form of a gardener; an observation for which support may be found in the many medieval pictorial representations, in various media, of Him in that form. However that may be, I am strongly inclined to think that such representations as we have in pl. XXI, *b* and *c* have been derived, and very probably directly, from the English stage, because in the play of the York 'Wynedrawers' we have 'JESUS [*as a gardener*]' speaking;[8] and in the corresponding Digby play the instruction '*Iesus* intrat, in specie ortulani, dicens';[9] while among the properties for 'God's' costume for the performance of the Coventry Cappers' play of the '*Resurrection and Descent into Hell*, including probably our Saviour's appearance to Mary Magdalen in the garden', was a spade.[10]

In some tables—e.g. the one of the Écaquelon reredos—the Saviour is depicted without the spade, but otherwise as in the Duke of Rutland's 'Appearance to the

---

[1] Cf. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, pp. 421 seq.

[2] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 320.

[3] Cf. p. 74, n. 8, *supra*. A detached half-width table of the scene is reproduced in *Antiq. Journ.* viii, pl. XV, 2.

[4] In the Chester play concerned with the 'Appearance' an instruction says 'Then cometh Iesus with a robe about hym, and a crosse staffe in his hande, and . . .'; cf. *Chester Plays*, p. 347 *n*.

[5] Reproduced from *Antiq. Journ.* xvii, pl. LI, 2.

[6] Reproduced from *id.* viii, pl. XV, 1.

[7] Cf. L. Du Broc de Segange, *Les Saints patrons des corporations* . . . , Paris, 1887, ii, p. 61.

[8] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 422.

[9] Cf. *Digby Plays*, p. 219.

[10] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 53.

Magdalen'; such tables parallel the Chester Skinners' play, which contains only a short section (of 23 lines) concerned with the conversation between our Lord and the Magdalen, the preliminary instruction for which says 'Tunc veniet Iesus Alba indutus Baculu*mque* crucis manib*us* portans . . .'.[1]

Although in some few of the tables of the 'Appearance to the Magdalen'—e.g. the half-width ones of the Écaquelon reredos and in the Victoria and Albert Museum—there seem to be no features intended to localize the scene,[2] in most tables of the event there are two distinct indications that the place is a garden. One of these indications is some representation of trees, such as may be seen in pl. XXI *b* and *c*; the Duke of Rutland's table is exceptional in its variety of these and for their formal alinement as if in a garden carefully planted and tended (? an orchard), in addition to the many little painted flowers bestrewing the earth, while the other table has a special interest in its display of a curious polyhedral symbolization of foliage typical of certain groups of alabaster tables.[3] The other indication is a fence, or wall, formed of narrow slabs set on end, which is to be seen in both the tables illustrated.[4] I am inclined to think that the special arrangement depicted in these tables more probably represents an actual stage-property than a purely imaginary wall, because a wall of stone or of brick could have been depicted in the soft alabaster almost as easily as the present palisade, while the latter suggests a series of boards set on end and, possibly, adapted for folding together when not in use—we may recall that in the list of properties for the Coventry Cappers' play is an item 'Boards about the *Sepulchre* side of the Pageant'.[5]

For that same pageant there was also an 'Apeltrie', which must have been of somewhat substantial nature, since a 'pece of tymber' for it cost 'ijs iijd', and 'ij cloutes a clamp & other yron worke about' it cost 'xijd'.[6] Sharp suggested (*loc. cit.*) that this property had to do with Adam and Eve in the 'Descent into Hell', but I think this improbable; I think, rather, that its character (as indicated by the details cited) suggests that it served to symbolize, in the small space available on the pageant-vehicle, vegetation of the 'Garden'.

The architecture, beyond the 'Garden', in the table of pl. XXI, *c*, I presume—though there seems perhaps some possibility that it symbolizes Jerusalem (or, less probably, its walls), which in a number of contemporary continental paintings appears in the far distance—to be a direct, and extremely interesting, derivation from the stage. So far as I know, neither the Gospels nor the plays of the 'Appearance to the Magdalen' give grounds for it; nor is it paralleled in any other alabaster table of the subject. I think that it—a tower at the corner of a crenellated wall pierced by a window—very probably represents part of the scenery for the play of the 'Pilgrims to Emmaus', which immediately followed that of the 'Appearance to the Magdalen', already in position during the performance of the latter play. It would seem that what in Luke

---

[1] Cf. *Chester Plays*, p. 347.

[2] The green carpet with little conventional flowers, in the half-width table cited on p. 94, n. 3 *supra*, is a convention symbolizing any piece of ground.

[3] Concerning the representing of trees in the tables, see also p. 75 *supra*.

[4] And also in the small representation (which lacks trees), accompanying the 'Resurrection' and the 'Appearance to His Mother', in the three-scene table above cited. It does not appear in either of the two half-width tables.

[5] Cf. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

(xxiv, 13) is spoken of as 'a village called Emmaus'[1] was in the English plays represented as a castle. So, in the Coventry play, the pilgrim Cleophas says 'To the castel of Emawus A lytyl way . . .', and Lucas replies ' . . . to yone castell . . . go we'.[2] In the York play, whose scene is 'The road near Emmaus', 'Primus peregrinus' says 'Se ye this castell beside here?', and a stage-instruction tells us '*They enter the castle*'.[3] And in the Chester play 'de Christo duob*us* Discipulis ad castellu*m* Emavs eventib*us* apparente' Cleophas says 'a Castle is hereby', and an instruction 'Tunc o*mn*ies ad Castell*um* evnt'.[4]

If my presumption concerning this matter be well founded, the architecture in question would seem to be of considerable importance to us as portraying pieces of scenery of the medieval stage with exceptional probability; because if the carver in this instance depicted, not a composition inspired by immaterial considerations—e.g. Gospel-stories or legends—but one occasioned by an accidental limitation of the contemporary stage, we may presume that he copied fairly accurately the actual things which had led him to misinterpret what he had seen on that stage.

As technical matters in connexion with the style of carving of the table of pl. XXI, *c*, we may recall that elsewhere[5] I have tentatively identified that table, together with the table of the 'Agony in the Garden' reproduced in pl. XIV, *c supra* and a 'Deposition' table[6] which accompanied it, as originally included in the large altar-piece which, dismembered, supplied the eleven tables now forming the reredos at Saint-Avit-les-Guespières; and that its architectural details so resemble those of the 'Purification' table of the Grillo Collection and a table in a collection at Cherbourg[7] as to indicate that it was made in the same town, and perhaps in the same workshop, as those two tables.

The 'Ascension of our Lord', as represented in the English alabaster tables, I have already discussed, pp. 63–5 *supra*.

The 'Descent of the Holy Spirit' seems but rarely to have been depicted in the tables; I recall only two examples of it—one in the altar-piece at Roscoff,[8] the other the isolated one reproduced by Nelson in the *Archaeological Journal*.[9] There seem to be no details, in either example, calling for comparison with the English plays of the subject.

Although a number of tables of scenes associable with the 'Last Judgement' have been recorded, connexions of those tables with texts of surviving plays are, while discoverable, in most cases, not so clear-cut as we might well hope to find. Some of those tables are part of a series depicting the 'Fifteen Signs Preceding the Last

---

[1] 'from Jerusalem *about* threescore furlongs', and therefore far from the Garden of the Sepulchre. Compare *Towneley Plays*, p. 330, where Cleophas says: '. . . Apon a crosse, noght hens a myle. . . .'

[2] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 337.

[3] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 431.

[4] Cf. *Chester Plays*, ii, pp. 355 seq. Compare *Towneley Plays*, p. 334: '*Lucas*. Now ar we here at this towne.'

[5] *Antiq. Journ.* viii, p. 55.

[6] Reproduced in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxviii (1931), pl. facing p. 231.

[7] Cf. pp. 71, 72, n. 8 *supra*.

[8] Cf. Bouillet, *loc. cit.*

[9] Vol. lxxvii, pl. IX facing p. 219; text on p. 219. The reproduction suggests that some changes have been made in this table.

Judgement',[1] for which, although there seem to be no parallels in the action of the plays, there are spoken descriptions in the Chester play of 'The Prophets and Antichrist'.[2]

The general resurrection of the dead was represented on the stage in some of the English 'Judgement' plays. An instruction—'Omnes resurgentes subtus terram clamauit'[3]—in the Coventry 'Doomsday' suggests that the dead were shown rising directly from the floor of the stage; neither the Chester '. . . et Omnes mortui de Sepulchris resurgent . . .',[4] nor the York equally indefinite instruction,[5] seems to add anything to our information in the matter. Souls rising or risen through the ground appear in the Louvre Museum's table of 'St. Michael weighing Souls';[6] on the other hand, an incomplete table in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[7] depicting five risen souls, shows two tomb-chests with them. This latter table is interesting in that it provides a parallel—even though it be one occurring too frequently in pictorial art to be of much value to us—to the plays, for of the five souls there depicted, one wears a mitre, one a crown, two (seemingly women) are distinguished only by long tresses, and one is headless and so indistinguishable. There is another, and perhaps even closer, parallel in a table of the 'Fifteenth Sign of the Last Judgement',[8] in the Cluny Museum, wherein the dead, rising from sarcophagi, include a Pope (with triple tiara), a man in a prelatial hat, a king (crowned), and several other persons. In the Chester 'Last Judgement' the 'saved' are a pope, an emperor, a king, and a queen;[9] and in the Coventry 'Doomsday' Gabriel calls on 'pope prynce and prysste *with* crowne Kynge *and* caysere *and* knyht*ys*' to rise,[10] and the risen souls say 'On kne we crepe. . . .'[11]

The Louvre's table of 'St. Michael weighing Souls' is an example of what is, I believe, an exclusively English rendering of a favourite subject of medieval pictorial art, in its representation of the Virgin Mary standing beside St. Michael and casting a rosary upon the souls' end of his balance-beam in order to rescue the soul undergoing judgement.[12] This rendering, which would seem to have great dramatic possibilities—the soul presumably would have been represented by a doll, as we may presume that it was represented in the Coventry Assumption-play[13]—is not, so far as I know, paralleled in any surviving English mystery-play.[14]

---

[1] Cf. Nelson, 'A Doom Reredos', in *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 1918, pp. 67–71, where are assembled references to tables from an altar-piece of this subject.

[2] Cf. *Chester Plays*, pp. 397 seqq.

[3] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 374.

[4] Cf. *Chester Plays*, p. 428.

[5] Cf. *York Plays*, p. 500.

[6] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* x, pl. VI, 3 and p. 35. They are similarly shown in a painting on a shutter of the alabaster reredos at La Celle; cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. XII and p. 78.

[7] Cf. Hildburgh, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxviii (1931), pl. VII and p. 238.

[8] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. VI.

[9] Cf. *Chester Plays*, pp. 428 seqq.

[10] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 373.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

[12] For a discussion of this subject, which appears in English wall-paintings and in English glass, as well as in alabaster, cf. my 'Iconographical Peculiarities in English Medieval Alabaster Carvings', pp. 48 seqq., and article in *Antiq. Journ.* x, pp. 34 seqq. (both including reproductions of several tables), and my 'An English Alabaster Carving of St. Michael weighing a Soul', in *Burlington Mag.*, May 1947. A further, painted, example is reproduced by F. W. Reader, in *Archaeol. Journ.* xcv (1938), pl. VII.

[13] Cf. p. 67 *supra*.

[14] There might well have been place for a representation of that kind, not alone in a 'Judgement' play, but also in a play of the miracles of our Lady; the 'Golden Legend' tells us of how, by laying her hand on the balance, she saved a soul in judgement; cf. Dent's edition of Caxton's Englishing of *The Golden Legend*, London, 1900, iv, p. 252.

We have, however, in several tables portraying saved souls entering Heaven what seem reasonably certainly to be records of the contemporary stage. The tables of pl. xx, *a*[1] and *b*[2] represent St. Peter at the Gate of Heaven, welcoming souls shepherded by St. Michael and awaited by God and His angels above. The steps, just within the doorway in pl. xx, *a*, and in the way up to the doorway in pl. xx, *b*, would seem to depict stage-properties rather than naïve symbolizations devised by an artist-craftsman. The battlemented gallery, in pl. xx, *a*, seems to correspond to the gallery used on the stage (cf. p. 68 *supra*) to represent the abode of God the Father; and the battlemented walls, in pl. xx, *b*, to correspond to the walls of Hell as represented in pl. xx, *c* (cf. p. 90 *supra*). In both the tables illustrated, as well as in an incomplete table,[3] closely resembling the table of pl. xx, *a*, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the way St. Peter is depicted parallels the Coventry Doomsday-play, in which, somewhat after the stage-direction '*Ihesu descendente cum Michaele* et *Gabriele* . . .',[4] Christ says 'Petyr to hevyn gatys th*ou* wende *and* goo t*he* lokkys th*ou* losyn *and* hem vndo', and Peter replies 'The gatys of hevyn I opyn this tyde Now welcome der*e* bretheryn to hevyn i-wys'.[5] It is a coincidence, perhaps not entirely fortuitous, that in the table of pl. xx, *a*, as well as in that of the Metropolitan Museum, the depiction shows four saved souls, corresponding to the four ('Papa', 'Imperator', 'Rex', and 'Regina') of the Chester 'Judgment', and that in the latter table the leading soul (the only one whose head-dress is still recognizable) wears what seems meant to represent a horned mitre. In the table of pl. xx, *a*, the second soul (the first is through the Gate and on the stairway) and Peter grasp an object, somewhat like a lemon with a long stem, for which I have found no convincing explanation; I suggest, however, that possibly it represents a purse or a bag of money, in allusion to the 'Almes dedes' that the Chester 'Rex' and 'Regina' cite as reasons[6]—which the stage might well have emphasized—why they should be saved.

The British Museum has part of a table[7] showing a demon holding a chain and drawing, to a 'Hell Mouth', souls chained together, thus paralleling the words of 'Demon primus', of the Chester 'Judgment': 'And I shall lead them . . . I haue tyed them on a row; the shall neuer passe that place.'[8]

Many tables, some still in their original wooden frameworks, made for reredoses presenting the histories of the saints, survive. Of complete (or seemingly complete) sets of such tables, there have been recorded two of St. John Baptist (at Yssac-la-Tourette, and at Danzig), two of St. George (in Borbjerg Church, and at La Celle), two of St. Catherine (in Vejrum Church, and in Santa Caterina in Venice), one of St. Martin (at Génissac),[9] and one of St. James (at Santiago de Compostela).[10] Of incomplete sets, we have groups of tables from several reredoses of St. John,[11] of St.

---

[1] Reproduced, by courtesy of the Royal Archaeological Institute, from *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxviii, pl. facing p. 236.

[2] Reproduced from *id.* lxxxii, pl. facing p. 35.

[3] Cf. *ibid.* The portion above the battlementing, and some small details, are missing, and the surface has been injured.

[4] Cf. *Ludus Coventriae*, p. 373.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

[6] Cf. *Chester Plays*, p. 432.

[7] Cf. Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 78.

[8] Cf. *Chester Plays*, p. 447.

[9] All the above are listed, together with references to publications in which they appear, by Maclagan, in *Burl. Mag.* xxxvi (1920), pp. 56, 61.

[10] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* vi (1926), pp. 304 seqq.

[11] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxii (1925), pl. XII; *id.* lxxxiii, pls. I, II.

Catherine,[1] St. Thomas Becket,[2] St. Edmund,[3] and SS. Peter and Paul;[4] and of single tables which presumably were made as members of sets now dispersed we have examples depicting scenes from the stories of St. Lawrence,[5] St. Eligius,[6] St. Bavon,[7] St. Etheldreda,[8] St. Armel,[9] St. Erasmus,[10] St. Bartholomew,[11] and St. Boniface.[12]

It seems highly probable that what appears in a number of these tables paralleled presentations on the stage, because—as were many of the scenes which have been discussed above—the scenes were in general based upon the same sources as were the respectively related plays. It is, therefore, unfortunate that, although we have clear records of the performing in England of plays of St. John Baptist,[13] St. George,[14] St. Catherine,[15] St. James,[16] and St. Lawrence,[17] we possess no texts enabling us to compare details of the presentation of those plays with the scenes depicted in the alabasters. There can be but little doubt that, even though we may have no records regarding them, there were plays concerned with other popular saints which were performed in medieval England, just as they were—as witnessed by much documentary evidence—in contemporary France. For that country we have—in addition to those relating to plays of many saints with whom, lacking alabaster tables of scenes from their histories, we need not here concern ourselves—records of plays (in some cases with texts paralleling our alabaster tables) based on the histories of SS. John Baptist,[18] George,[18] Catherine,[19] Lawrence,[20] Martin,[21] James the Great,[18] Eligius,[18] Erasmus,[18] and Peter and Paul.[22] Lacking English dramatic texts for comparison, and in view of the normal parallelism between the purely historical or legendary texts and the scenes as presented in the tables, we shall have to confine ourselves to consideration of the few details, in the tables, which look as if they might have been inspired by the stage rather than from literary sources.

The fairly numerous scenes from the history of the Baptist afford us several such details. Thus, in tables of 'St. John Preaching in the Desert', several attentive small animals, lions and (seemingly) apes, are shown at his feet,[23] the lions looking so like small dogs—though perhaps merely because the carvers lacked knowledge of the true appearance of lions—that one is led to surmise that on the English stage his audience included 'lions', whose parts were played by dogs suitably tricked out. Again, in the reredos at Yssac-la-Tourette,[24] Salome dancing before Herod attains an acrobatic posture which suggests the performance of a trained contortionist rather than the dancing of a noble lady. In tables, such as the one of pl. XVI, *a*,[1] of the 'Decollation of St. John', details which look as though they might well have come from the stage are the executioner's holding of the victim's hair[2]—presumably so that the head shall not fall to the ground—and the jailer's club with his keys hanging from one end.[3] Salome's action in wounding the Baptist's head, appearing in a fragment in Ripon Cathedral,[4] was represented on the French stage,[5] and therefore presumably also on the English, of the fifteenth century; but as there it derived from a literary source, we cannot cite its presence in the Ripon fragment as more than a simple parallelism. A table, formerly in Dr. Nelson's collection and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, representing the entombment of the Baptist with his head attached,[6] if not merely a result of a carver's inadvertence, may perhaps reproduce for us the way the burial was shown on an English stage. The Danzig reredos includes a curious scene[7] for which the recorded stories concerning the Baptist have as yet provided no really satisfactory explanation, but for which I have already suggested[8] the possibility of an origin in the theatre, either as a rendering of an incident whereof we happen to possess no other record, or in an elaboration for the stage of a text relating to the 'requitement' of Salome's crime.

---

[1] Cf. Nelson's list in 'Saint Catherine Panels in English Alabaster at Vienna'.

[2] Cf. *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxviii (1931), pp. 239 seq. with pl. VIII; Borenius, in *Archaeologia*, lxxix, p. 43 note.

[3] Cf. Nelson, 'An English Fifteenth Century Alabaster Reredos of St. Edmund', in *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 1924.

[4] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxiv (1917), pp. 112 seq.

[5] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* x, pl. VIII; Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiii (1926), pl. VII.

[6] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiv, pl. VI; and in *ibid.* lxxiv, pl. III.

[7] Cf. *ibid.* lxxxiv, pl. III; *Cat. cit.*, no. 71 (16).

[8] Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser. xxix, p. 90; a fragment of another scene from her history is in the Boston (Mass.) Museum of Fine Arts.

[9] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 66.

[10] Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 18, 23, 52; Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiv, pl. IV.

[11] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, no. 7.

[12] A table, unpublished, of the overthrowing of the demon-infested Oak 'of Thunder', in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[13] Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.* ii, p. 448.

[14] *Ibid.* ii, pp. 338, 383, 386.

[15] *Ibid.* ii, p. 366.

[16] *Ibid.* ii, pp. 378, 133.

[17] *Ibid.* ii, p. 378.

[18] Cf. Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.* ii, p. 630.

[19] *Ibid.* ii, p. 629.

[20] *Ibid.* ii, pp. 326, 524.

[21] *Ibid.* ii, pp. 535, 539.

[22] *Ibid.* ii, pp. 546, 548.

[23] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* x, pl. X; Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxii, pl. XII.

[24] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. III; *Cat. cit.*, fig. 17.

In the tables depicting incidents from the story of St. George there appears to be nothing, with the possible exception of the 'Resurrection of St. George by the Virgin Mary', which might not have been inspired directly by stories of which we have records. I have discussed in some detail[9] that 'Resurrection', which in English (but seemingly only in English) art is expressed in various media, and have suggested how it might perhaps have originated through some craftsman's misinterpretation of a representation of the Blessed Virgin's revivification of a certain other soldier-saint. I am now inclined, however, to favour rather my very tentative suggestion[10] that the origin of the scene lay in the English vernacular religious drama.

I think that we may very reasonably presume that the depicting, in tables showing St. Lawrence upon his gridiron,[11] of a torturer holding a mug of drink to refresh him at his thirsty work of feeding the fire, is a detail taken from the stage.

---

[1] Reproduced, by courtesy of the Royal Archaeological Institute, from Hildburgh, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxviii, pl. IX.

[2] In a table of the Danzig reredos (cf. Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type', pl. XIX); and in one in the British Museum (*ibid.*, pl. XXIII), by the forelock, instead of by the long hair at the back. It should be observed that 'Decollation' tables of other Saints (e.g. Catherine or Paul) do not exhibit this feature, and the head—if already severed—lies upon the ground.

[3] The jailer of the British Museum's table is similarly equipped; as are, also, the jailers in two tables of the 'Decollation of St. Catherine', one in the chapel at Lydiate (cf. Nelson, 'Ancient Alabasters at Lydiate', in *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 1915, fig. 6), and *Cat. cit.*, no. 63; the other shown in the Alabaster Exhibition (*ibid.*, no. 43). The detail appears also in glass concerned with St. Helen (Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 24, *n.*).

[4] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvi (1919), pl. I and pp. 133 seq., also with reference to the scene in English glass. The wound in the head is a regular feature of the fairly common 'St. John's Head' tables.

[5] *Id.* lxxxiii (1926), p. 35.

[6] *Ibid.*, pl. I.

[7] Cf. Nelson, '. . . Embattled Type', pl. XXI and pp. 330 seq.; Hildburgh, in *Folk-Lore*, xliv (1933), pl. VII and pp. 127 seq.

[8] *Loc. cit.*

[9] Cf. *Folk-Lore*, xliv, pp. 123 seqq.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 126. The same suggestion had already been advanced by Biver (*op. cit.*, p. 73), concerning both this table and its companion 'Arming of St. George by the Virgin Mary', reproduced by him in his pl. IX.

[11] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* x, pl. VIII (Cloisters Museum, New York); *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiii, pl. VII (Llanteglos-by-Fowey).

In tables of the 'Martyrdom of St. Erasmus', a detail suggesting a derivation from the stage is Diocletian's sitting with one foot resting on his victim's legs.[1] The man beneath the torture-table, pulling on a rope round the Saint's legs, who is a regular feature of the tables of this scene, gives the impression of having been such a stage-character as those we have met with, in both plays and tables of Christ's Passion, whose brutal humour was designed to relieve the strain brought about by the enactment of the tragedies.

The jester who appears in some tables of trial or of torture seems not improbably to have entered from the drama; sometimes, as in the Vienna Museum's 'Trial' and 'Decollation' tables[2] of a St. Catherine reredos, he is merely seated before his wicked Emperor; sometimes, as in the 'St. George before Dacian'[3] of the La Celle reredos, he serves as a footrest for his master.

A puzzling peculiarity of the English alabaster representations of St. Barbara is a little sunken boss, which in some cases retains traces of green paint, in the 'tower' which is her symbol. My investigations concerning this boss have led me to suggest[4] that quite possibly it symbolized the jet of living water which miraculously burst forth before her when she desired baptism. It now seems to me plausible that if the story of St. Barbara was presented—as, in view of her popularity in England, it very probably was—on the English vernacular stage, the incident of her baptism, which would have included the even more popular St. John, would have appeared as one of the scenes, and that in the restricted area available the 'water' would have been represented as coming forth from the wall of her 'tower'. I put forward this suggestion very tentatively, as perhaps a possible solution of a very enigmatic, and so far as I know exclusively English, detail of the English alabaster carvings.

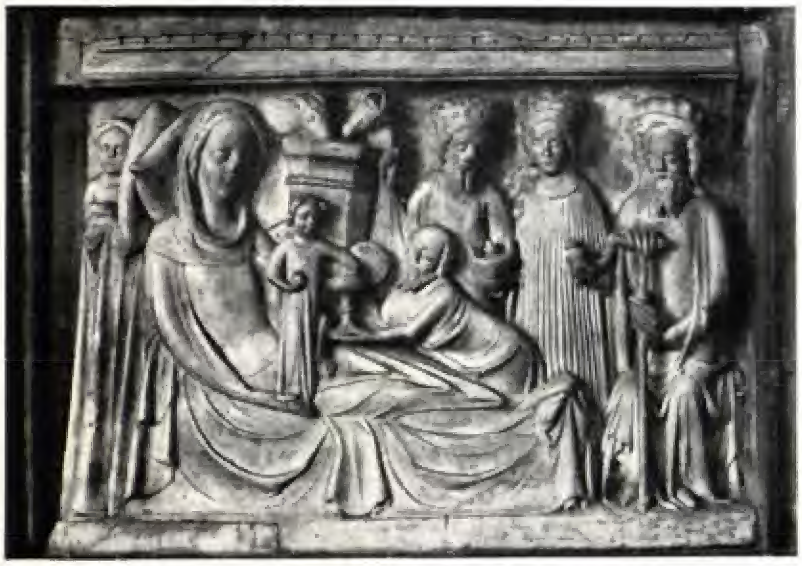
---

[1] As in the table belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, reproduced in *Cat. cit.*, no. 52; in another table (cf. *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiv, pp. 117 seq. with pl. IV), Diocletian has his foot on the torture-table instead of on the victim.

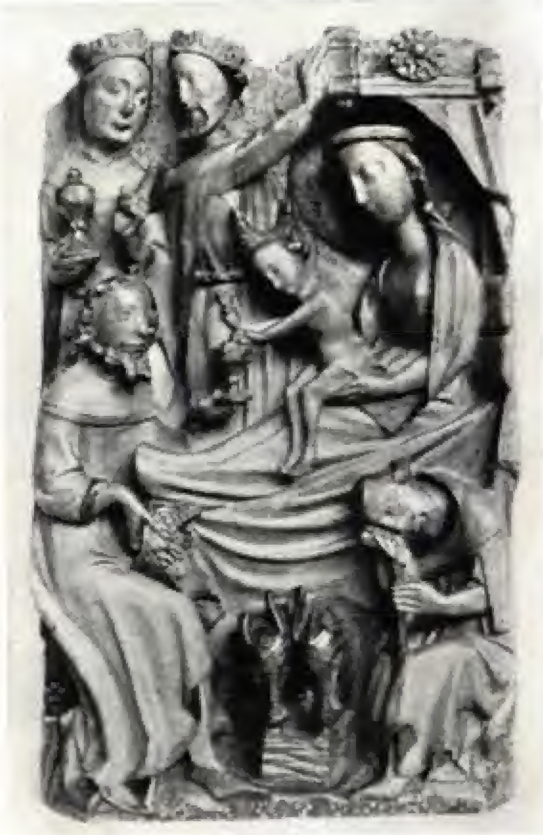
[2] Cf. Nelson, 'St. Catherine Panels . . . at Vienna', pls. I, IV.

[3] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. X.

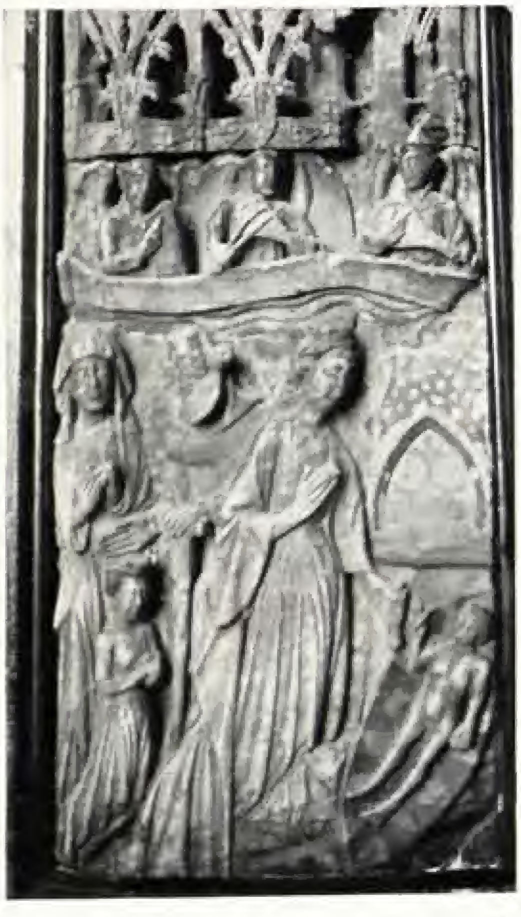
[4] Cf. *Folk-Lore*, xliv, pp. 129 seq.



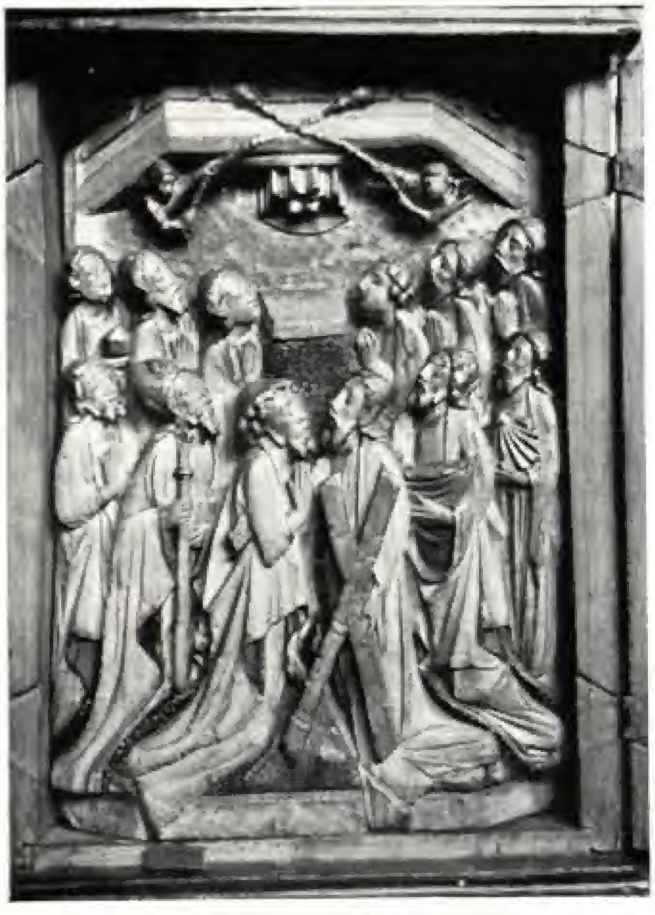
a. Nativity with adoration of the kings



b. Nativity with adoration of the kings

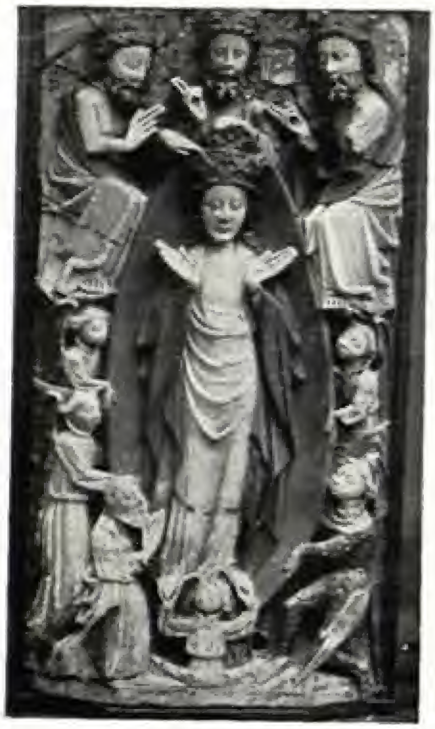


c. Nativity

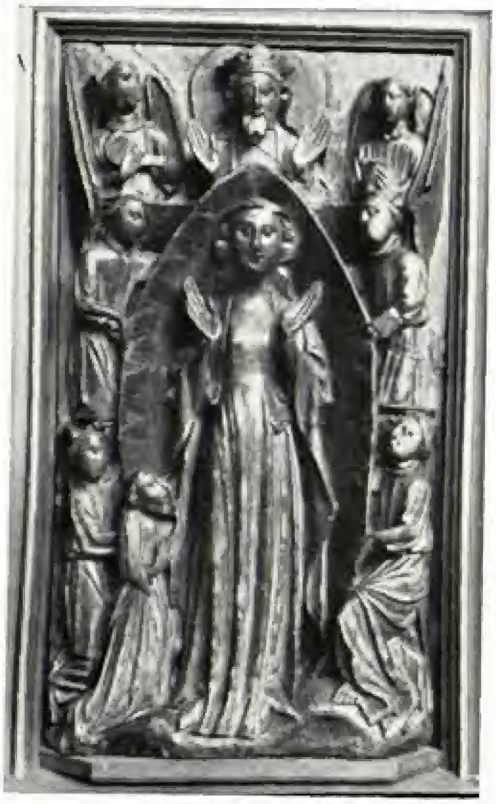


d. Ascension of our Lord

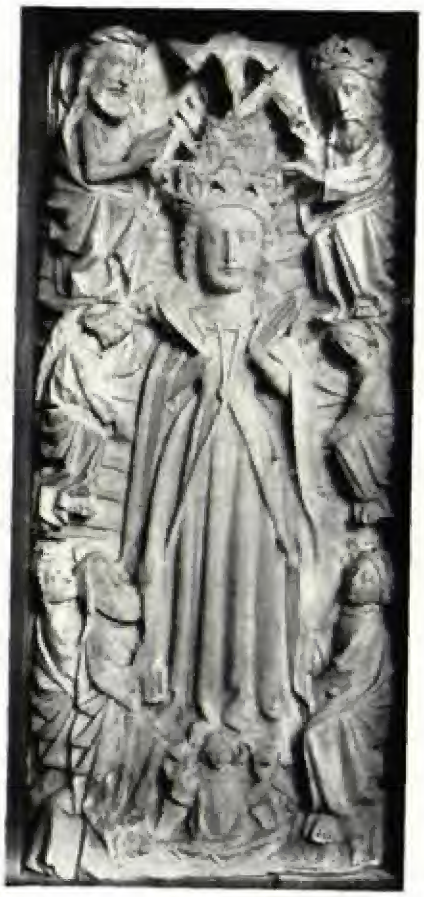
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



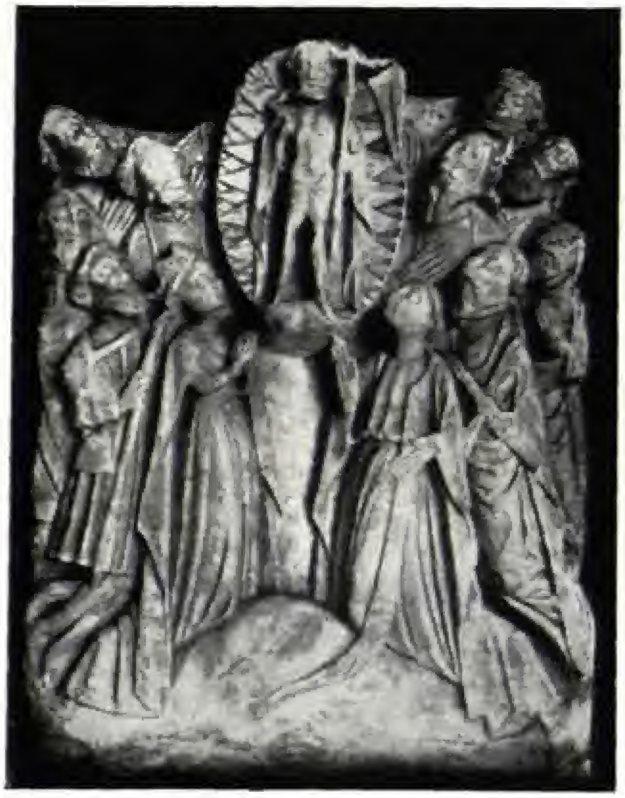
a. Assumption and Coronation of our Lady



b. Assumption of our Lady

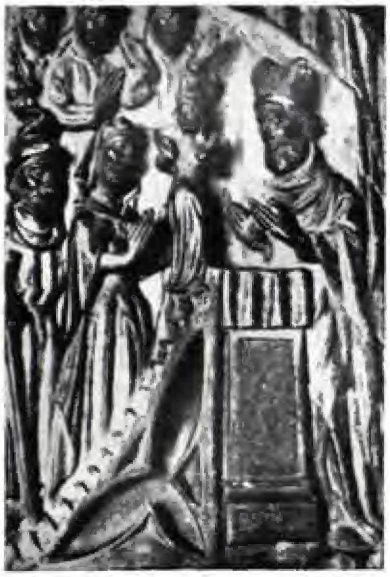


c. Assumption and Coronation of our Lady

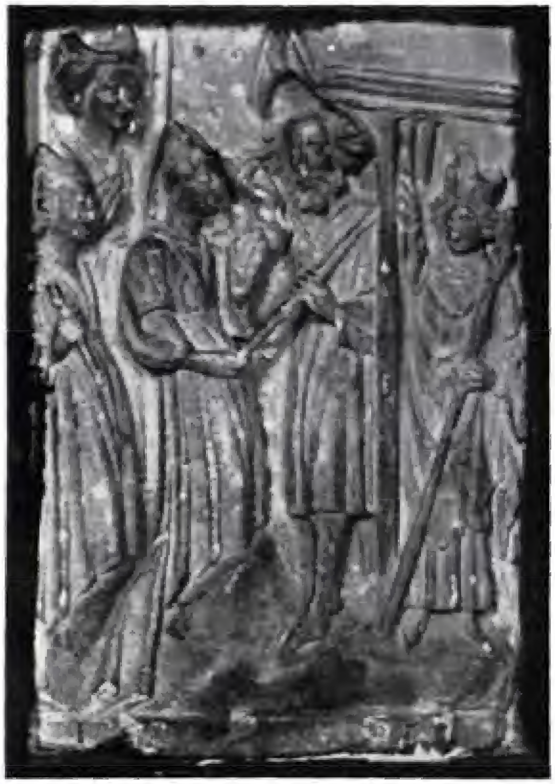


d. Ascension of our Lord

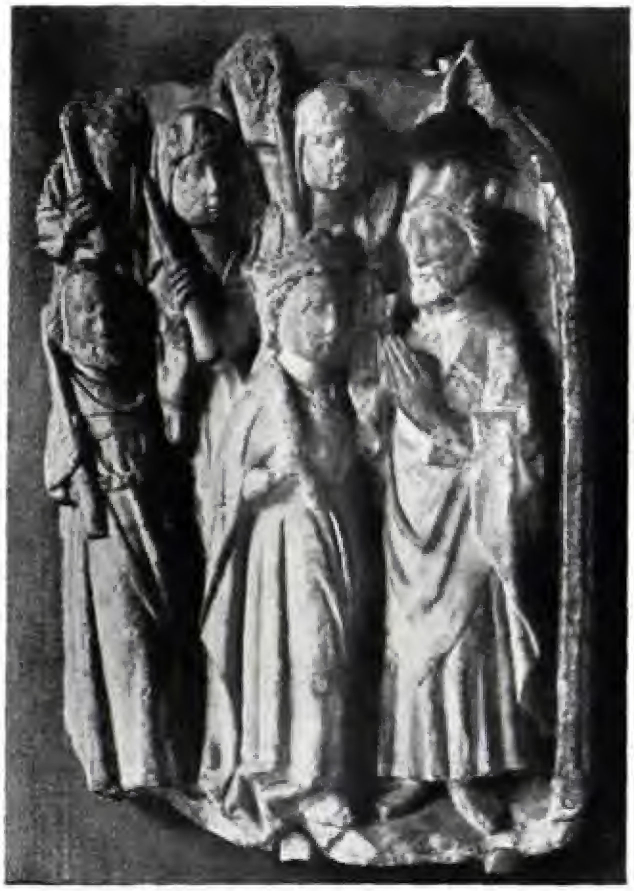
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



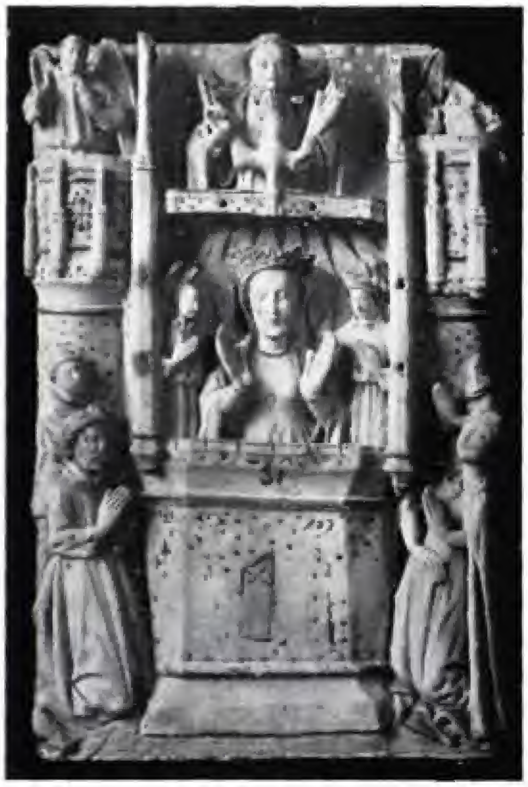
a. Dedication of our Lady



b. Betrothal of our Lady

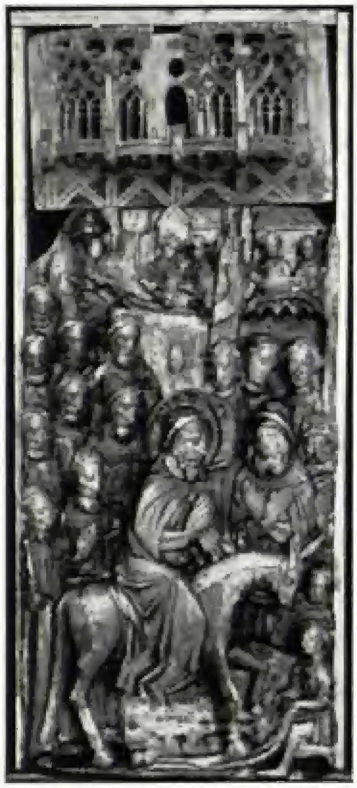


c. Purification of the Virgin

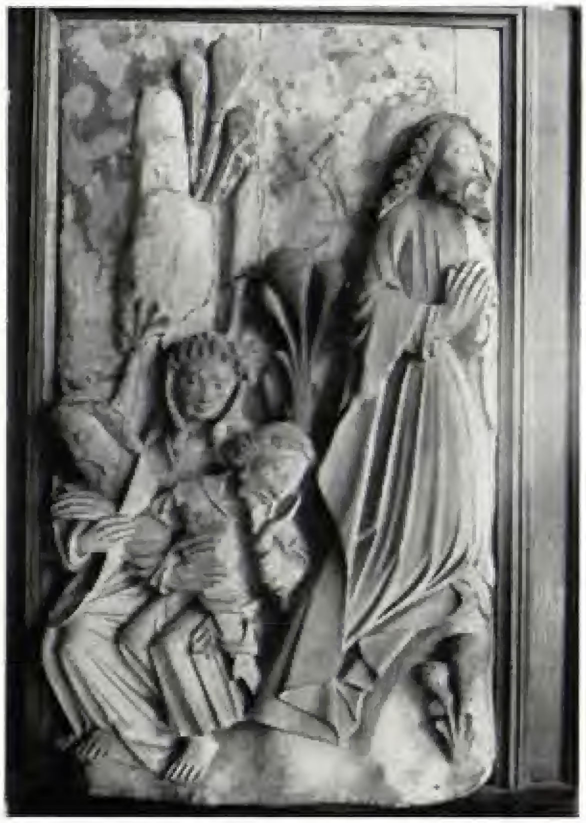


d. St. Catherine in prison

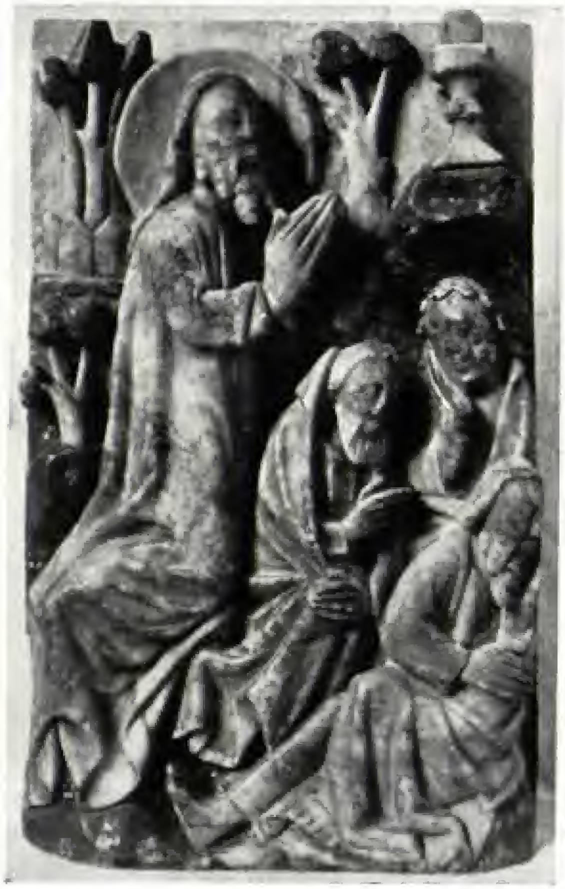
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



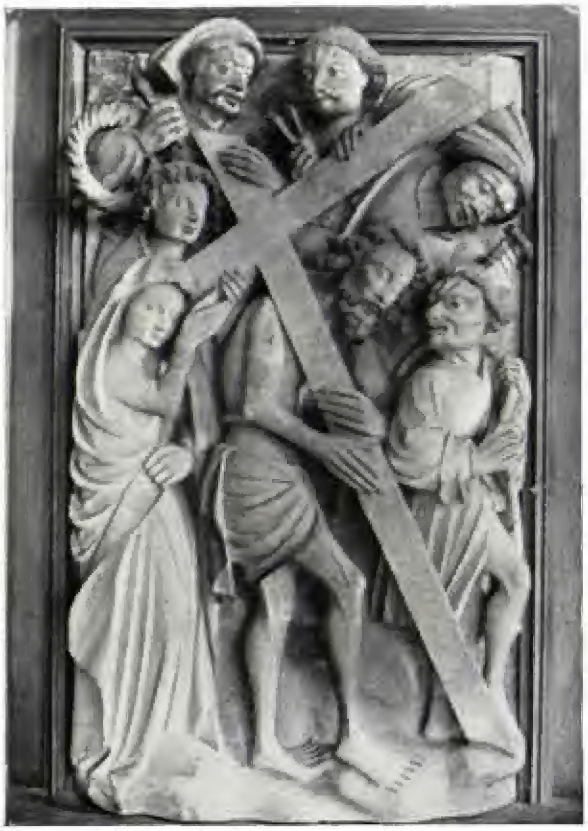
a. Entry into Jerusalem



b. Agony in the Garden

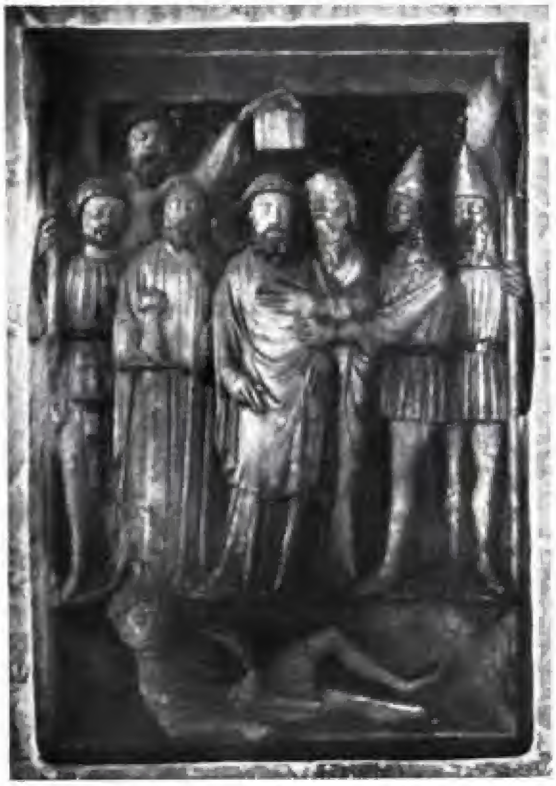


c. Agony in the Garden

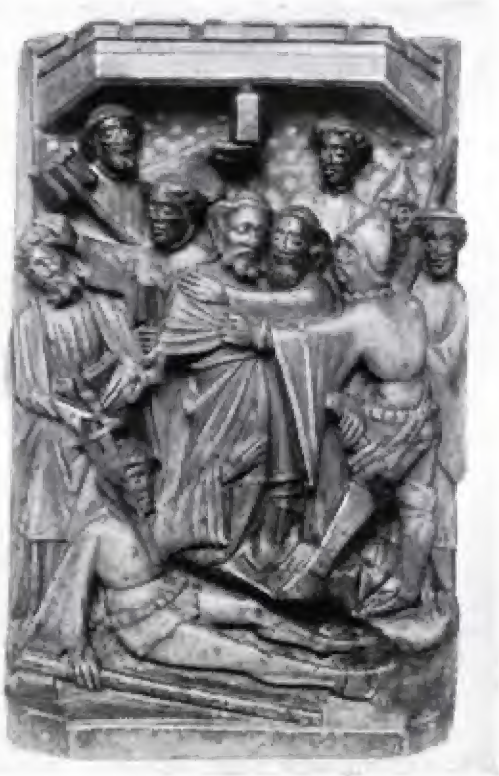


d. Carrying of the Cross

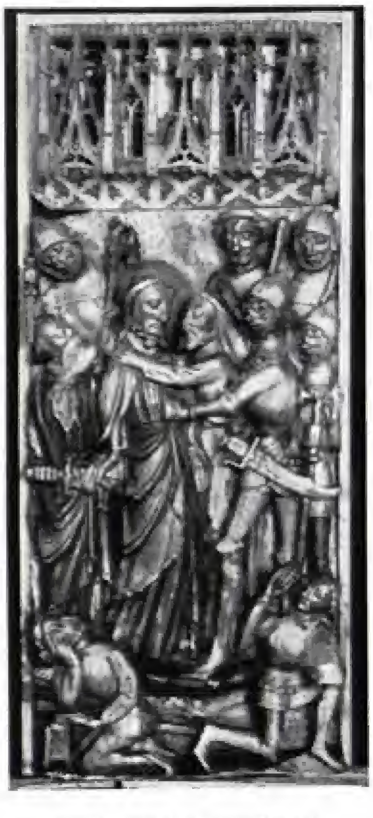
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



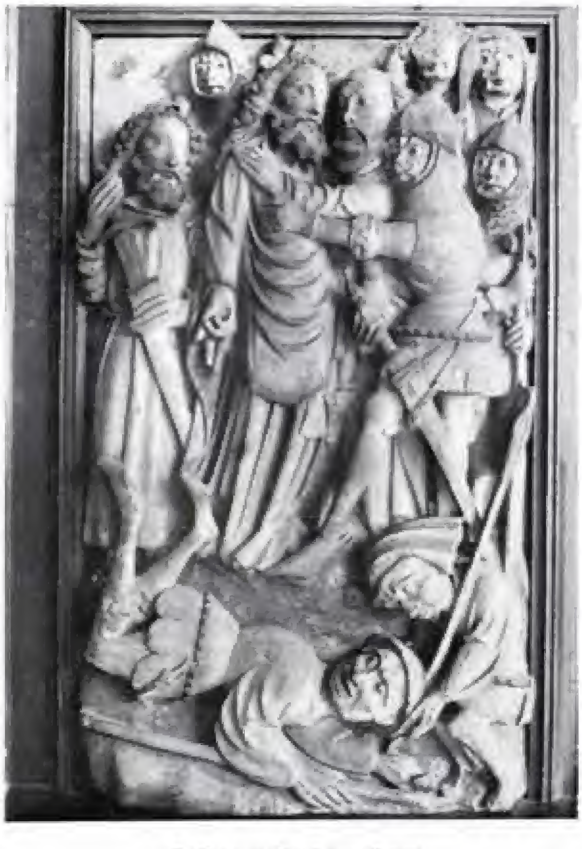
a. Betrayal of our Lord



b. Betrayal of our Lord



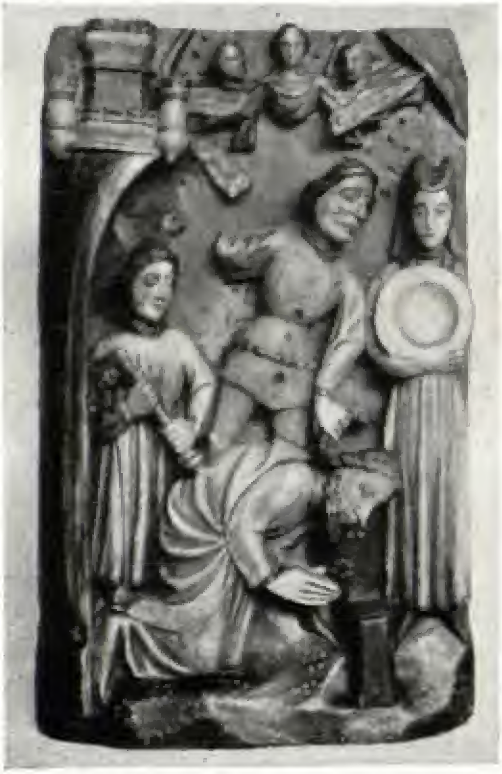
c. Betrayal of our Lord



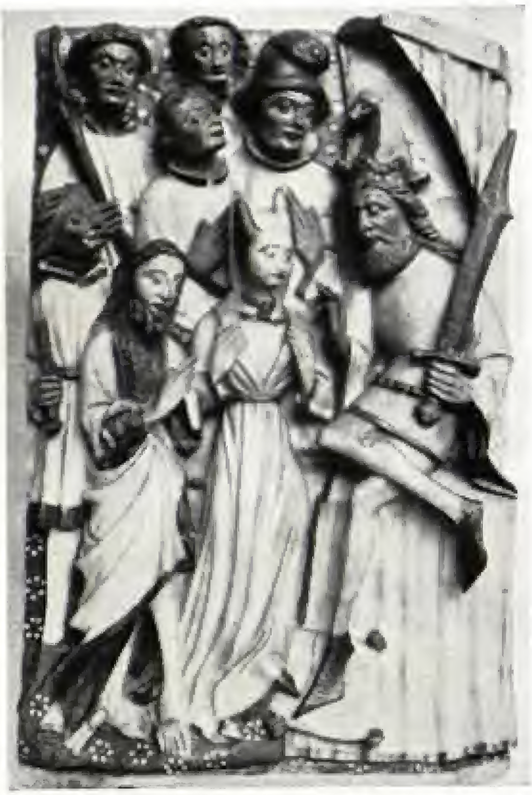
d. Betrayal of our Lord

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

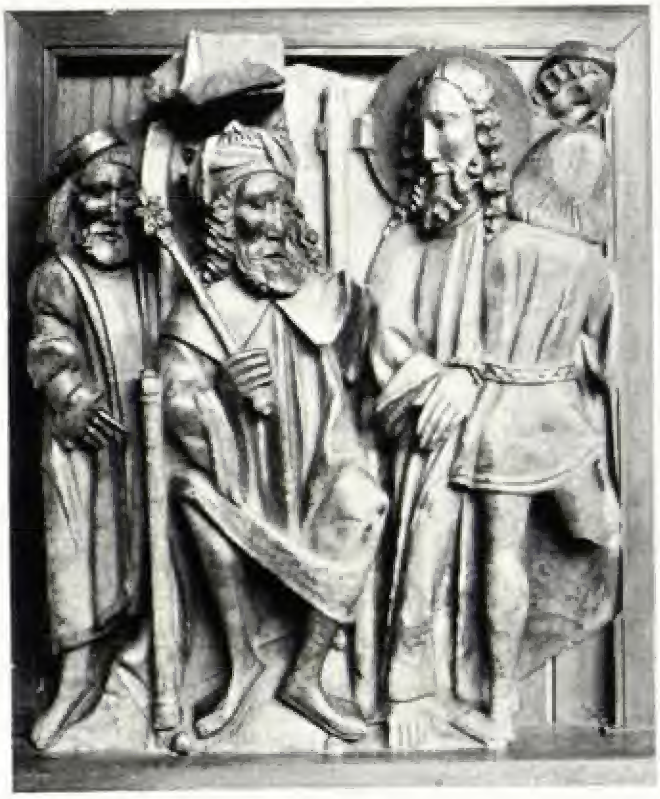
PLATE XVI



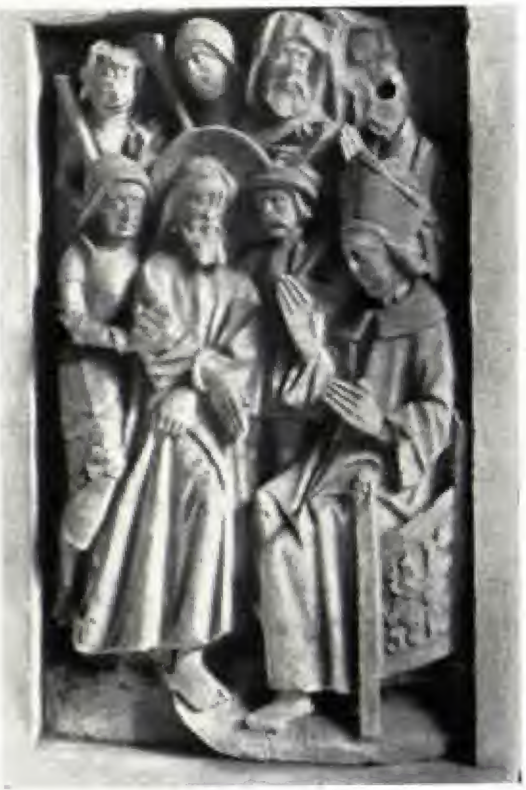
a. Decollation of St. John



b. St. John before Herod

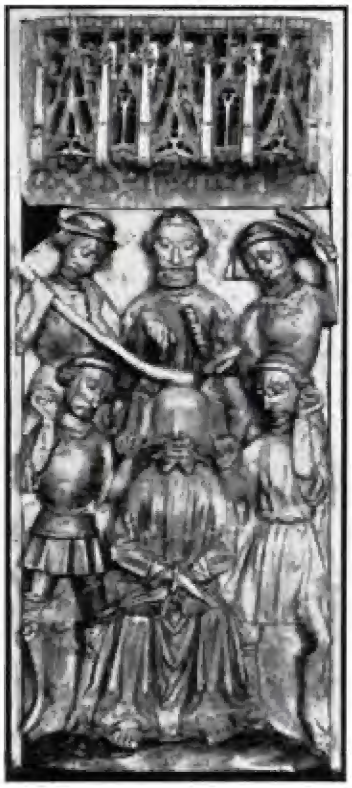


c. Christ before Herod

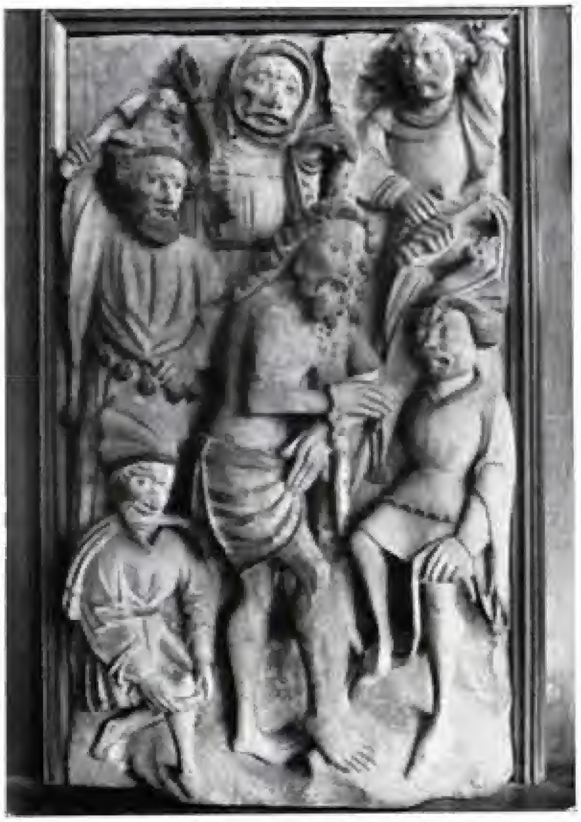


d. Christ before Caiaphas

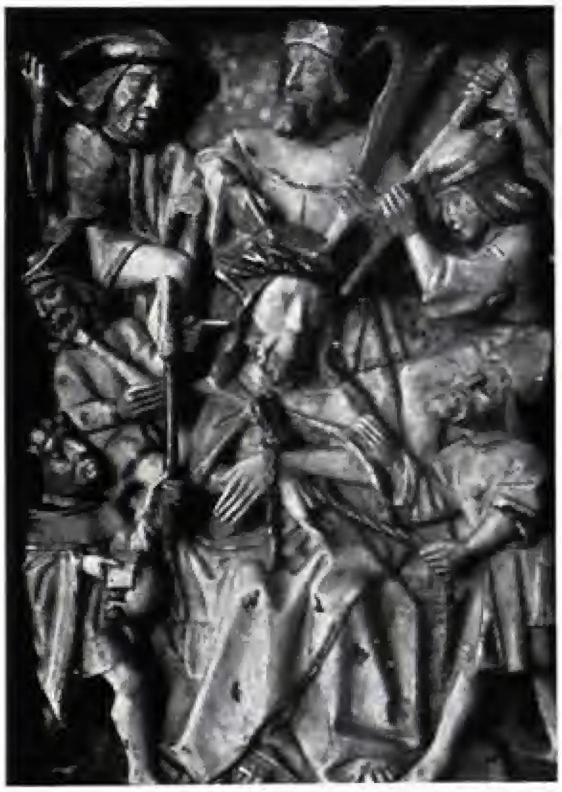
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



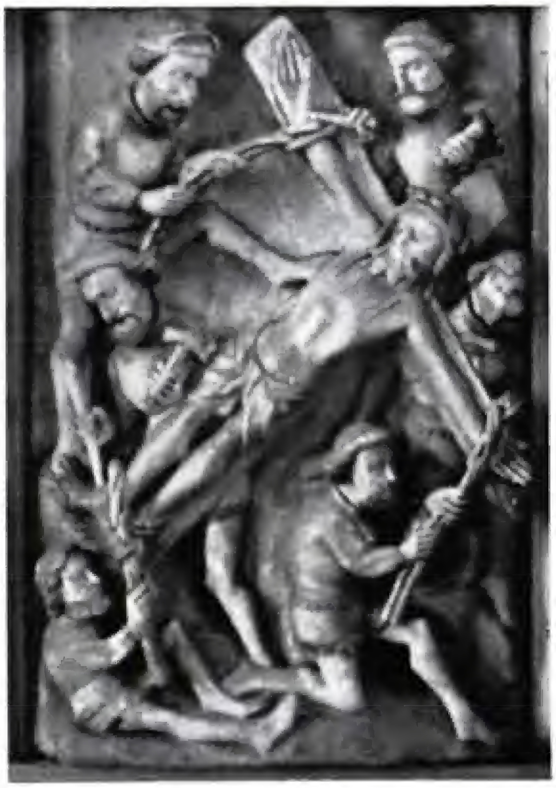
a. Mocking of our Lord



b. Flagellation of our Lord

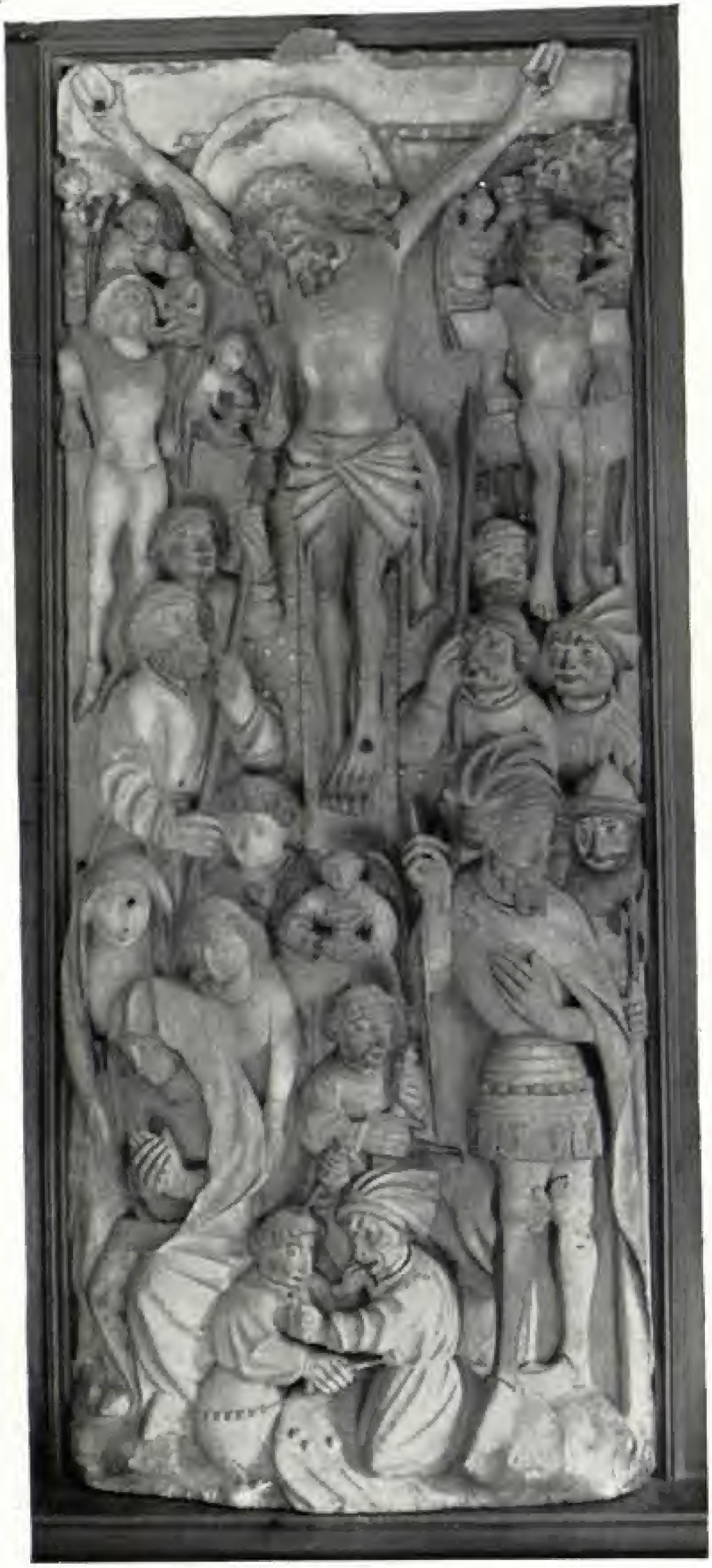


c. The Crowning with Thorns

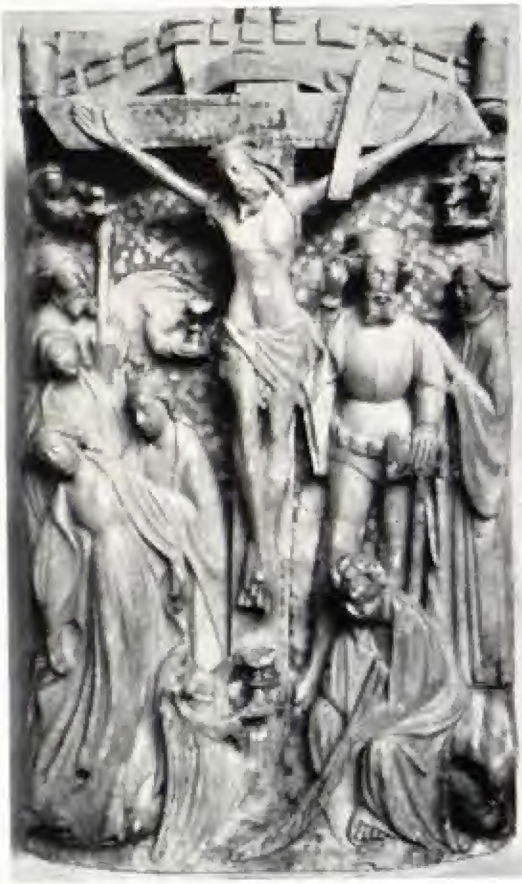


d. The Nailing to the Cross

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

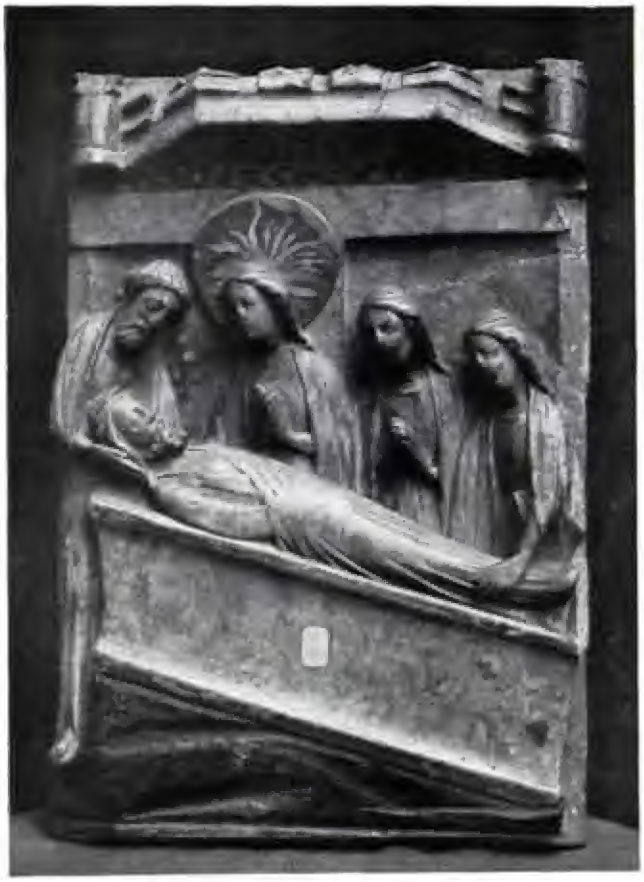


a. The Crucifixion

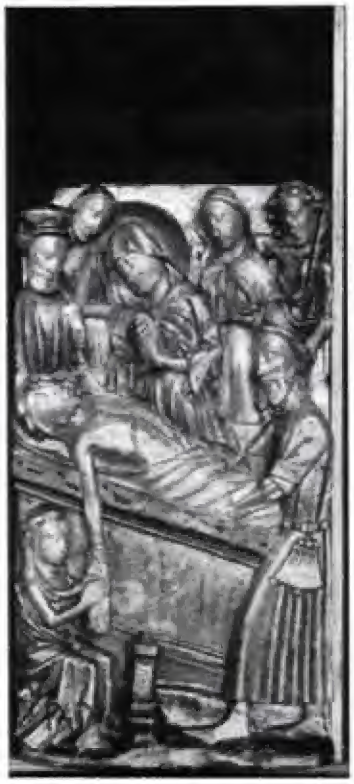


b. The Crucifixion

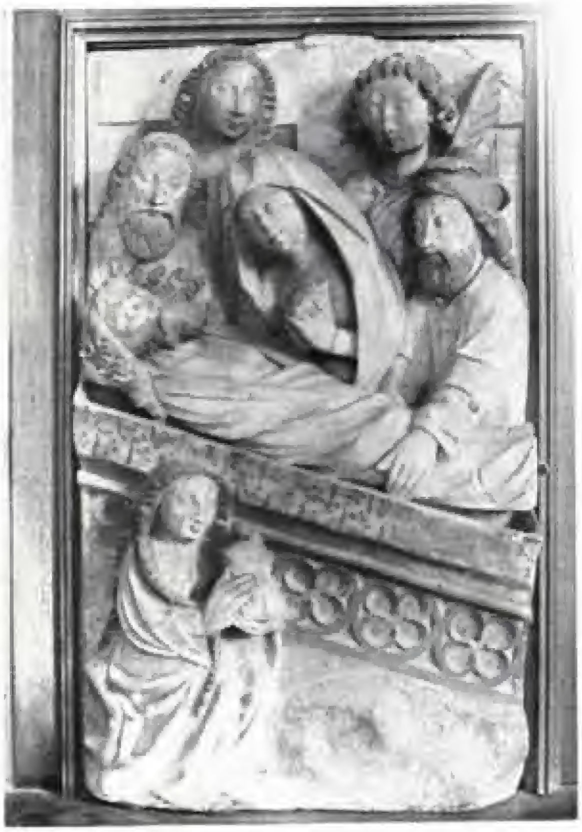
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



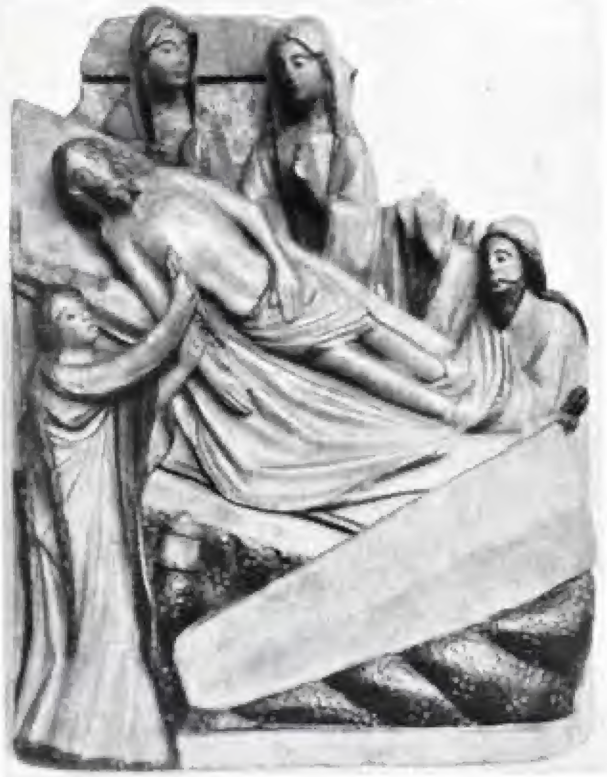
a. Entombment of our Lord



b. Entombment of our Lord

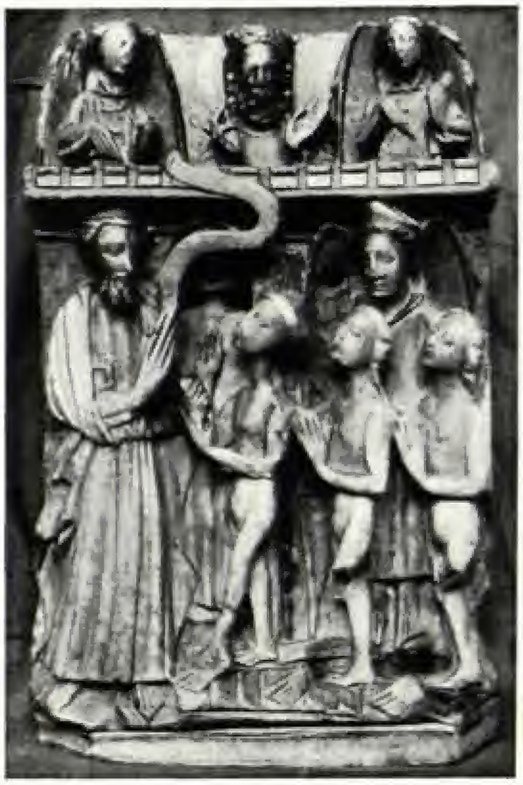


c. Entombment of our Lord

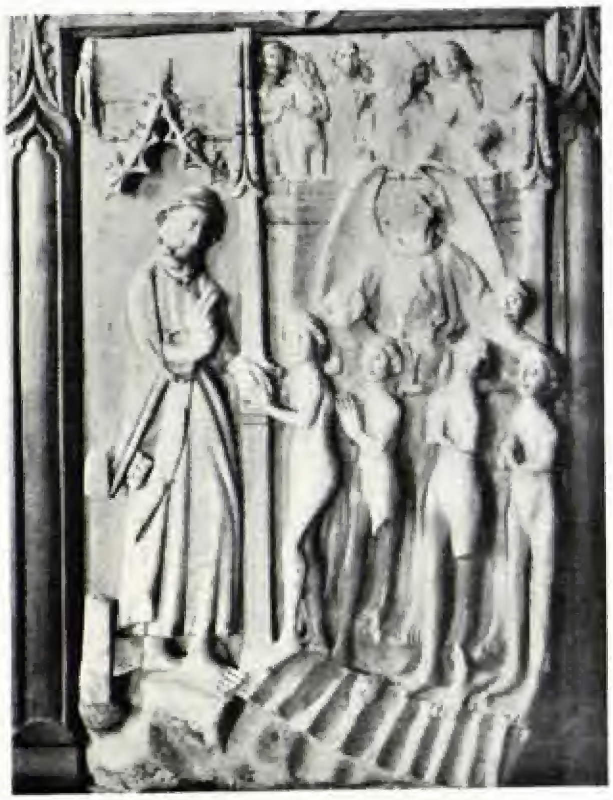


d. Entombment of our Lord

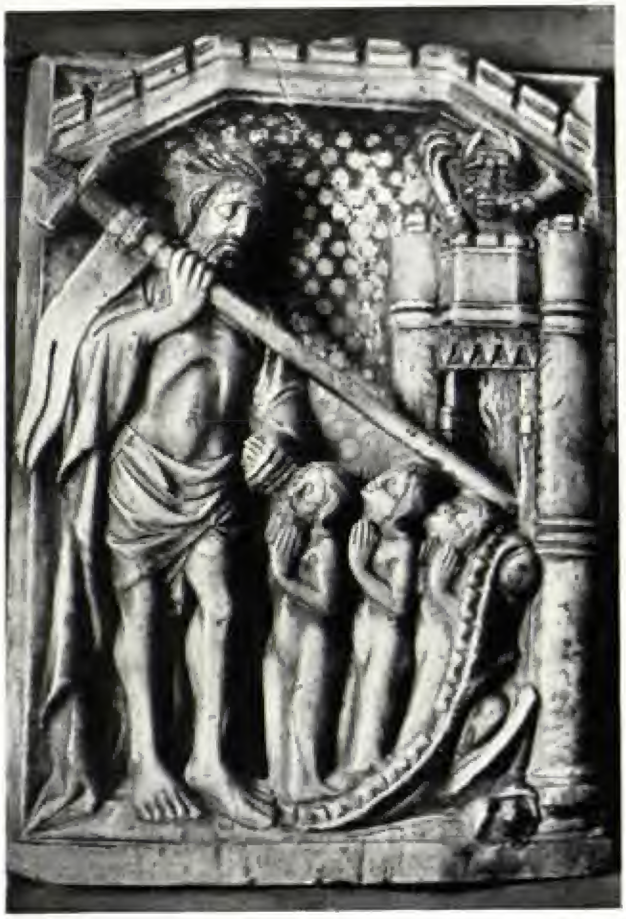
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



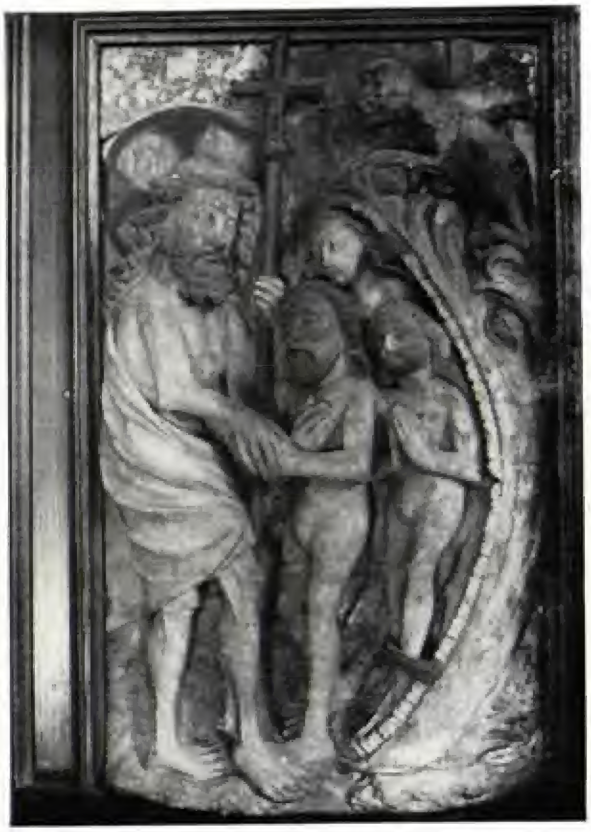
a. The Just enter Heaven



b. The Just enter Heaven

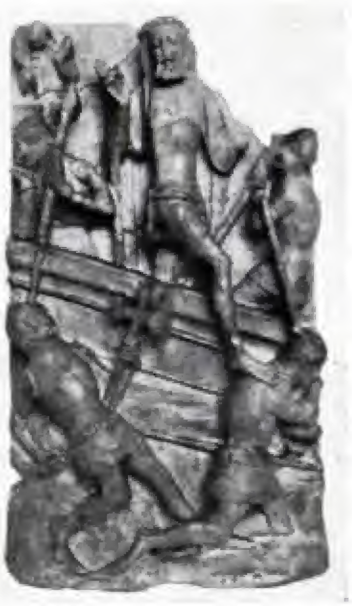


c. Harrowing of Hell

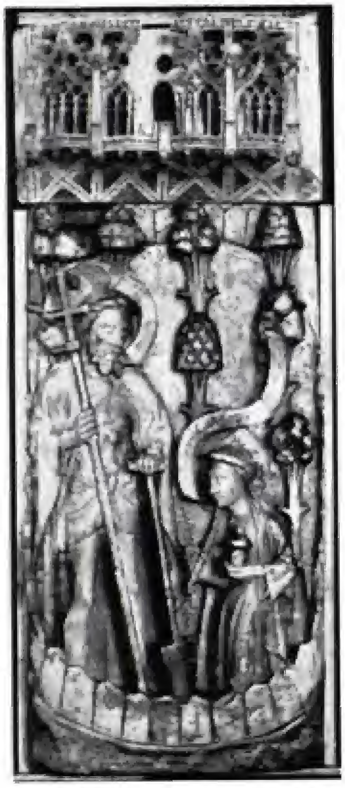


d. Harrowing of Hell

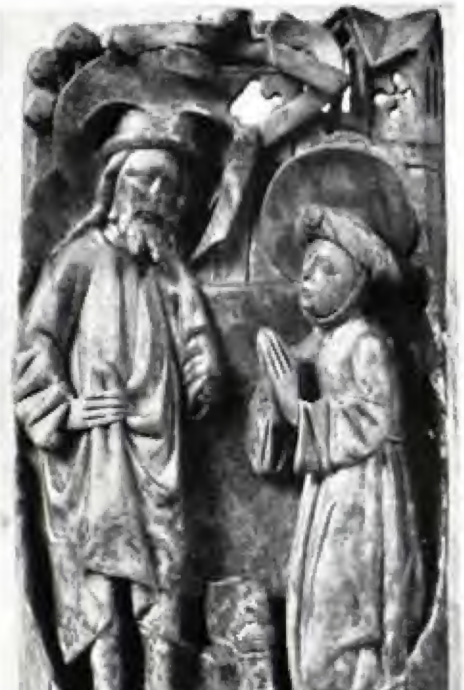
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



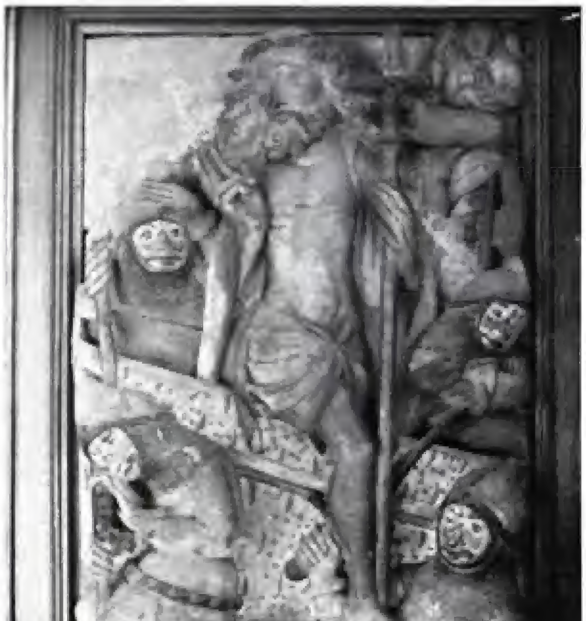
a. Resurrection of our Lord



b. Appearance to the Magdalen

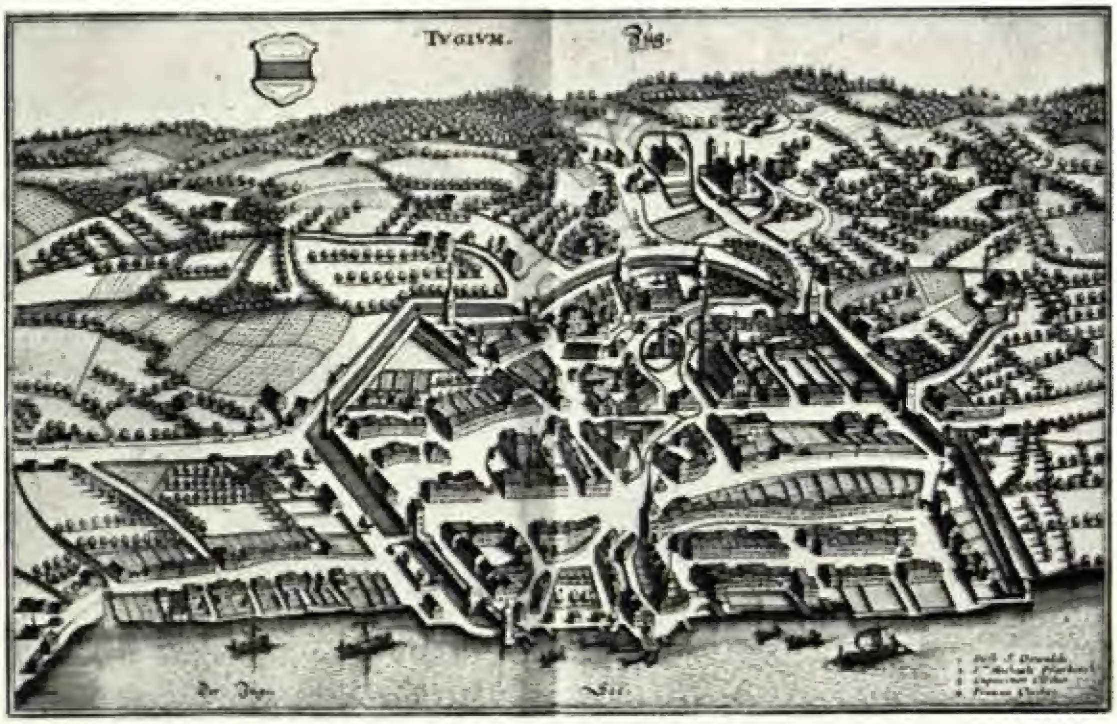


c. Appearance to the Magdalen

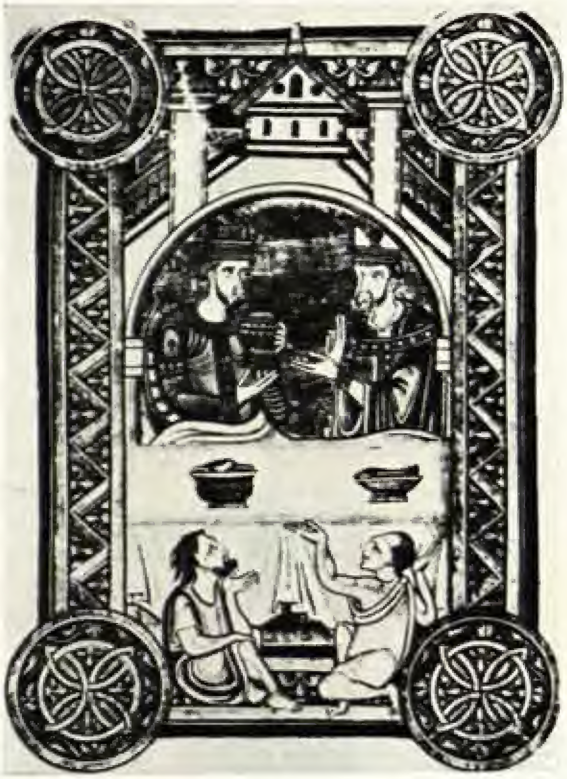


d. Resurrection of our Lord

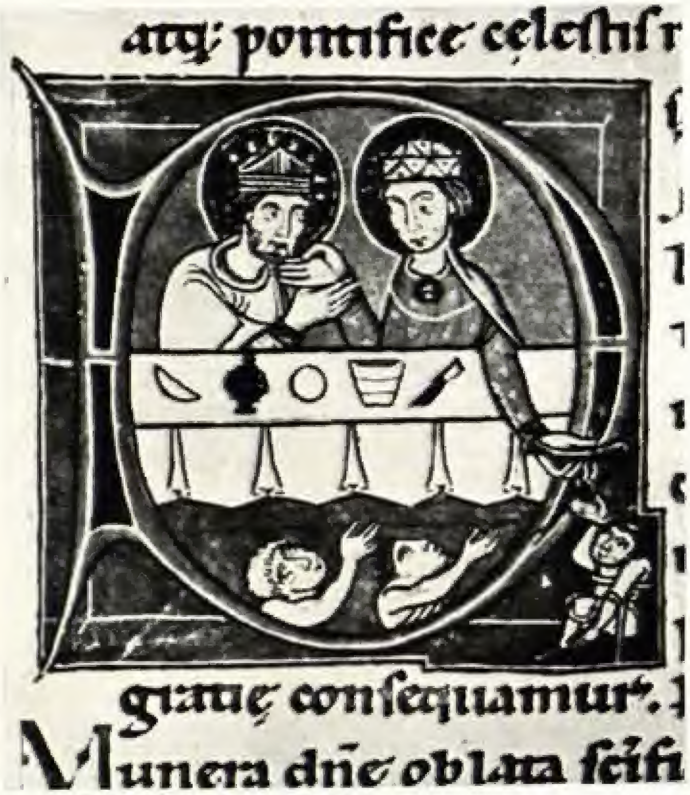
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949


TVGIVM.
Zug.
Der Zuger
See.

a. Merian's view of Zug (1652)



b. The Berthold Missal. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York


atq; pontifice celestis r
gratie consequamur.
Munera dñe oblata scifi

c. The Missal of Henry the Sacristan. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

St. Oswald and his Church at Zug

By the Rev. E. P. BAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

[*Read 21st November* 1946]

ARCHDEACON COXE, who happened to visit the town of Zug in Switzerland on 5th August 1776, expressed his surprise to find a church there dedicated to 'one of our old British kings', St. Oswald of Northumbria.[1] 'I have been endeavouring to discover the connection between a British king under the heptarchy and a small canton of Switzerland, without reflecting how fruitless is the attempt to give any reason for long established custom. In the church of Rome saints are easily transplanted into any soil, and caprice, as well as superstition, may have inclined the inhabitants of Zug to adore a saint, whose name is barely known in his own country'. As the answer to this investigation has never yet been given, it is the purpose of this article to offer some brief remarks on the cult of St. Oswald in Switzerland and in particular at Zug.[2]

After his death at the hand of Penda in 642, St. Oswald's remains were piously preserved. The head was buried at Lindisfarne and was subsequently laid in the coffin of St. Cuthbert at Durham. The body was translated first to Bardney and later to Gloucester, and the arms were deposited at Bamburgh.[3] We know from Bede that his fame was carried to the Continent by St. Willibrord,[4] and St. Oswald's day is marked in the original hand in the calendar which St. Willibrord himself used.[5] The relic of St. Oswald's head, long preserved at Echternach, may have been his gift.[6] There can be little doubt that St. Oswald's cult was spread far and wide by the English missionaries to Germany in the eighth century, and with the exception of St. Thomas of Canterbury, no other English saint has been revered so extensively in central Europe.[7] Nevertheless, in Switzerland there appears to be no trace of any veneration of St. Oswald earlier than the twelfth century.

The map showing the distribution of Oswald dedications in Switzerland makes no claim to be complete, as the writer has had no opportunity to make an exhaustive survey of the material.[8] The evidence on which it is based has for convenience been listed in an Appendix, except in the case of the greater monasteries, which we may do well to examine in closer detail. A foreign saint like St. Oswald is likely to have made his first appearance and then later to have been offered as an attractive patron to the parish churches through the medium of the monasteries, where relics would tend to accumulate.

---

[1] W. Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland*, i (1789), pp. 244 f.

[2] In an inquiry of this nature the assistance of those who are more closely acquainted with the material under review is particularly valuable. I would like to express my gratitude for generous help given me by Professor Marcel Beck and P. Rudolph Henggeler, O.S.B. Owing to lack of space the article has had to be curtailed.

[3] C. Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica*, ii (1896), pp. 157 f.

[4] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 13.

[5] H. A. Wilson, *The Calendar of St. Willibrord* (Henry Bradshaw Society, lv, 1918), p. 36.

[6] As it was later assumed to be at Echternach. *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner-Orden*, iii (Munich, 1882), pp. 321 f. St. Oswald's head is associated in the same paragraph with St. Willibrord's body by J. Bertelius, *Historia Luxembergensis* (Cologne, 1605), p. 160. When Echternach had maintained its independence against the archbishop of Trier by the decision of the Emperor Henry VI on 5th August 1192, the monks instituted an annual festival of St. Oswald and of St. Willibrord to be celebrated on that day. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* (*M.G.SS.*), xxiii, 72; C. Wampach, *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach*, i, 2 (Luxemburg, 1930), p. 381.

[7] See the valuable note in Plummer, *op. cit.* ii, 159 ff. Curiously there is no mention of Zug either here or in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. ii, pp. 89 ff.

[8] The circles mark churches and the crosses altars, together with one relic and one painting.

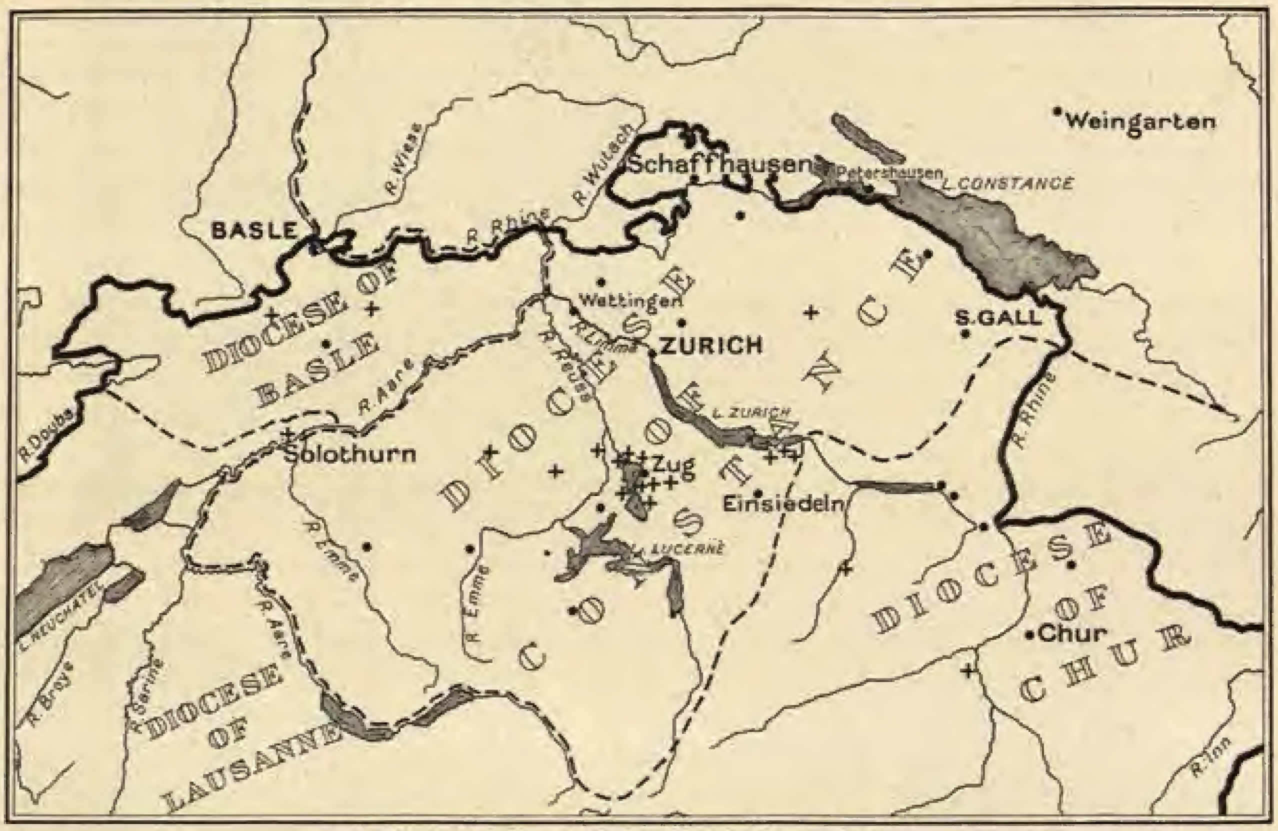

Weingarten
Schaffhausen
Petershausen
L. CONSTANCE
R. Wiese
R. Wutach
BASLE
R. Rhine
Wettingen
ZURICH
S.GALL
DIOCESE OF BASLE
R. Aare
R. Limmat
R. Reuss
L. ZURICH
R. Doubs
Solothurn
Zug
Einsiedeln
DIOCESE OF CONSTANCE
L. LUCERNE
R. Emme
R. Emme
R. Rhine
DIOCESE OF CHUR
Chur
R. Inn
L. NEUCHATEL
R. Broye
R. Sarine
R. Aare
DIOCESE OF LAUSANNE

FIG. 1. St. Oswald dedications in Switzerland.

For our first example let us take Petershausen, founded in 983 by monks from Einsiedeln. There we have records of a double chapel, the lower dedicated to St. Faith (1134) and the upper to St. Martin and St. Oswald on 28th October 1129. It lay at some considerable distance from the church, near to the cemetery chapel of St. John, which was built as early as 1043. A re-consecration took place two years after the great fire of 1159, although the chapel itself had escaped damage.[1]

In 1206, Henry of Sax, the prior of St. Gall, founded the chapels of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Oswald on the north and south sides of the church of St. Othmar, which was connected with the main abbey church by a kind of open narthex.[2] After the fire of 1418 the chapel was converted into a schoolroom and eventually disappeared in the seventeenth century.

---

[1] *M.G.SS.* xx, 666 ff.; F. X. Kraus, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Konstanz* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1887), pp. 231 ff. Admittedly Petershausen is a few yards across the modern Swiss border, which for our present purpose may be conveniently ignored.

[2] It is not quite clear whether the records are speaking of one or two chapels. A. Hardegger, *Die alte Stiftskirche und die ehemaligen Klostergebäude in St. Gallen* (Zurich, 1917), pp. 30 f., assumes that there were two (cf. plan opp. p. 40), following Joachim v. Watt (Vadian), *Chronik der Aebte des Klosters St. Gallen* (ed. E. Götzinger), i (St. Gall, 1875), pp. 242 ff., 129. See also the account of Conrad de Fabaria in *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, xvii (St. Gall, 1879), p. 143, and for the later endowments of the chapel *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, iii (St. Gall, 1875), pp. 73 f., 138, 725. Sequences of St. Thomas and St. Oswald may have been composed for the dedication. J. Werner, *Notkers Sequenzen* (Aarau, 1901), p. 53.

At All Saints', Schaffhausen, there is mention in a document of 12th March 1300 of a rent of six shillings for providing a light in the chapel of St. Oswald.[1] This chapel, of which fragments still survive, contained a relic of St. Oswald's head, and may have been founded considerably earlier than 1300. It lay detached to the south-west of the abbey church.

At the Cistercian monastery of Wettingen, founded in 1227, 'the chapel by the gate', as it was called, was dedicated in 1294 for the benefit of visiting pilgrims, with a high altar in honour of St. Oswald and St. Christopher.[2] After a change of dedication in 1556 the chapel became known as St. Anne's. It was finally demolished in 1809.

The chapel of the two St. Johns in the cloister at Einsiedeln, dating from between 1118 and 1127, was re-founded in 1323 in memory of three young men who had fallen on the battlefield of Morgarten, and was dedicated in honour of St. John Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, and St Oswald.[3] Here it is possible that St. Oswald's name has been intruded at the later date, and the suggestion is borne out by what we have found elsewhere. At Petershausen, St. Gall, Schaffhausen, and Wettingen, the chapel of St. Oswald in each case is a later addition to the main building, and this agrees with what we have already contended, that St. Oswald was not venerated in Switzerland earlier than the twelfth century.

We must now try to answer the question how and why St. Oswald came to Switzerland. First of all we may notice from our map that nearly all the dedications lie within the boundaries of the dioceses of Chur and Constance. That is to say, they are confined to the metropolitan province of Mainz, and we should waste our time by looking into the dioceses which lie to the west or south, where there is little or no trace of our saint.[4] It might be suggested that he travelled up the Rhine from Trier and Echternach, where his cult was already several centuries old. But for this we have no evidence. There is no mention of St. Oswald among the relics in the altars of All Saints', Schaffhausen, dedicated in 1064 by Archbishop Bruno of Trier,[5] nor in the story told in the early part of the twelfth century, when Abbot Adalbert sent to Trier for relics of the martyrs.[6] It is far more likely that St. Oswald came to Switzerland through the monastery of Weingarten in Swabia, where relics of the Northumbrian king were received at the close of the eleventh century.

---

[1] E. Wüscher-Becchi, *Die Abtei Allerheiligen zu Schaffhausen* (Basle, 1917), p. 126; R. Frauenfelder in *Heimat-Klänge* [weekly supplement of the *Zuger Nachrichten*] (30th Oct. 1927).

[2] H. Lehmann, *Das ehemalige Cisterzienserkloster Maris Stella bei Wettingen* (Aarau, 1926), pp. 19 f. Relics of St. Oswald were included in the altar of the chapel of SS. Felix and Regula consecrated in 1256. *M.G.SS.* xv, ii, 1286.

[3] O. Ringholz, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Benediktinerstiftes U. L. F. Einsiedeln*, i (Einsiedeln, 1902), pp. 72, 135 ff. The inference that St. Oswald was included in the original dedication could only be made from a later addition in a fourteenth-century hand to an otherwise twelfth-century manuscript. G. Meier, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in Biblioteca Monasterii Einsidlensis O.S.B. servantur* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 94. For the date of the older foundation cf. T. Schiess, *Quellenwerk zur Entstehung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft Abt. 1: Urkunden* i (Aarau, 1933), p. 51.

[4] That St. Oswald did not penetrate so far as either Lausanne or Sion we may learn from the careful studies of the dedications in those dioceses, which have already been published. W. Benzenrath, *Die Kirchenpatrone der alten Diözese Lausanne im Mittelalter* (Freiburg [Swiss], 1914); E. Gruber, *Die Stiftungsheiligen der Diözese Sitten im Mittelalter* (Freiburg [Swiss], 1932). Nor is there any trace of him in Savoy. J. Burlet, *Le culte de Dieu, etc., en Savoie avant la Révolution* (Chambéry, 1922).

[5] *Quellen zur schweizerischen Geschichte*, iii (Basle, 1883), pp. 140 ff.

[6] *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, ii (Schaffhausen, 1866), pp. 43 ff.

The Benedictine monastery of St. Martin, Weingarten, was founded in 1056[1] by Welf IV, first duke of Bavaria, for a community of monks long under the patronage of his family. In 1071 Welf married Judith, daughter of Baldwin IV of Flanders, whose first husband had been Tostig, earl of Northumbria, the son of Earl Godwin. Little is known of her life. Her earlier marriage had taken place previous to 1051, when Godwin and his sons were serving a brief sentence of exile in Flanders,[2] and before Tostig's death in 1066 she must have lived for a number of years in the north of England. We are told of her devotion to St. Oswyn[3] and St. Cuthbert,[4] and it is no surprise to find her in possession of relics of another great Northumbrian saint.[5]

In March 1094 Judith visited Weingarten with her second husband, who arranged for his subsequent burial in the abbey church. 'Domina uero Judith fletibus uberrimis lacrimarum obtulit pallam auro purissimo intextam, mappas habentem dispositas per loca aurifigias. Scrinea eburnea auro argento circumornata, cruces aureas cum Reliquiis Sanctorum, gemmis optimis plene ornata. Calices aureos, thuribula et candelabra aurea, plenaria plurima, arcellam fabrefactam plenam reliquiis sancti Oswaldi, postremo quidem in timore Domini sacrosanctum Christi cruorem adoleuit . . .'[6]

St. Oswald was not easily forgotten at Weingarten. We find his relics in the chapel of St. Leonard, dedicated in 1124, shortly after the abbey had been destroyed by fire. The Romanesque church completed in 1182 was provided with a west quire for the relics of St. Oswald and the burial vault of the Welfs, and in the dedication of 1217 he is associated with St. Martin as co-patron of the monastery.[7]

Now all this agrees very well with the evidence we have already examined relating to the Swiss dedications. The conjunction of St. Oswald with St. Martin at Petershausen in 1129 is indisputable proof of the origin of the cult. He enters Switzerland, just as we might expect, in the course of the twelfth century with the prestige of the powerful abbey of Weingarten behind him. Nor must we overlook the possibility that his cult was spread as a patron of the Welf family. The earliest appearance of St. Oswald in Swiss art known to me is a mid-fourteenth-century painting on the splay of the east window of the church at Räzüns in the Grisons.[1] In this part of Switzerland the Welfs had formerly owned large properties and several of the local families were connected with them, so it may well have been due to Welf influence that St. Oswald came there.[2]

---

[1] Preferred to the more usual date of 1053 by E. König, *Die süddeutschen Welfen als Klostergründer* (Stuttgart, 1934), pp. 12 ff.

[2] P. Grierson in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xxiii (1941), p. 99.

[3] 'Miscellanea Biographica' in *Surtees Society*, viii (1838), pp. 14 ff.

[4] Symeon of Durham, *Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, i (1882), pp. 94 f.

[5] It is not unlikely that Judith was acquainted with St. Oswald before she came to England, and devotion to the royal martyr kindled in earlier years may have encouraged her to acquire the relics in Northumbria. In 1038 relics of St. Oswald had been brought over from England to the monastery of St. Winnoc at Bergues in Flanders. Their chequered history may be read in A. Pruvost, *Chronique et cartulaire de l'abbaye de Bergues-Saint-Winnoc* (Bruges, 1875), *passim*. For the manuscript *Vita* by Drogo and the miniatures of the saint cf. *Mémoires de la Société Royale des sciences et de l'agriculture et des arts de Lille, Anneé 1839*, ii (Lille, 1840), pp. 196 ff.; *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, xxvi (Paris, 1897), p. 662 f. The offices of St. Winnoc and of St. Oswald have been published in *Annales du Comité flamand de France*, xxxv (Lille, 1926), pp. 1 ff.

[6] G. Hess, *Monumentorum Guelficorum Pars Historica* (Kempten, 1784), p. 116. An alternative description from the Fulda MS. Aa 21 is given on p. 153. This treasure, of which we shall hear more later, remained intact until the beginning of the nineteenth century. A brief account of it is given in P. W. Gercken, *Reisen durch Schwaben*, etc., i (Stendal, 1783), p. 119. Grierson, *op. cit.* p. 110, thinks that Judith died in 1095 or later. For the relic of the Holy Blood cf. W. Ellerhorst, *Die Geschichte des Hl. Blutes zu Weingarten* (Weingarten, 1937).

[7] *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte* xl (Stuttgart, 1934), pp. 34 ff. It may be recalled that we found St. Oswald linked with St. Martin at Petershausen as early as 1129. In later centuries his cult may have been eclipsed by the increasing popularity of the relic of the Holy Blood. So far as I am aware the only representation of St. Oswald in the present baroque church is the large statue over the façade (1719) by Anton Kuen. R. Schmidt and H. Burckheit, *Die Kunst- und Altertums-Denkmale in Württemberg. Oberamt Ravensburg* (Stuttgart, 1931), p. 194.

Let us turn for a moment to the second map, which is based on the evidence furnished in G. Hoffmann's book on the church dedications of Württemberg.[3] The author is confident that St. Oswald was first brought to Württemberg by Judith at the end of the eleventh century, and it might not be rash to assume that the majority of the churches and altars marked on the map were derived either directly or indirectly from Weingarten. Hoffmann has presumably examined all the available sources (an achievement I have had to disclaim for myself in the case of Switzerland), and his results are not dissimilar to those collected in the Appendix. A few dates are given from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but the majority are later, making at least the suggestion that St. Oswald may have grown more popular in the later period.[4] It seems, then, not unlikely that something of the same kind may have taken place both in Württemberg and in that part of the diocese of Constance and the province of Mainz which lay south of the Rhine at a time long before the modern political boundary had been drawn. One further point may be noticed. Hoffmann attributes a small group of Oswald dedications on the west side of Stuttgart to the influence of the Welfs, who owned estates in the neighbourhood, and this might be held to reinforce what I have already suggested about Räzüns and the Grisons generally.

Since the fifteenth century the most important centre of the cult of St. Oswald in Switzerland has been the town and canton of Zug, to which the rest of this paper will be devoted. Merian's view of Zug, published in 1652, illustrates very clearly the stages in the growth of the town (pl. XXII, *a*). The original settlement lay around the parish church of St. Michael, along the side of the hill overlooking the lake,[5] but when the St. Gothard Pass was opened up at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, Zug was crossed by the line of a new trade-route. Traffic from

---

[1] E. Poeschel, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Graubünden*, iii (Basle, 1940), p. 46. We know that St. Oswald's Day was observed at Chur as early as the twelfth century. W. v. Juvalt, *Necrologium Curiense* (Chur, 1867), p. 77.

[2] E. Poeschel, *Das Burgenbuch von Graubünden* (Zurich, 1929), pp. 51 f.; E. Krüger, *Der Ursprung des Welfenhauses und seine Verzweigung in Süddeutschland* (Wolfenbüttel, 1899), pp. 431 f.

[3] G. Hoffmann, *Kirchenheilige in Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1932), p. 31 and *passim*.

[4] Two factors may have contributed to the growth of St. Oswald's popularity in the later Middle Ages. The first is the emergence of the warrior saints in the West from the eleventh century onwards. C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), pp. 11 f., 253 ff., 216 ff. That a change of emphasis of this kind must have affected the cult of St. Oswald is shown by a sentence in Manegold of Lautenbach's apologia for waging war against the Emperor. 'Hinc est quod sanctissimus uir rex Oswaldus contra barbaros pro patria et pro fide dimicans et a Penda rege Merciorum bello superatus et occisus signis atque miraculis martyris probatur coronatus.' *M. G. Libelli*, i, 399. Secondly is the growing veneration for saints of aristocratic lineage. G. Schreiber, *Deutschland und Spanien* (Düsseldorf, 1936), pp. 19 ff. It has been remarked that every saint represented on the church at Zug is of royal blood. In a fifteenth-century manuscript at Trier we find: 'Rex Oswaldus, natione anglicus, nobilissimam et religiosissimam genealogiam duxit.' *Analecta Bollandiana*, lii (1934), p. 188.

[5] *Anzeiger für schweizerische Geschichte*, xi (1910), pp. 21 ff.

Zurich would be brought down to the shore of the Lake of Zug and shipped to the opposite side, where it was hauled over the narrow neck of land by Küssnacht, launched on the Lake of Lucerne as far as Flüelen, and finally disembarked for the ascent of the St. Gothard. To deal with this traffic another settlement grew up on the shores of the lake, still to be recognized in the narrow streets, which huddle between the water and the line of the ancient walls. This part of Zug was served by the chapel of Our Lady, first mentioned in 1266 and rebuilt much as we see it to-day in 1676. But as early as the fifteenth century the population was spilling over the walls into the open country between the harbour and the old parish church on the hill behind, and a new

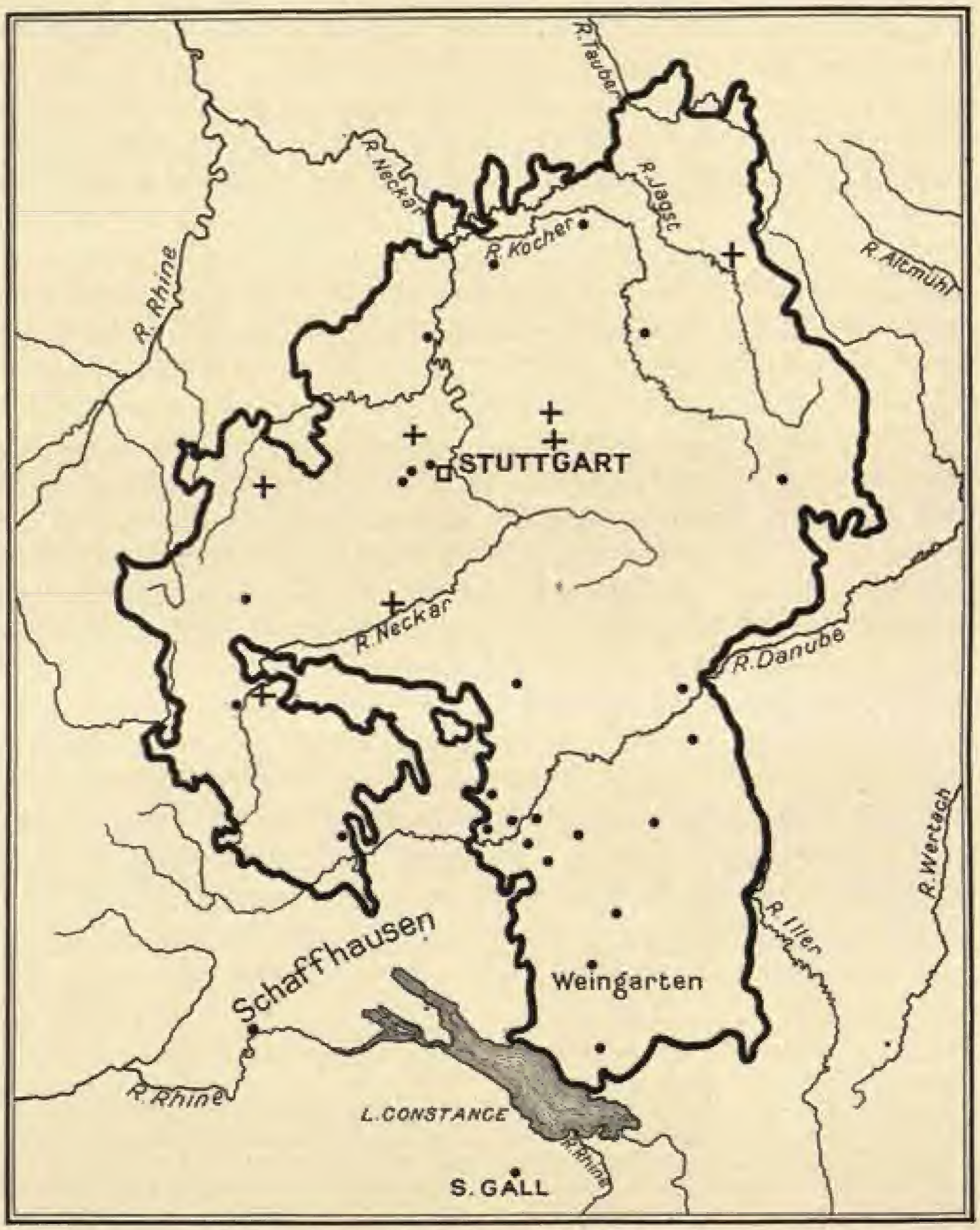

R. Tauber
R. Neckar
R. Kocher
R. Jagst
R. Altmühl
R. Rhine
STUTTGART
R. Neckar
R. Danube
R. Wertach
R. Iller
Schaffhausen
Weingarten
R. Rhine
L. CONSTANCE
R. Rhine
S. GALL

FIG. 2. St. Oswald dedications in Württemberg.

chapel, in addition to that of Our Lady, was therefore desirable to meet the needs of growing numbers. And more than that. The Burgundian war had just drawn to its victorious end. A sense of pride in their hard-worn independence and in the prosperity which it brought them could be fittingly expressed in the building of a church, to which the whole community contributed.[1]

This opportunity was seen and taken by a very remarkable personality. John Eberhard, a native of Zug, had been since 1470 the parish priest of Weggis, a benefice he was to combine with Zug from 1480 onwards. His sharp features can still be seen in a picture which hangs in the quire of the church he caused to be built (pl. XXIV, *b*).[2] Here we see him kneeling, with an open missal on the ground, before St. Anne with the Virgin and Child, and beside them St. Oswald in full armour. In the left background there is an enclosed garden with an apple-tree and two women and six children, representing the Holy Kindred. On the right we notice a gate-house in the corner of a wall, dated 1492 on the gable, and in the far distance the spires of a cathedral and a city on a lake. The whole project of the new church was conceived and carried through by the imaginative and practical energy of this man. The dedication to St. Oswald was doubtless Eberhard's own choice, but St. Oswald was already no stranger in Zug. As early as 1226 there had been relics of the saint at Oberägeri, only a few miles off. In 1469 he is mentioned as patron of an altar in St. Michael's church, and in 1478 of an altar in the village church of St. Wolfgang.[3] But it is due to Eberhard that St. Oswald joined St. Michael as patron saint of Zug, and that Zug since his time has been the centre of the Oswald cult in Switzerland.

We know the story of St. Oswald's church in every detail, as in the parish archives of Zug, and even to this day still unpublished,[4] is preserved Eberhard's own personal journal and account-book in two half-folio volumes of 132 and 58 pages.[5] Eberhard appears to have been chairman, secretary, and treasurer of the appeal committee, and clerk of the works, all combined, and, though the entries are often confused and repetitious,[6] we are provided with a vast quantity of the most varied information. First come the takings from the collecting-box, then the description of the laying of the foundation-stone, and the activities of the architect and others employed upon the work. We are told how the papal legate, Gentilis of Spoleto, bishop of Anagni, came to view the building and was pleased and granted an indulgence, and how, when he went to Rome in the company of the provost of Lucerne, he engaged the interests of the Pope, who allotted five days in the year for a greater indulgence at St. Oswald's. This is followed by a list of benefactors, headed by Charles VIII of France, who in

---

[1] L. Birchler, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Zug* [*K.K.Z.*], ii (Basle, 1935), p. 127. A carefully documented description of the church may be found in this elaborate monograph.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 242 ff., pl. 188–9.

[3] R. Henggeler, *Die Patrozinien im Gebiete des Kantons Zug* (Zug, 1932), pp. 129 ff. There is a record in 1425 of a family of the name of Oswald, which continued in Zug until the seventeenth century. A. Iten, W. J. Meyer, and E. Zumbach, *Wappenbuch des Kantons Zug* (Zug, n. d.), p. 75. There is some slight evidence that the church was built on the site of an earlier chapel dedicated to St. Anne or St. Oswald. *K.K.Z.*, p. 127.

[4] Except for certain extracts, more particularly in *Der Geschichtsfreund*, ii (Einsiedeln, 1845), pp. 82 ff. Father Henggeler, however, hopes soon to publish the whole in a critical edition. He has contributed an introductory article to *Heimat-Klänge* (6th Sept. 1946).

[5] The only close parallel known to me is the more voluminous but less personal accounts for the building of Milan cathedral in 1387–91. *Annali della fabbrica del Duomo di Milano*, i (Milan, 1883).

[6] For this reason I have taken the liberty of conflating some of the passages cited below.

1494 sent 200 pounds in gold, as well as 25 ducats 'extracted' from him by the Schultheiss William of Diesbach at Berne on account of services rendered by Eberhard to his father Louis XI, the Archduke Sigismund 300 gulden, Duke René of Lorraine 40 gulden; then come the town council of Zug, the representatives of the cantons, his own mother and father, his sister Elizabeth and her husband Henry, his aunt Margaret, and the poor woman in the hospital who gave 10 shillings for the organ, and a multitude of others. There is also a great quantity of gifts in kind. The neighbouring villages were generous in supplying fir-trees, Hans Keiser sent two pounds of wax, the cobbler a pair of bedroom-slippers, and Master John Scott, by birth a Scotsman, a fine silk vestment with grey damask and a red damask cross.

More relevant to our present purpose is what he tells us of his search for relics of St. Oswald, a very necessary enterprise in such cases, but not always easy to accomplish by fair and honest means. The adventures of John Bäli, who a few years before had procured from Cologne by sharp practice a relic of St. Vincent's head for the minster church at Berne sets in bold relief the clear and unblemished record of John Eberhard at Zug.[1]

> Before St. Verena's day (Sept. 1) 1481 I sent a special messenger to England for St. Oswald's relics, for which the gracious lord of Constance, Bishop Otto of Sonnenberg, gave me furtherance with a sealed letter through the good offices of my friend the town-clerk Seiler. The messenger is a native of Art. When he went on his way I gave him eight gulden, and since then I have sent his wife at Art fifteen shillings by Herr Caspar of Art and twenty shillings afterwards by Maurice our sacristan. Thus by this same messenger I sent relics to St. Oswald's church at Zug from Peterborough in England, according to the sealed letter of the abbot of the same monastery and his monks, which he sent to Zug with the relics by the aforesaid messenger.

'Amongst the Reliques of this place, that which was most famous and bare the bell away from all the rest was St. Oswald's arm, which continued uncorrupted for many years . . .', so we are told by the historian of Peterborough.[2] Suffice it to say that according to tradition the arm of St. Oswald, together with some of his ribs and some of the earth where he was slain, was procured by stealth from Bamburgh some time in the eleventh century and remained one of the most notable possessions of Peterborough down to the Reformation. The letter to which Eberhard refers still lies in the record office at Zug.[3] The text is given in Appendix II (p. 122).

> To all the faithful and especially to Master John Eberhard, rector of the parish of Weggis in the diocese of Constance, William, by divine permission abbot of the monastery of Peterborough of the order of St. Benedict, of the diocese of Lincoln, the province of Canterbury and the English nation, eternal greeting in the Lord.
>
> To all of you and especially the aforesaid Master John we notify by these presents that a certain devout and Christian man, by name Frederick Winter, on the 23 day of September came to our aforesaid monastery as a pilgrim. For this same Frederick had learned beforehand from fellow-countrymen of ours that there were with us certain precious relics of the glorious king and

---

[1] *Neujahrsblatt der literarischen Gesellschaft Bern auf das Jahr 1892* (Berne, 1893), pp. 3 ff.

[2] S. Gunton, *The History of the Church of Peterburgh* (1686), pp. 12 ff., 24, 251; the Chronicle of Hugh Candidus in J. Sharpe, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Varii* (1723), pp. 34, 49 ff. [E. T. by W. T. Mellows (Peterborough, 1941), pp. 27, 41], where the highly amusing story is told of how Prior Aethelwold rescued the relic from the Danes; William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (1870), pp. 317 f., casts doubts upon the authenticity of the relic.

[3] It has been published in a German translation by C. Lang, *Historisch-theologischer Grundriss der alt und jeweiligen christlichen Welt* (Einsiedeln, 1692), p. 912.

> martyr Oswald, and he set himself to hasten here with eagerness. After he had arrived here he made known with great joy the reason of his journey, not only by word of mouth and through an interpreter, but also by your letter, Master John; and on the advice of wise men he deferred his offering to the next day, as a mark of reverence, in order to see the same relics with his own eyes. Early in the morning in the presence of our prior and many other witnesses the said Frederick with a humble heart and a fasting stomach knelt in the presence of those relics when shown to him, and for some while devoutly said his prayers. Afterwards raising himself to his feet to look more closely at the relics he saw in a clear light the right arm of the glorious king and martyr Oswald cut off from his body by Penda, the pagan king of the Mercians, together with the nerves, joints, hands and fingers whole and uncorrupt to this day. And this same Frederick having obtained his wish and yours, Master John, offered to the same holy arm ten English pennies, and received from us a piece of the garment stained with the precious blood of the said glorious king and martyr to bring back to you, Master John, on account of your devotion.
>
> In witness of this, on the humble prayer of Frederick himself, we the aforesaid abbot have set our seal to this letter on the 25 day of September 1481.[1]

Three years later Eberhard tells us that he obtained a finger of St. Oswald's left hand from the abbot of Wettingen, and a small parcel of the relics of the saint from the abbess of Frauenthal. The finger was brought to Zug with great reverence, and was honourably received by the town council of Zug in the presence of many devout people.

Not content with these holy treasures, Eberhard turned the next year in the direction in which we might have expected him to make his first attempt. The reason for his long delay will be made clear by what follows.

> In the year 1485 on St. Ulrich's day (July 4) we rode from Zug, the mayor Schell, the clerk Seiler, Hans Schon the beadle and myself, and on Thursday the 7th we reached the monastery of Weingarten, and the worthy abbot of Weingarten on the Friday invited us to dinner and entertained us nobly, by reason that before eating he ordered the worthy monks and the sacristan to show us all the treasures of the church, the relics, the books, the chalices, the monstrances, the crosses, the caskets and other ornaments, in great quantity, and of immense value, which the noble queen Judith, queen of England, who married the noble prince Welf, duke of Suabia, brought with her from England, including the Holy Blood and a large portion of St. Oswald and also relics of other worthy saints. Then on the same Friday the aforesaid gentlemen gave us from St. Oswald's chapel a fine piece of the arm of St. Oswald. The same journey cost me seven gulden, which I have paid. This relic was brought on St. Oswald's day with every mark of joy and reverence to St. Oswald's church, in the presence of many worthy priests and pious people. On the same occasion the worthy Dietrich Sturm, canon at Zurich, travelled to Schaffhausen to search and to beg something of St. Oswald's head, which is there, that we might have

---

[1] The seal is that of William of Ramsey (1471–96) and is similar to those recorded in W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, i (1887), p. 702, 33840. 1528–40? and *Victoria County History, Northamptonshire*, ii, 95, attributed to John Deeping (1409–39). Painted oval 9 cm. × 5 cm.: St. Peter with tiara and nimbus, rested in a carved and canopied niche, lifting up the right hand in benediction, between St. Paul with sword on the left and St. Andrew(?) on the right in two smaller but similar niches. In base the abbot mitred between two shields of arms, that on the right indistinct and that on the left with two keys in saltire and a cross crosslet between them.

+ DNI : DN? . . . . . ABBATIS : DE : BURGO : SCI : PETRI

According to the books of reference the arms of the abbey of Peterborough were two keys in saltire, to which four cross crosslets fitchy were added when the see was founded in 1541. This is evidently inaccurate. Our Fellow Mr. H. S. London kindly tells me that the four crosslets are found in the College of Arms MS. L. 10, f. 66*v* (*c.* 1520), and the seal at Zug may be held to date them as early as 1481. According to Gunton, *op. cit.*, p. 62, the chapel of St. Oswald was in the south aisle of the nave, so it may be possible to identify precisely the scene of the event narrated.

> a part of it, but nothing came of it. But it so happened that on the same journey they gave the aforesaid Herr Dietrich at the monastery of Rheinau a worthy relic of the noble king and bishop Fintan, king of Scotland, half of which he gave to St. Oswald's.

There are two or three observations to make on this passage of the journal. First of all, the allusion to 'the books' corroborates the 'plenaria plurima', which, as we have already learned, formed part of Judith's donation to Weingarten. These books can be identified to-day. In the year 1818 two early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon Gospels, together with the later Berthold Missal and another, to which we shall be referring shortly, were acquired in Paris by Mr. Thomas Coke, later first earl of Leicester, and remained at Holkham Hall until in 1926 they passed into the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.[1] They had been removed from Weingarten after the abbey had been secularized in 1802, and we need not hesitate to ascribe them, as well as a Flemish manuscript at Fulda and possibly another at Stuttgart, to Judith's donation.[2]

Furthermore, the reception which Eberhard and his friends were given at Weingarten was particularly cordial, and the relic they were granted was evidently a mark of peculiar favour.

The reason is not far to seek. Weingarten had been involved in a bitter feud with the Archduke Sigismund, and in 1478 the abbot had been driven to put himself and his house under the protection of the canton of Zurich. He was further embarrassed by the presence of an Austrian faction among his own monks, and in the next few years Zurich was intervening in an endeavour to bring the two parties to terms.[3] With this background we can better understand the gracious attitude of the abbot and the monks to the emissaries from Zug, a canton closely allied to Zurich. The eighteenth-century historian of Weingarten gives a faithful record of this visit.

> In the year 1485 the free republic of Zug in the Swiss alps sent an embassy to Weingarten to ask for some notable portion of the relics of St. Oswald. The abbot and monks, considering that Zug was confederate with Zurich, a city by which they had been loaded with so many benefits during the last few years, could do no other but graciously grant them, in order to strengthen their friendship, an important part of the arm of the said king and martyr. The people of Zug were so grateful to the monks of Weingarten that they gave them in exchange a perpetual right of hospitality.[4]

In view of all this there need be no surprise that Eberhard bided his time and delayed his application for relics until 1485.

We may note in contrast the rebuff received at Schaffhausen, where the request went unheeded when the representative of Zug appealed for a piece of the head of

---

[1] L. Dorez, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall, Norfolk* (Paris, 1908), pp. 5 ff.; M. Harrsen, 'The Countess Flanders and the Library of Weingarten Abbey' in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xxiv (*c.* 1930), pp. 1 ff.; *The Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1930), pp. 20 ff.; H. Swarzenski, *The Berthold Missal* (New York, 1943), pp. 1 ff. The identification of the female figure kneeling at the foot of the Crucifixion miniature in Morgan MS. 709 with the Countess Judith first made by A. Haseloff in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, xxvi (Leipzig, 1905), col. 1998 ff., and apparently still assumed by Swarzenski, must be discounted if we are to accept the earlier date (*c.* 1020) now given to the MS. Cf. *The Pierpont Morgan Library. Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, etc. (New York, 1934), pp. 10 ff.

[2] Fulda MS. Aa 21; Stuttgart MS. H.B. 11. 46.

[3] Related at length in an article based on the Weingarten records at Stuttgart in *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, N. F. ix (Stuttgart, 1900), pp. 421 ff.

[4] G. Hess, *Prodromus Monumentorum Guelficorum seu Catalogus Abbatum Imperialis Monasterii Weingartensis* (Augsburg, 1781), p. 200.

St. Oswald. For consolation he was given a relic of St. Fintan, an Irish recluse, who died at Rheinau in 878.[1] Eberhard's successor at Zug had better fortune in 1502 when he at last obtained a piece of St. Oswald's head from Schaffhausen.[2] Strange to relate, this is the only relic of our saint which remains in the church at Zug to-day. The arm-bone from Weingarten has disappeared. Another is preserved in a notable fifteenth-century reliquary in the cathedral of Solothurn (pl. XXVI, *a*); but nothing is known of its history and there is no trace in Solothurn or district of any cult of St. Oswald.[3] The chief feature of this reliquary is the small silver-gilt figure of our saint attached to its base under a canopy. He holds a cup, and a close inspection suggests that a raven was originally perched upon it.[4]

We must now return to the church itself, about which we are so richly informed by Eberhard, particularly in his list of expenses. It was an extremely modest building, just a short aisle-less nave and chancel, subsequently enlarged in stages to what we can see to-day. Its main attraction is the statuary, though much of it is later than Eberhard's time. His architect was Hans Felder, a native of Oettingen in Bavaria, who designed other churches in the neighbourhood as well as the Wasserkirche at Zurich.[5] The foundation-stone was laid on 18th May 1478, and the foundations were completed by 20th September. The nave with two side-altars and part of the churchyard was consecrated on 23rd March 1480 and the quire on 20th November 1483. The chief sculptor was Ulrich Rosenstain of Lachen, the author of the statues on the buttresses of the chancel, where we find St. Oswald (pl. XXIV, *a*), with St. Mary, St. Henry, and St. Josse. As an appropriate gesture to the patron saint he reduced his charges for this figure. 'Master Ulrich has made St. Oswald's head, hands and arms without payment and has given this to his chapel. May God reward him.' In recent years the quire statues have been replaced by copies and the originals removed for preservation.[6] We may note here that St. Oswald's shield displays reasonably accurate heraldry for the English royal arms of the later Middle Ages (the quarterings, of course, are reversed), but counsel is darkened by what we find elsewhere. 'The painter from Lucerne Master Nicolas has gilded and painted St. Oswald's shield, therein a cross and four birds for which I owe him six gulden . . . the painter from Lucerne Master Nicolas has made a shield adorned with gold and silver and colours on which are St. Oswald's arms, costing six gulden, which I gave him in my house when he brought the shield and was paid and I gave five shillings to his wife for refreshment.' In this case St. Oswald is evidently given the traditional shield of St. Edward the Confessor.[7] But what are we to make of the following passage? 'Master Ulrich the sculptor has made me two shields the one of Scotland and the other of

---

[1] L. Gougaud, *Les saints irlandais hors d'Irlande* (Louvain, 1936), pp. 95 f.

[2] Henggeler, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Yet another relic of St. Oswald's bones was received from Masmünster (Alsace) in 1654.

[3] So I have been kindly assured by Dr. Schwendimann.

[4] J. Amiet, *Das Ursus-Pfarrstift der Stadt Solothurn* (Solothurn, 1878), p. 440; J. R. Rahn, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmäler des Cantons Solothurn* (Zurich, 1893), pp. 209 f.; F. Schwendimann, *Die Schatzkammer der Sankt-Ursen-Kirche in Solothurn* (Solothurn, 1935), p. 7; J. Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1940), p. 393.

[5] E. O. Rehfuss, *Hans Felder, ein spätgotischer Baumeister* (Innsbruck, 1922).

[6] *K.K.Z.*, pp. 157 f., pl. 92; *Zuger Neujahrsblatt* (Zug, 1934), pp. 11 ff. and pl.

[7] A cross flory between five (or four) martlets (or doves).

Northumbria costing both five gulden.' And presumably reference is made to the same piece of work when we read, 'Master Ulrich made a horse and St. Oswald's figure and his shield for which I gave him twenty gulden and he was paid the same day. But Master Ulrich made two shields of Scotland and Northumbria, for which I gave him two butts of wine.' Now Dr. Birchler has surmised that this figure of St. Oswald on horseback was the central figure of a carved altarpiece.[1] But here I think he is mistaken. Archdeacon Coxe, in the letter to which we have already alluded, writes, 'In the church is his statue with an inscription, *Sanctus Oswaldus Rex Angliae Patronus hujus Ecclesiae*', and an almost contemporary writer tells us more precisely, 'In the church one can see a wooden statue on horseback under which is the shield of England', with the same inscription reported by the Archdeacon. 'The figure of St. Oswald is arrayed in a royal mantle and has a crown on his head.'[2] We may venture to suggest that the wooden statue on horseback may have been borne in procession on the patronal festival and possibly the shields were carried beside it. Perhaps we are never likely to know with any degree of certainty what the arms of Scotland and Northumbria were in fifteenth-century Zug.[3]

St. Oswald, however, is again represented on the façade of the church by a statue slightly later than Eberhard's time (pl. XXIII, *c*). There we see him in the act of slaying Cadwalla, king of the Welsh, at the battle of Hevenfelth, whereby he established his throne in 633.[4] This scene is, I believe, unique in the iconography of St. Oswald, and was obviously designed as a pendant to St. Michael slaying the dragon above the door on the south side.

Ulrich Rosenstain was the maker of the beautiful quire stalls, which still remain and enframe on the south a finely articulated figure of St. Oswald, facing on the north a pilgrim king, who may represent St. Josse (pl. XXIII, *a*).[5] Here we see St. Oswald bearing his traditional cup, and it may be well at this point to discuss briefly the manner in which he is represented in Swiss and German art.

The earliest single figures of St. Oswald known to me in early thirteenth-century manuscripts from Weingarten show him as a king with no distinguishing mark beside

---

[1] *K.K.Z.*, pp. 132, 255 f.

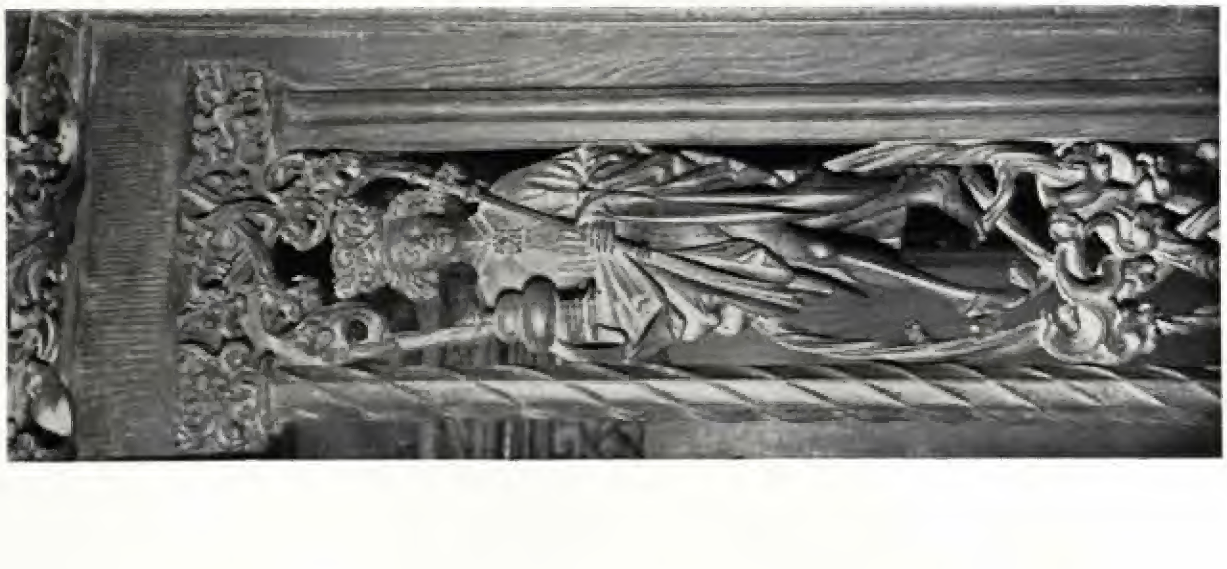
[2] J. H. Dedler, *Universal Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1750), s.v. Zug.

[3] Dr. Birchler suggests that the shield with the cross and four birds may be identical with one of these latter shields, *K.K.Z.*, pp. 133, 131. The arms of Scotland in medieval Germany were the figure of a pilgrim in a black habit, with or without a red cup. W. Merz, *Die Wappenrolle von Zürich* (Zurich, 1927), p. 11 f. (cf. p. 104, where similar canting arms are ascribed to the 'Bettler' family); F. X. Kraus, *Die Miniaturen der Manesse'schen Liederhandschrift* (Strassburg, 1887), pl. 3. In Ulrich von Richental, *Das Conciliumbuch geschechen zū Costencz* (Augsburg, 1483), p. ci, the pilgrim has degenerated into a golliwog. On the silver mounting (1578) of St. Fintan's cup at Rheinau (see below) the arms of the saint are given as 'Quarterly 1 and 4, a moor; 2 and 3, Scotland.' *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, v (Zurich, 1884), pp. 6 ff.

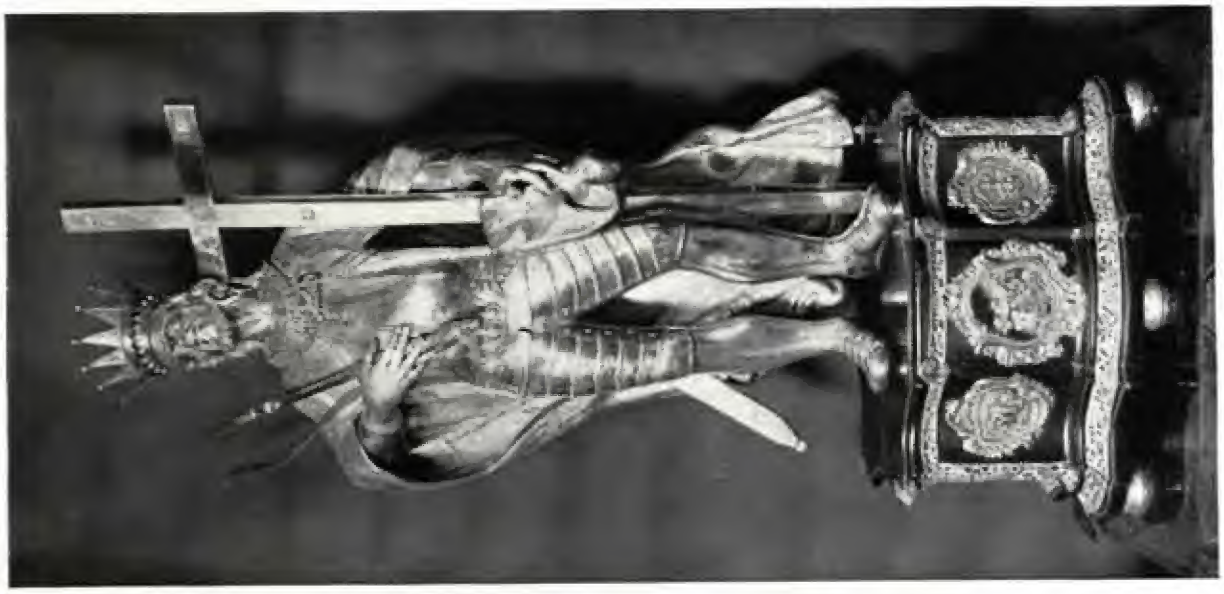
The personal arms given to St. Oswald in England are various, e.g. 'Gu. a cross flory Or' (west window at Minster Lovell), *Diary of Richard Symonds* (Camden Society, 1859), p. 16; 'Purpure a cross Or between four lions rampant', J. Foster, *Two Tudor Books of Arms* (n. d.), p. 11; 'Az, a cross patée Or between four lions rampant Ar.', F. C. Husenbeth, *Emblems of Saints* (1882), App. II, p. 29; 'a banneret of gold and purple interwoven paly Or bendy' (set over his tomb at Bardney), W. Camden, *Remains concerning Britain* (1870), p. 228. (I owe this last reference to Mr. London.) In common with other English saints he bears 'Quarterly 1 and 4. Three crowns 2 and 3. The leopards of England, in pretence a lion rampant crowned' in the engravings of the sainted ancestors of the Emperor Maximilian I. *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, iv (Vienna, 1886), pl. 74.

[4] *K.K.Z.*, p. 175, pl. 107. Dr. Birchler has made the mistake of confusing this king of the Welsh with the king of the West Saxons of the same name who was baptized at Rome in 688. Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* v, 7.

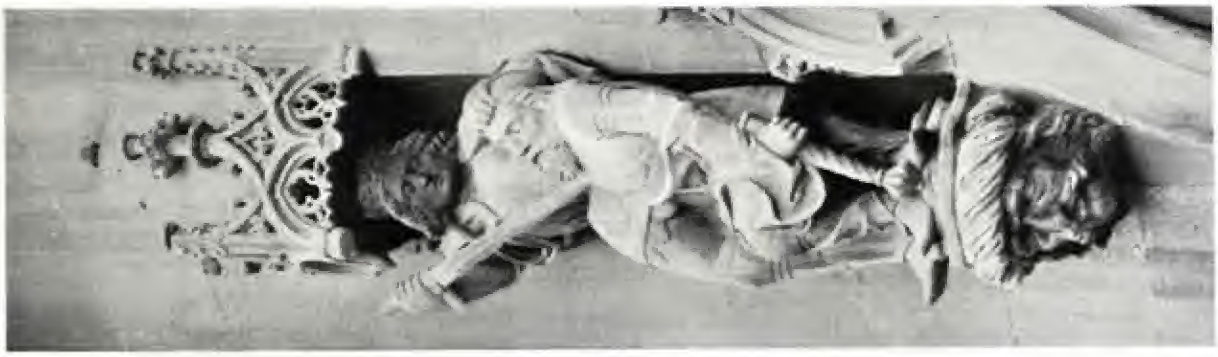
[5] *K.K.Z.*, p. 236, pl. 183 f.



a. Quire stalls, St. Oswald, Zug



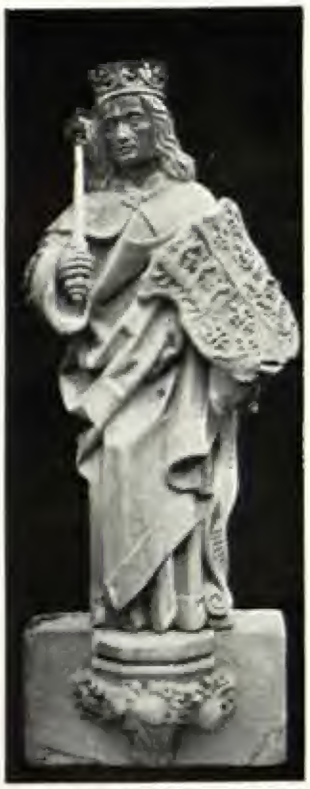
b. Reliquary. St. Oswald, Zug



Schweiz. Landesmuseum, Zürich

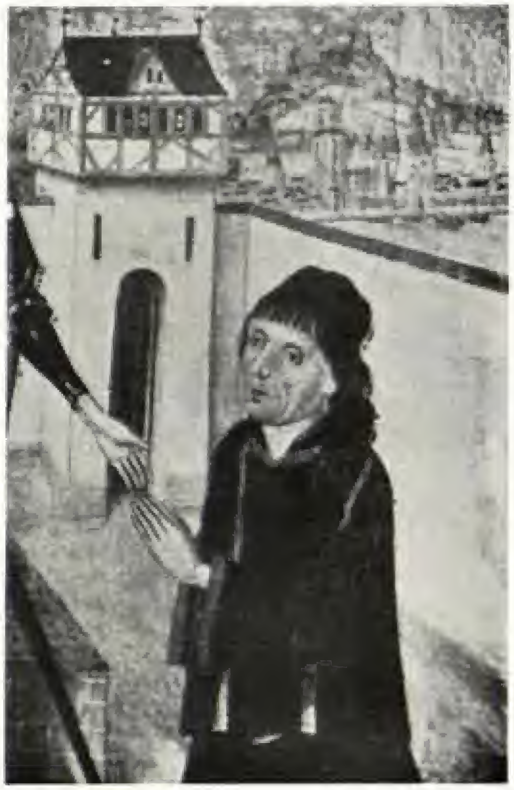
c. Statue on façade. St. Oswald, Zug

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

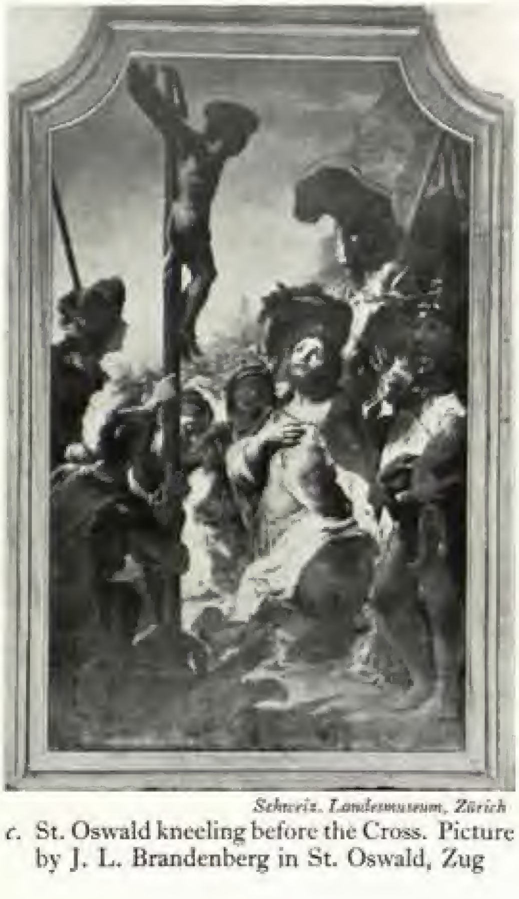


Schweiz. Landesmuseum, Zürich

a. Statue on chancel buttress. St. Oswald, Zug

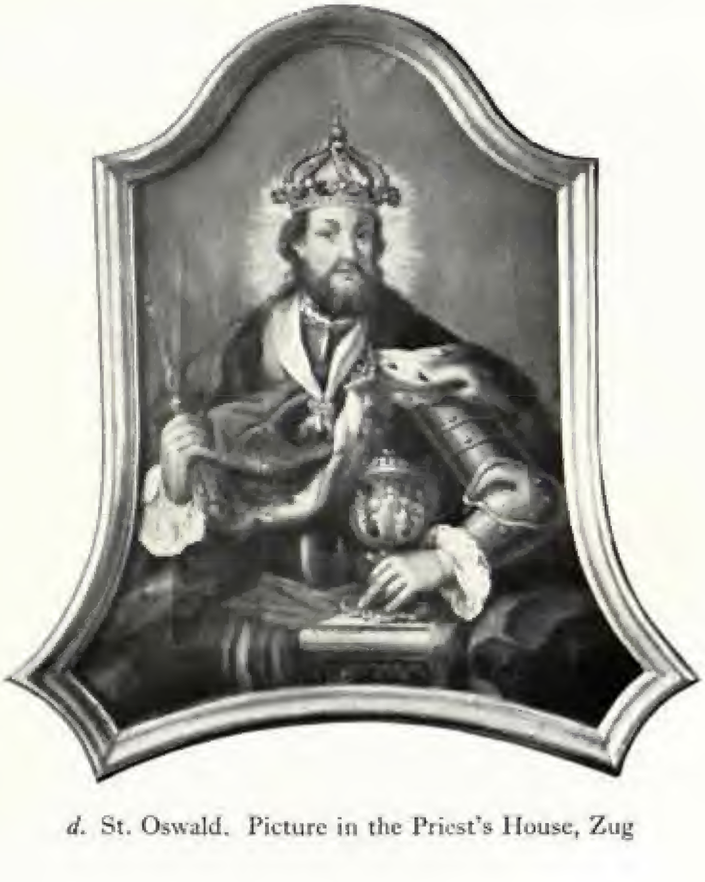


b. John Eberhard. Picture in St. Oswald, Zug



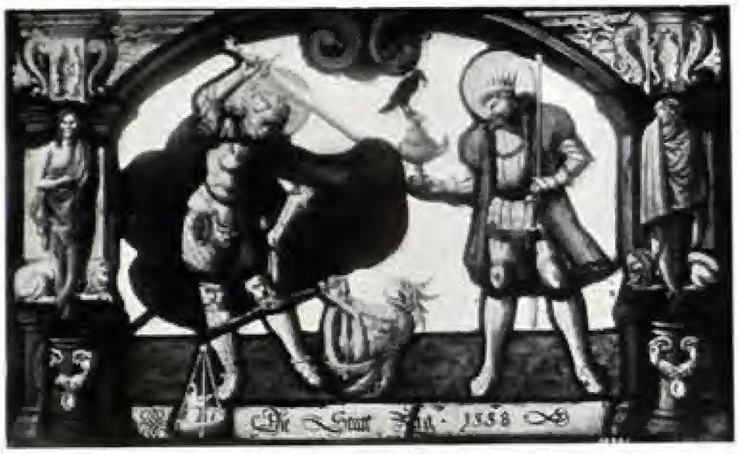
Schweiz. Landesmuseum, Zürich

c. St. Oswald kneeling before the Cross. Picture by J. L. Brandenberg in St. Oswald, Zug

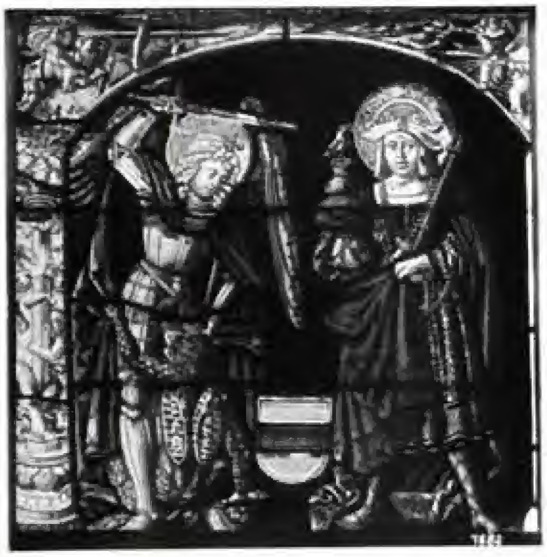


d. St. Oswald. Picture in the Priest's House, Zug

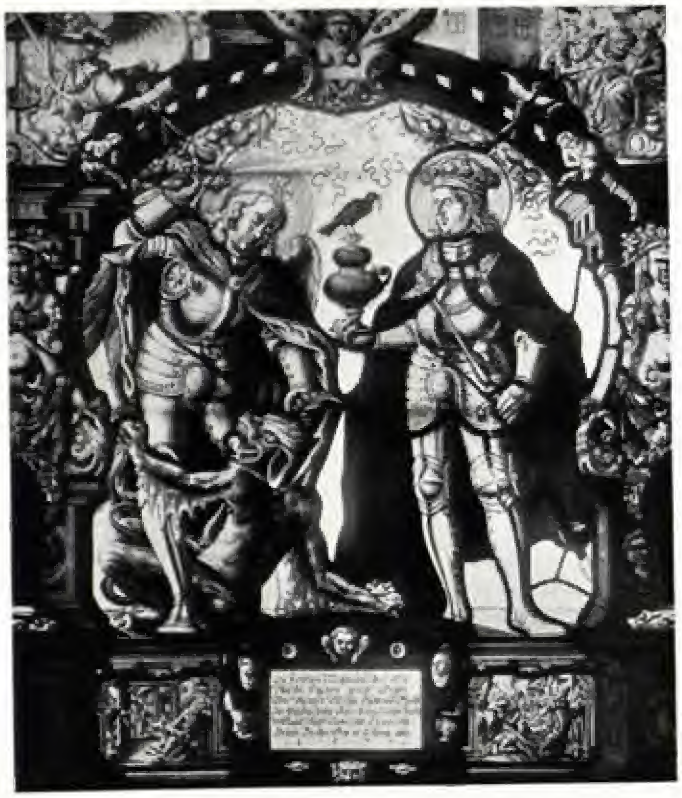
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949


Die Statt Zug · 1558

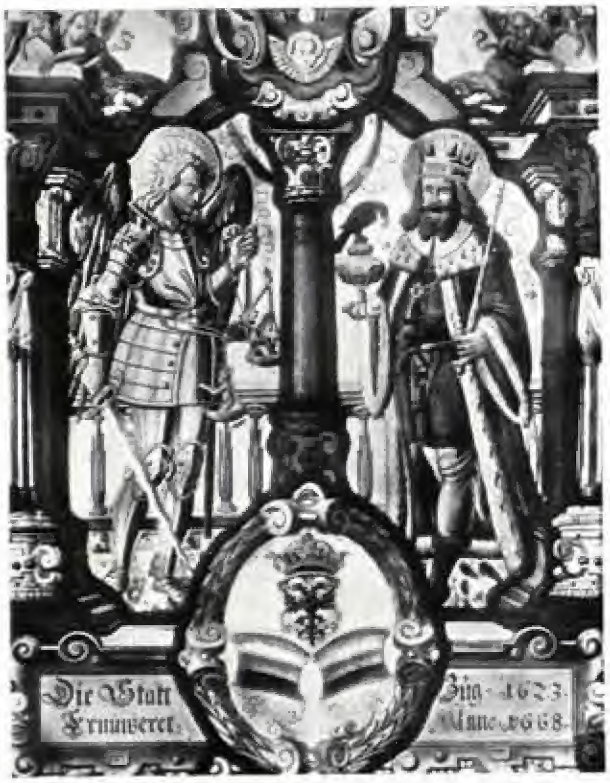
a. Stained glass panel by Nikolaus Bluntschli. The National Museum, Zürich



b. Stained glass panel. The Cloister, Wettingen



c. Stained glass panel ascribed to Jos. Murer. The Cloister, Wettingen

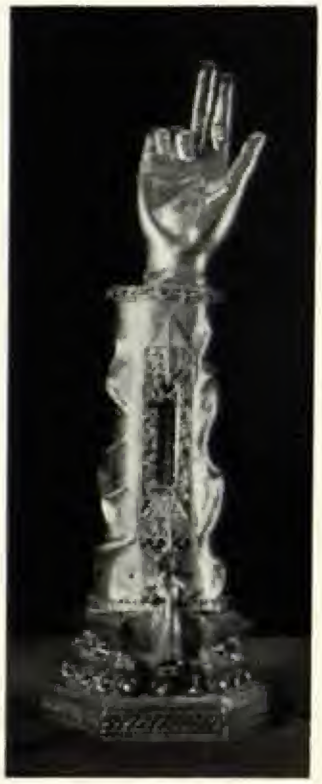

Die Statt Zug · 1623.
Ernüweret Anno 1668.

d. Stained glass panel. The National Museum, Zürich

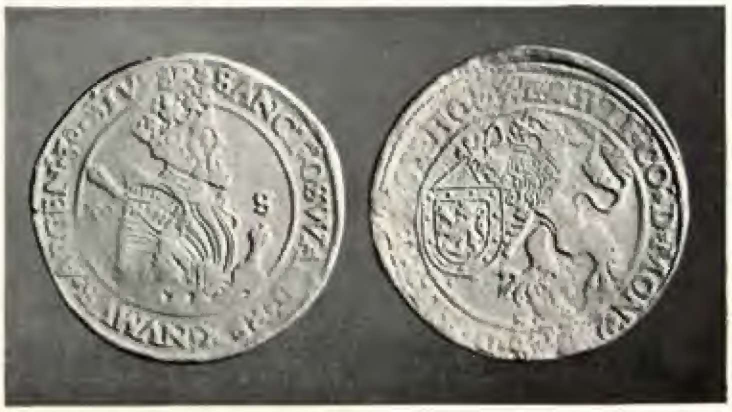
Photos: Schweiz. Landesmuseum, Zürich

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

PLATE XXVI

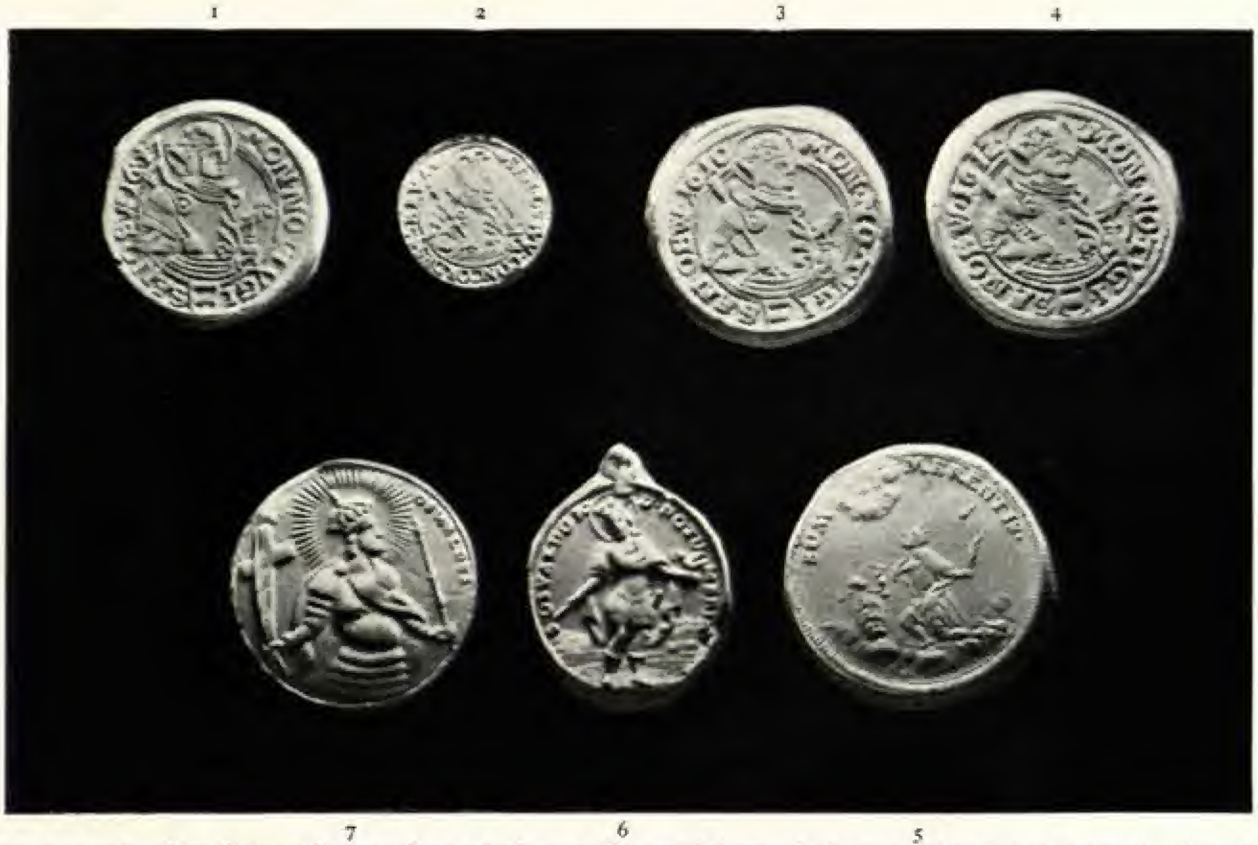


a. Reliquary. The Cathedral, Solothurn



b. Silver coin of 30 stiver (*c*. 1546–68) of William IV, Count of Berg

1. *Obv*. St. Oswald 2. *Rev*. Arms of Berg



c. 1, 3, and 4. Zug dicken of 1610, 1612, and 1617. 2. Zug gold ducat of 1691. 5 and 7. School prizes (17th and 18th centuries). 6. Religious medal

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

a conventional crown and sceptre,[1] but shortly after we can note the emergence of a covered cup as the attribute of our saint. St. Oswald was renowned among other things for his charity, and the story of his generosity to the poor was a particular favourite.

> It is reported [says Bede] that when he was once sitting at dinner, on the holy day of Easter with the aforesaid bishop (St. Aidan) and a silver dish full of dainties before him, and they were just ready to bless the bread, the servant, whom he had appointed to relieve the poor, came in on a sudden, and told the king that a great multitude of needy persons from all parts were sitting in the streets begging some alms of the king; he immediately ordered the meal set before him to be carried to the poor, and the dish to be cut in pieces and divided among them. At which sight the bishop, who sat by him, much taken with such an act of piety, laid hold of his right hand and said, 'May this hand never perish'. Which fell out according to his prayer for his arm and hand being cut off from his body, when he was slain in battle, remain active and uncorrupted to this day, and are kept in a relic case in St. Peter's church at the royal city of Bamburgh.[2]

Hence the popularity of his arms at Peterborough, Weingarten, Solothurn, and elsewhere.[3]

Now in the early thirteenth-century manuscript known as the Berthold Missal, formerly at Weingarten and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, there is a miniature of this scene, where St. Oswald is handling what appears to be a covered cup (pl. XXII, *b*). What is so peculiar, and I can as yet offer no explanation, is that a cup, and not the silver dish as related by Bede, is so prominently displayed.[4] In the Missal of Henry the Sacristan, also at New York and ascribed to the same master as the Berthold Missal, there is a variation. Here the object presented by the king to the beggars is in the shape of an unmistakable sauce-boat (pl. XXII, *c*).[5] But that the traditional cup is derived from this story seems to be conclusively proved by a miniature of the same scene in a mid-thirteenth-century manuscript from the Rhineland, now at Erlangen, where St. Oswald is shown reaching out to present a cup to a beggar and beneath is inscribed 'scē oswaldi er dē armē de koph gip'.[6]

Later on, I am not clear whether there are any examples earlier than the fifteenth century, another attribute was adopted very generally for St. Oswald—a raven, with or without a ring in its beak, derived from the Middle High German legend 'Oswald'.[7]

Of this remarkable poem none of the surviving manuscripts is earlier than the fifteenth century, but it is thought to have been composed in the Rhineland about

---

[1] H. Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pl. LVI *a* and fig. 118. I have not seen a reproduction of the twelfth-century miniature at Bergues (see below), and at the time of my inquiry the manuscript was still inaccessible by reason of the war. In a mid-twelfth-century wall-painting in the Nonnberg at Salzburg a crowned figure with a palm-branch in his right hand is thought, with good reason, to represent St. Oswald. *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der K. K. Zentral-Commission*, iii (Vienna, 1909), pp. 25 ff. The writer's conclusions (based on comparison with a manuscript at Vienna) are, I would suggest, reinforced by the fact that in an eleventh-century Salzburg missal St. Oswald's name is grouped with those of St. Gregory and St. Benedict, who also figure in the Nonnberg paintings. A. Lechner, *Mittelalterliche Kirchenfeste und Kalendarien in Bayern* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1891), p. 135.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* iii, 6.

[3] e.g. 'an arm of St. Oswald covered with silver plates' at St. Paul's, London (1245). *Archaeologia*, l (1887), p. 470; and another at Lorch (fifteenth century), *M.G.SS.* xxiii, 385.

[4] H. Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV.

[5] *Ibid.*, fig. 125.

[6] E. Lutze, *Die Bilderhandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* (Erlangen, 1936), p. 178.

[7] The best introduction to the poem is that contained in G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, II, i (Munich, 1922), pp. 328 ff., where the relevant literature is catalogued.

1170, and worked up with additions a little later somewhere in Bavaria.[1] Certain features in Oswald's life can still be dimly discerned within the outlines of this fantastic tale, which combines the familiar theme of a 'Brautentführung' with a definitely Christian motive. Oswald is assisted in his search for a wife by a raven, gifted with human speech, who carries a letter and a ring to the daughter of a heathen monarch. When the bride is won the marriage takes place amid great rejoicing, and Christ himself appears in the guise of a pilgrim to beg for food. His request is promptly granted.

> dobî stuont ûf deme tische
> ein kopf, der was gulden gar,
> der pilgerîn blicte gar ofte dar.
> er sprach: Oswalt, du solt mir den kopf geben
> sô dir got behuote dîn jungez leben!
> er zirnet dir nicht ûf dînerme tissche ze hân.
> er sol ûf eineme alter stân,
> daz man darinne wandele daz lebendige brôt;
> gip mir in, sô dir got helfe ûz nôt![2]

The generous king Oswald gives him the cup at once. Further demands are made, including his kingdom and his bride, and when all is given up the beggar reveals his identity and restores him to his wife and to his throne. Oswald then lives in piety and chastity till at the end of two years he is taken to heaven.[3]

This last section of the poem is the work of a thirteenth-century interpolator, and makes it quite clear that the writer is familiar with the cup, and not the dish, as Oswald's gift to the beggars. His description of the cup may well be derived from what he had already seen with his own eyes in existing works of art. He has in mind a ciborium and not a chalice—that is to say, it is a covered cup, the kind of thing represented in our illustrations. At this point we can see the poem influenced by the iconography, but the process in reverse is much more notable and far-reaching.[4]

---

[1] The existing manuscripts are divided into three families, distinguished as MS (the Munich text), ZN (the prose text), and WO (the Vienna text). Here I am quoting from the Munich version.

Oswald's marriage with the daughter of Cynegils of Wessex, at whose baptism he stood as sponsor, is the historical basis of the story. The raven and certain other features may be connected with the elaborated version of his life as related by Reginald of Durham in the twelfth century. Symeon of Durham, *Opera Omnia*, i (1882), pp. 326 ff.

[2] G. Baesecke, *Der Münchener Oswald* (Breslau, 1907), p. 155, ll. 3339 ff. Baesecke dates this interpolation not later than 1250, citing a parallel to ll. 3339 f. in the Wolfdietrich B. poem.

[3] Oswald is recommended to preserve his chastity by means of a water-tub, derived from a very odd and ancient story, more familiar, perhaps, as that of the Provost of Aquileia. Baesecke, *op. cit.*, p. 162, ll. 3704 ff.; L. Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages* (1927), p. 168, with bibliography. It has not, I think, been noticed hitherto that St. Oswald is made the hero of this story both in our German legend and in a fourteenth-century English homily, which may indicate some unexplored point of contact between English and German literature at this period. G. H. Gerould, *The North English Homily Collection* (1902), p. 73.

[4] Another theory in explanation of the cup is occasionally advanced. In the prose version (ZN) the origin of the raven is related. He was sent from heaven with a letter from St. Peter and a vessel containing chrism for the coronation of Oswald. I. V. Zingerle, *Die Oswaldlegende und ihre Beziehung zur deutschen Mythologie* (Stuttgart, 1856), p. 43. This is obviously derived from the famous legend of the chrism brought by a dove for the baptism of Clovis. P. E. Schramm in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, lvii (Kan. Abt. xxv) (Weimar, 1936), pp. 309 ff.; M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges* (Paris, 1924), pp. 244 ff. This episode in the Oswald legend is said to be represented by a sixteenth-century picture in the church of Pawigl in the Tyrol. A. Berger, 'Die Oswaldlegende in der deutschen Literatur' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, xi (Halle, 1886), p. 427. Berger is of the opinion that St.

In the latter part of the Middle Ages the story can have lost none of its relish, especially in south Germany, where most of the surviving manuscripts are to be found,[1] and it is certainly remarkable that the raven, with or without the ring, is at this time everywhere adopted as the symbol of St. Oswald. Probably the highly intelligent raven was regarded as scarcely second to St. Oswald as the hero of the story.[2]

It may be useful at this stage to allude briefly to a few examples of St. Oswald as he appears in Swiss art, and in particular in those panels of stained glass which become such a distinctive feature from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. The custom, which then became universal, of making gifts, whether public or private, of small panels of glass generally bearing the arms and names of the donors, has resulted in a vast quantity still preserved in collections both inside and outside Switzerland.[3] When St. Oswald had joined St. Michael as the patron saint of Zug it is not surprising that we find him pretty frequently in these panels, accompanying the arms of the canton or those of some citizen of Zug.

In the Historical Museum at Basle there is a remarkable example with the arms of Zug, being one of a series made in 1500 by Lukas Zeiner for the hall at Baden in which the assemblies of the canton delegates were held:[4] St. Oswald is emblazoned on one of the banners flanking the shield. Two series of cantonal arms were presented in 1519 and 1576 to the cloister at Wettingen, where the shields of Zug in each case display the patron saints of the town (pl. XXV, *b*).[5] The later of the two is a magnificent specimen, ascribed to Jos Murer of Zurich, where the art of the Swiss Renaissance reaches its climax. Here the whole field is dominated by the two saints within an architectural framework enlivened with miniature scenes (pl. XXV, *c*). St. Oswald crowned is clad in elaborate armour, while a cloak falls lightly round his shoulder.

Oswald's cup is really a chrismatory, which, together with the raven, was derived from this story, the story itself being interpolated into the legend for religious reasons. He admits surprise that the raven so often carries the ring in his beak and can only regard it as a concession to the more secular legend. This theory is also tentatively advanced in J. Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1943), pp. 571 ff., but in view of the evidence I have just quoted it will have to be abandoned. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the covered cup may at a later stage have been interpreted as a chrismatory, especially when it became the custom to perch the raven upon it. A very similar reinterpretation of an attribute can be observed when the three golden balls of St. Nicholas are at times transformed into apples or loaves to correspond with later developments of the legend. K. Meisen, *Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch im Abendlande* (Düsseldorf, 1931), pp. 209 f. That the origin of the raven could be completely forgotten is shown by G. P. della Stua, *Vita di S. Oswaldo re di Nortumberland e martire colla storia del suo culto* (Udine, 1769), p. 29. where the raven [dove] is held to be a subtle allusion to St. Columba and the ring a 'hieroglyphic'!

It is most improbable that the chrismatory can be seen, as alleged, on the thirteenth-century 'signaculum' described in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxiii (1867), p. 328.

[1] The legend may well have been propagated in districts where St. Oswald was already popular. The manuscript at Schaffhausen ends with the following inscription: 'Heinricus Beck pro tempore socius diuinorum et capellanus in Schaffusa familiariter pro simplicibus Christi deuote uulgarizauit se pio correctori anno Domini 1472. Bittet Gott für in.' E. Wuescher-Becchi, *op. cit.*, p. 127. An element in the story is thought to have been borrowed for a local Schaffhausen legend. F. Vetter in *Festschrift des Kantons Schaffhausen zur Bundesfeier 1901* (Schaffhausen, 1901).

[2] Scenes from the legend are extremely rare in art. The battle with the pagans and their subsequent baptism is represented in a fifteenth-century altarpiece at St. Katharina im Kathal, Styria. *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission*, N. F. iii (Vienna, 1858), p. 331.

[3] H. Meyer, *Die schweizerische Sitte der Fenster- und Wappen-schenkung vom 15 bis 17 Jahrhundert* (Frauenfeld, 1884); H. Schmitz, *Die Glasgemälde des königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 173 ff..

[4] H. Lehmann, *Lukas Zeiner und die spätgotische Glasmalerei in Zürich* (Zurich, 1926), pp. 40 ff., pl. VII.

[5] H. Lehmann, *Das Kloster Wettingen*, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 f., 95 ff.

The raven with a ring in its beak is perched on the cresting of a double mazer-cup, a type not unfamiliar in south Germany and Switzerland at this period. Cups of this design became conventional in figures of St. Oswald.[1] In the top right-hand corner is the scene of Oswald's act of charity, and we see him quite correctly extending the fragment of a dish to a beggar leaning on a crutch. The mazer-cup together with the remaining half of the dish are propped on the base of the throne, while the raven with the ring descends superfluously from the sky. A rather similar figure of St. Oswald can be found in the array of saints carved on the back of the highly decorative early sixteenth-century quire-stalls at Wettingen,[2] and two more panels of glass in the National Museum, Zurich, may be mentioned to illustrate diversity of treatment (pl. xxv, *a*, *d*).[3]

In our search for St. Oswald in Swiss art we have not yet exhausted the church at Zug. At the west end of the south aisle hangs a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century picture, attributed to a local artist, John Brandenberg, where St. Oswald, surrounded by his soldiers, kneels in an attitude of appeal before a large crucifix (pl. xxiv, *c*).[4] This scene, no doubt, is an idealized version of that described by Bede, 'where Oswald being about to engage in battle erected the sign of the holy cross, and on his knees prayed to God that he would assist his worshippers in their great distress'.[5]

Lastly we have the magnificent silver reliquary, over three feet high, which contains the fragment of St. Oswald's head brought from Schaffhausen in 1502 (pl. xxiii, *b*). It is the work, as it chances, of a Schaffhausen silversmith, John Conrad Schalch, and is dated 1754.[6] With his left arm the saint supports a large cross, suggesting, perhaps, that the incident to which we have just alluded may have been given special emphasis in the tradition at this period. We can indeed be confident that veneration for St. Oswald suffered no decline in the eighteenth century, as we may gather from a picture by an unknown artist in the priest's house, which shows him invested with the dignity of an imperial crown and the Order of the Golden Fleece (pl. XXIV, *d*). The cup reappears, but more fanciful in design than we have seen it hitherto. A century earlier his bust had been struck on a series of coins,[1] not long after another and entirely independent set had appeared elsewhere—the only coins, so far as I know, to have borne the image of St. Oswald.[2] In the eighteenth century St. Oswald is represented on a number of medals (now very rare) which were given as prizes in the school (pl. XXVI, *c*, 5–7). Rewards of this kind were in fashion elsewhere,[3] and won the approval of Archdeacon Coxe when he visited the public academy at Geneva.[4]

---

[1] There is an almost exact replica of the cup shown here in the museum at Zurich. H. Lehmann, *Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zürich. Der Silberschatz I: Trinkgefässe Zürcherischer Goldschmiede* (Basle, 1929), p. 5, pl. 1. Another is admirably illustrated in O. von Falke, *Alte Goldschmiedewerke im Zürcher Kunsthaus* (Zurich, 1928), pl. 117. At Basle a more stumpy specimen is attributed to the fourteenth century, and another, thought to be the work of an Augsburg craftsman, once belonged to Martin Luther. E. Major, *Historisches Museum, Basel* (Basle, 1930), pls. III, VI. It is worth remarking that a cup of this character was associated with St. Fintan also, and was long preserved at Rheinau as the cup which the saint brought with him from Scotland. Unfortunately it was sold to a dealer for 30,000 francs in 1883 and has since then disappeared. H. Fietz, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Zürich*, i (Basle, 1938), p. 332. The cup is illustrated in Zapf, *Reisen in einige Klöster Schwabens* (Erlangen, 1786), fig. 10. We may remark in passing that St. Oswald is engraved on some eighteenth-century chalices at Rheinau. H. Fietz, *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 296.

[2] H. Lehmann, *Die Chorstühle in der ehemaligen Cistercienser-Abtei Wettingen* (Zurich, 1901), pl. 7. Possibly he was included by the choice of the abbot Peter Schmid, a native of Baar in canton Zug.

[3] By Nikolaus Bluntschli (Wyss no. 75); another, one year earlier, is at Aarau. H. Lehmann, *Die Glasgemälde im kantonalen Museum in Aarau* (Aarau, 1897), p. 31 (Wyss no. 74); and Wyss no. 259. In the elaborate catalogue of Zug stained glass by F. Wyss [*Verzeichnis Zugerischer Glasgemälde und Scheibenrisse* (1941)], of which there are typescript copies in the public library at Zug and in the library of the National Museum, Zurich, a number of other panels figuring St. Oswald are listed.

[4] *K.K.Z.*, pp. 251 f., pl. 193.

[5] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* iii, 2. This scene has been occasionally represented elsewhere, e.g. a woodcut in C. Distelmair, *Icones Sanctorum* (Augsburg, n. d.), and in a glass panel dated 1687 in the Sudeley collection formerly at Toddington House. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, xxiii (1900), p. 185. The collection was dispersed at Munich in 1911 and the present whereabouts of this particular item are not known. (It is perhaps worth remarking that it must be almost contemporary with the picture we are discussing.) H. Lehmann, *Sammlung Lord Sudeley* (Munich, 1911), p. 90, fig. 32 (Wyss no. 586). A very similar cross is supported by a statue attributed to J. L. Brandenberg in the church at Oberwil. *K.K.Z.* i (1934), p. 294.

[6] *K.K.Z.*, pp. 284 f., pl. 217; J. Kaiser in *Zuger Neujahrsblatt* (Zug, 1929), pp. 65 ff.

Indeed, the dissemination of useful knowledge must have been far more congenial to the Archdeacon than any monkish fables or ancient superstitions, and it is very unlikely that he would have been aware of 'the connection of a British king under the heptarchy and a small canton of Switzerland' had he not chanced to visit Zug on 5th August, St. Oswald's Day. On those anniversaries the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages flocked into Zug to attend the festal mass at St. Oswald's and were fêted with a bounty of free money and of free meals. They joined in the procession from Our Lady's Chapel to St. Oswald's and from St. Oswald's to St. Michael's, parading with almost military pomp and a band of musicians, who were rewarded with a gulden apiece during the service, the first violinist getting double.[5] Perhaps they listened to the sermon, a eulogy of portentous length, if we are to judge by the one for 1769, which has been published.[6] But what did they make of the drama of St. Oswald in 8,000 lines, consisting of 67 scenes and an epilogue, which took two days to perform?

The value of drama in religious education had been shrewdly assessed by the

---

[1] *K.K.Z.* i, pp. 15 ff., pl. 8; L. Corraggioni, *Münzgeschichte der Schweiz* (Geneva, 1896), pp. 73 f., pl. XX. Dicken and half-dicken, 1612–17, and a gold ducat, 1692. Dicken and half-dicken were struck from 1611 onwards with the bust of St. Oswald (still distinguished by raven and cup), and gold ducats at the end of the century. I am greatly indebted to Father Henggeler for giving me casts of the coins and medals.

[2] C. A. Serrure, *Histoire de la souveraineté de 's Heerenberg* (The Hague and Paris, 1860), pp. 32 ff. Lack of space precludes our discussing in detail the connexion between St. Oswald and the Counts of 's Heerenberg in Gelderland. Oswald I was born on the 28th Feb. 1442, the feast of St. Oswald of Worcester, and was given this name at his baptism on 24th April with evident allusion to St. Oswald of Northumbria, the patron of the neighbouring parish of Zeddam. The parish is first mentioned in 1211 and until 1399 included the castle of 's Heerenberg within its boundaries. The name Oswald continued in the family until as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. A. P. Schilfgaarde, *Het Archief van het Huis Bergh. Inleiding* (The Hague, 1932), pp. 29, 35; W. Fabritius, *Erläuterungen zum geschichtlichen Atlas der Rheinprovinz*, i (Bonn, 1909), p. 429; *Voorloopige lijst der nederlandsche Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, iv.—*De Provincie Gelderland* (Utrecht, 1917), pp. 33 ff. The Bishop of Deventer tells me that, despite the connexion with St. Willibrord and a relic of St. Oswald's head in the Old Catholic museum at Utrecht, there is very little trace of the cult of St. Oswald in Holland. Anglo-Saxon dedications are said to be surprisingly few on the Lower Rhine. W. Stüwer, *Die Patrocinien im Kölner Grossarchidiakonat Xanten* (Bonn, 1938), p. 138. [28th Feb. is called 'S. Oswalditag' in a document of 1405 relating to the town of Chur. *Archiv fur Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, XV (Vienna, 1856), p. 354.]

[3] A. Fluri, *Die Berner Schulpfennige und Tischlivierer 1622–1798* (Berne, 1910), pp. 22 ff. Medals were also given at Berne for proficiency in the catechism and the psalms.

[4] W. Coxe, *op. cit.* ii (1791), pp. 343 f.

[5] *Jahresbericht der kantonalen Industrie-Schule und des städtischen Obergymnasiums in Zug* (Zug, 1883/4), pp. 24 ff.

[6] B. L. Göldlin, *Sittliche Lobrede auf den heiligen König und Blutzeugen Oswalds Stadt-Patron der hochlobigen und altkatholischen Stadt Zug* (Zug, 1769). The author is well read and quotes Hume as the latest authority on Oswald. There is no reference to the raven and the ring. The raven, however, is mentioned in an equally eulogistic poem published early in the seventeenth century by a Zug writer. P. Schell, *Historia von S. Oswaldi leben und wunderwercken* (Constance, 1617).

Jesuits and was exploited with amazing resource in the schools they founded all over central and southern Europe. The Jesuit college at Lucerne, founded in 1574, was the most important and flourishing in Switzerland, where dramatic activities were given full scope on an open-air stage in the market-place,[1] and in view of the short distance between Lucerne and Zug it was quite natural that the life of St. Oswald should provide material for one of their plays. The name of the author has been lost and all that we know of the play is the summary contained in the programme,[2] of which a copy survives at Munich.[3]

This play would have been seen by many from Zug and there can be little doubt that it gave inspiration to a dramatist of some local reputation, John Mahler, priest, organist, and schoolmaster at Zug.[4] Of the three plays he wrote, the St. Oswald was the last to be performed (1630). The contents have hitherto been known from the last two acts only, which exist in a manuscript copy made at Einsiedeln in the middle of the last century.[5] The writer's visit to Zug, however, was the occasion of the rediscovery of the missing text in the parish archives, and the whole play is now available for further study. Mahler relates on a generous scale and with many supernatural embellishments the story of the patron saint of Zug. The ending is a happy one. Lucifer and Heresy are put to flight, and the spirit of St. Oswald, driven from his native land, is received triumphantly at Zug.

Ein schönen tempell solt du han,
  Darzuo wirdt helfen weib und man.
Ein grossen gotsdienst wird gescheen,
  Das muost du jarlich fleissig gseen
Dein festag halt ich fürter hin,
  Das gantz landt soll es werden inn.

Yet a third St. Oswald play was produced at Zug exactly a century later in the newly-opened theatre, and by some strange irony of fate the unpublished text has wandered into the British Museum (Add. MSS. 29,748, f. 36).[6] According to the programme, now in the library at Zurich, it was entitled: 'Laurea Triumphalis oder Siegreicher Lorbeerkrantz auf das Haupt Oswaldi durch wunderliche Anordnung Gottes geflochten, welchen Er mit eignem für den Christ-Catholischen Glauben vergossenem Blut befärbet. Aufgesetzt und vorgewiesen auf offenlichem Theatro in Lobl. Uhr-Alt-Catholischer Stadt Zug den 5 v. 9. Tag Weinmonat 1730. Vormittag um 7—Nachmittag um 12 Uhr.'

---

[1] B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, i (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1907), pp. 324 ff. and 211 ff.

[2] Programmes came in early in the seventeenth century, and, since the plays were usually in Latin, they often provided a fairly full synopsis of the plot.

[3] J. Ehret, *Das Jesuitentheater zu Freiburg in der Schweiz*, i (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1921), p. 195; illustrated in Duhr, *op. cit.* ii (1913), p. 284. Among English heroes of Jesuit plays in Germany, St. Thomas of Canterbury and Mary Stuart are only to be expected. But why Richard III and the Prince Henry who went down on the White Ship? Presumably their lives provided the element of tragedy required by the budding dramatists. J. Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vom Anfang bis zum Hochbarock*, ii (Augsburg, 1930), p. 92. For a critique of this play see O. Eberle, *Theatergeschichte der Innern Schweiz* (Königsberg, 1929), p. 73.

[4] W. Burgherr, *Johannes Mahler, ein schweizerischer Dramatiker der Gegenreformation* (Berne, 1925), pp. 12 ff.

[5] P. Gall Morel in *Der Geschichtsfreund*, xvii (1861), p. 82. The writer believed the play to have been written by Eberhard for the dedication of St. Oswald's, but later admitted his mistake. A summary of the last two acts (derived from the Einsiedeln MS.) has been published in J. Baechtold, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz* (Frauenfeld, 1892), Notes p. 111, and at greater length in Burgherr, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff. Both these writers and Eberle agree that the text of the whole play has disappeared.

[6] Eberle, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Burgherr, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff. The authorship has been attributed to P. Michael Wickart, a Capucin, whose festal sermon on St. Oswald was published the following year.

The play is of very similar character to Jesuit productions, and abounds in biblical and mythological figures and apparently irrelevant interludes, including the story of Joseph in Egypt.

This is the end of St. Oswald's appearance in Swiss drama, and all the celebrations on his festal day are now past history. But on the new high altar of 1935 we can see a gilded statue of St. Oswald with his raven and his cup, and every August the people are reminded of our 'old British king' in the parish magazine.

APPENDIX I

SWISS DEDICATIONS TO ST. OSWALD

Basle—Chapel mentioned in 1248. *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Basel*, i (Basle, 1890), p. 162. Used by the Guild of Tanners. *Basler Jahrbuch* (Basle, 1883), p. 227. Altar founded in the Minster (1272). *Urkundenbuch, op. cit.* iii (1896), p. 365. Relics in Chapel of St. Andrew (1459). E. A. Stückelberg, *Geschichte der Reliquien in der Schweiz*, i (Zurich, 1902), p. 67.

Biessenhofen (C. Thurgau)—Co-patron of chapel built in 1450. A. Nuescheler, *Die Gotteshäuser der Schweiz* [*N.G.S.*], ii (Zurich, 1867), p. 85.

Breite (C. Zurich)—Chapel mentioned in 1370. *N.G.S.* iii (1873), p. 592. Wall-painting (early fifteenth century). H. Fietz, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Zürich*, ii (Basle, 1943), pp. 66 ff.

[*Büron* (C. Lucerne)—Relics (fifteenth century). Stückelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 82.]

Cham, St. Wolfgang (C. Zug)—Co-patron of altar dedicated in 1475. Henggeler, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Chur—Altar mentioned in 1333. E. Poeschel, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Graubünden*, vii (Basle, 1948), p. 101.

Einsiedeln—see above.

[*Fischingen* (C. Thurgau)—Relics mentioned in the *Hochwacht* (Winterthur) for 5th Aug. 1946.]

Galgenen (C. Schwyz)—Co-patron of altar (1477). *N.G.S.* iii, 507.

Hochdorf (C. Lucerne)—Co-patron of altar (1469). Stückelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Inwil (C. Zug)—Co-patron of chapel (1584). Henggeler, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Kerns (C. Unterwalden)—Co-patron of altar (1511). This dedication may be due to Oswald Lisner, the priest. R. Durrer, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Unterwalden* (Zurich, 1899–1928), pp. 343 ff.

Lachen (C. Schwyz)—Co-patron of altar (1476). *N.G.S.* iii, 515.

Liestal (Baselland)—Co-patron of altar mentioned 1441–69. *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, ii (Basle, 1903), p. 154.

[*Mariastein* (C. Solothurn)—Relics mentioned in *Hochwacht, op. cit.*]

Münster (C. Graubünden)—Chapel mentioned in a late medieval record. *Tirolische Geschichtsquellen*, iii (Innsbruck, 1891), p. 240 f. Presumably this is the chapel of St. Oswald in Sielva, first mentioned in 1360. Poeschel, *op. cit.*, v (Basle, 1943), p. 385.

Niederwil (C. Zug)—Co-patron of altar (1520). Henggeler, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

Nenzlingen (C. Berne)—Church dedicated in 1756. *Katholische Kirchen des Bistum Basel IV Kanton Bern* (Olten, 1938), p. 587.

Oberägeri (C. Zug)—see above.

Oberschan (C. St. Gall)—Chapel (no date). *N.G.S.* i, 16.

Oberwil (C. Zug)—Co-patron of altar (1621). Henggeler, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Statue by J. L. Brandenberg. *K.K.Z.* i, 294.

Romoos (C. Lucerne)—Co-patron of church dedicated in 1184. C. Hecker, *Die Kirchenpatrozinien des Archidiakonates Aargau im Mittelalter* (Diss. phil. Freiburg (Swiss), 1946), p. 89; T. Schiess, *op. cit.*, p. 84; P. Ladewig, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Bischöfe von Constanz*, i (Innsbruck, 1886), doubts the authenticity of the charter. In 1584 St. Oswald and St. Mary Magdalene were co-patrons.

St. Gall—see above.

Sargans (C. St. Gall)—Church mentioned in the eleventh century and rebuilt in 1708, but date of dedication is not known. *N.G.S.* i, 10.

Schaffhausen—see above.

Schwanden (C. Glarus)—Co-patron of altar (1349). *N.G.S.* iii, 536.

Seewis (C. Graubünden)—Co-patron of church (1449). Wooden statue (*c.* 1520). Poeschel, *op. cit.*, iv (Basle, 1942), pp. 112, 120, pl. 139.

Sins (Aargau)—Co-patron of altar (1493). A. Nuescheler, 'Die Aargauischen Gotteshäuser' in *Argovia. Jahresschrift der historischen Gesellschaft des Kantons Aargau*, xxvi (Aarau, 1895), p. 7.

Steinhausen (C. Zug)—Co-patron of altar (1701). Henggeler, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

Trachselwald (C. Berne)—Chapel founded in 1394. C. E. L. Lohner, *Die reformierten Kirchen und ihre Vorsteher im eidgenössischen Freistaate Bern* (Thun, n.d.), p. 449.

Truttikon (C. Zurich)—Chapel mentioned in 1300. Fietz, *op. cit.* i, 400.

Udligenswil (C. Lucerne)—Church rebuilt in 1580 and 1875, but date of dedication not known. A. Nuescheler in *Der Geschichtsfreund*, xliv (1889), p. 38. St. Oswald is mentioned as patron in the parish register of 1586. Hecker, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

Wallenstadt (C. St. Gall)—Chapel (no date). *N.G.S.* i, 15.

Wettingen—see above.

Wislikofen (C. Aargau)—Benedictine priory founded from St. Blasien in 1113 and suppressed in 1807. No evidence to show whether the dedication is original (despite diligent inquiry by Professor Beck). *N.G.S.* iii, 606.

Zurich—Co-patron of altar (1321) in the Stiftskirche. *N.G.S.* iii, 356. Co-patron of altar (1285) in the Fraumünster. *Ibid.* 370.

APPENDIX II

LETTER OF WILLIAM ABBOT OF PETERBOROUGH TO JOHN EBERHARD, 1481

Uniuersis Christi fidelibus et presertim magistro Johanni Eberhardi, ecclesia parochiali in Weggys Constanciensis diocesis rectori, Willelmus, permissione diuina abbas monasterij de Burgo Sancti Petri ordinis Sancti Benedicti Lincolniensis diocesis Cantuariensis prouincie et nacionis Anglicane, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Uniuersitati uestre et tibi nominatim, prefate magister Johannes, notificamus per presentes quemdam cristianum atque deuotum uirum nomine Fredericum Vinter vicesimo tercio die mensis Septembris peregrino more ad monasterium nostrum antedictum aduenisse. Perprius namque didicerat isdem Fredericus ab incolis regni nostri quasdam inibi fore preciosas reliquias gloriosi regis et martiris Oswaldi hancque ob causam illuc ardenter properare se disposuit, quo in loci [*sic*] postquam deuenit, letus et gaudens effectus, causam peregrinacionis, nedum oretenus et per interpretes quin eciam per litteras tuas, prefate magister Johannes, secreto tuo signatas nobis apertissime indicauit atque usque in crastinum ex consilio bonorum uirorum pro reuerencia reliquarum uisum et aspectum earundem oblacionemque suam distulit. Mane autem facto, presente priore nostro alijsque pluribus intuentibus, dictus Fredericus humili corde et ieiuno stomacho coram dictis reliquijs sibi patentibus genua sua flexit et per aliquantum temporis deuote preces suas fudit. Postquam eleuans se ad propius cernendum et intuendum reliquias, brachium dextrum ipsius gloriosi regis et martiris Oswaldi uti in bello a quodam Penda pagano et rege Merciorum a corpore resectum

et abscisum [*sic*] erat cum neruis, iuncturis, palma et digitis integrum et incoruptum in hodiernum diem permanere claro lumine conspexit sicque isdem Fredericus et sui et tui, magister Johannes, uoti compos effectus eidem brachio sancto ex nomine tuo decem denarios Anglicanos optulit porciunculamque panni precioso sanguine dicti gloriosi regis et martiris tinctam ad te deferendam, magister Johannes, tue deuocionis causa a nobis accepit. In cuius rei testimonium ad humilem peticionem ipsius Frederici nos, abbas antedictus, huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus vicesimo quinto die mensis Septembris anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo primo.

The Ghost or Shadow as a Charge in Heraldry

By H. STANFORD LONDON, Esq., F.S.A.

[*Read 30th January 1947*]

THE charge which forms the subject of this paper is blazoned in French *ombre* and in Latin *umbra*, and one or other of these terms is used in the few cases in which the charge occurs in English blazon[1] outside the text-books. There can be little doubt but that the word ought to be interpreted as ghost or phantom,[2] but the compiler of *The Boke of St. Albans* translated it by shadow, and he was followed by Gerard Legh and sundry later writers who apparently took that word in its everyday sense. It was certainly so understood by Cornelius Gailliard, for he paraphrased it by *umbrage*, and I suspect that it was a like misinterpretation which inspired the de Varennes-Vulson heresy mentioned hereinafter. In the following pages I propose first to review the statements of the various English and continental armorists who mention the ombre and thereafter to consider the charge in actual use.

I. TREATISES

Neither the *Tractatus de Armis*, by Johannes de Bado Aureo,[3] which was probably written soon after 1394, nor the Welsh tractate published by our Fellow, Mr. Evan Jones,[4] makes any mention of the shadow. There are, however, several manuscript versions of a much shorter English treatise which do mention it. They appear to be based on a common original little later than the *Tractatus*. The five versions which I have seen all list, or purport to list, fifteen varieties of lions, one being a lion umbrated. This was evidently a puzzle to the copyists. Only one version has both illustration and legend correct, and that is a late sixteenth-century copy by Robert Glover.[5] The version printed by Mr. Jones[6] gives the description correctly, 'A lion in umbre', but the accompanying shield is blank. Another version[7] has a very nicely drawn outline of a lion in a gold shield,[1] but in place of the words 'in umbre' there is only a squiggly line (pl. xxvii, *e*). In the other two manuscripts the description is badly mangled,[2] as it is also in Adam Loutfut's Scottified and versified copy of a similar treatise.[3]

---

[1] Most of these examples are in the College of Arms and I desire to express to the Chapter of the College my appreciation of the facilities which they have afforded me. I must also say 'Thank you' to my old friend Dr. D. L. Galbreath, F.S.A., Vice-President of the Swiss Heraldic Society, and to many others who have helped in various ways. Above all I am indebted to my colleague of the French Heraldic Society, Dr. Paul Adam, without whose constant and generous help the continental portion of this paper could not have been written; the writing indeed is mine, but the greater part of the material was provided by him My thanks are due to the Chapter of the College of Arms for leave to reproduce figures *a* to *f* on Plate XXVII, and figures *e*, *g*, *h*, and *i* on Plate XXIX; to the authorities of the British Museum for leave to reproduce figures 15, 16, and 17, and to the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris for figures *i*, *j*, *k*, and *l* on Plate XXVII. I have to thank the Marquis de Trazegnies for the impression of his seal reproduced on Plate XXVIII, *g*, and Baron Meurgey de Tupigny, Conservator at the Archives Nationales, Paris, for the casts illustrated on Plate XXVIII, *a*, *b*, *e*, *f*, *j*, and *k*. Casts of the other seals illustrated on that plate were supplied by the directors of the Archives Royales, Brussels (figs. *c*, *d*) and of the British Museum (figs. *h*, *i*). Casts of all these seals as well as of several other Trazegnies seals in the Brussels collection are now in the British Museum.

[2] This suggestion was first made by Mr. Martin Holmes, F.S.A.

[3] *Medieval Heraldry*, Cardiff, 1943, pp. 95 seq., cf. pp. xvii seq. Johannes de Bado Aureo's tractate was first published by Edward Bysshe, the intruding Garter, in 1654, see p. 126, n. 5 below.

[4] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[5] British Museum MS. Harl. 6064, f. 2. The other versions are fifteenth century.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 213; cf. Introduction, p. xliv. Mr. Jones printed this from two British Museum MSS., Add. 34648 and Harl. 6097.

[7] *Treatise on Heraldry temp. Hen. IV*, in the library of the College of Arms, p. 3.

In the same volume with Loutfut's verses there is a prose treatise,[4] also copied by him about 1494 and Scottified in the process. In this a *croix umbre* replaces the shadowy lion, but it is neither described nor illustrated.

Nicholas Upton, whose *De Studio Militari* was written about 1440,[5] devotes four paragraphs to umbrated charges, and all four were reproduced in a literal translation in *The Boke of St. Albans*, the first English book on heraldry to be printed.[6] The first three paragraphs deal respectively with a 'mylneris cros shadowd or umbratyd', a 'cros floree patent umbratid', and a 'cros flori umbratit and perforatid' (pl. xxvii, *a*, *b*, *c*).[7] The gist of the three paragraphs is that:

> The umbra of any object may be borne as a charge in armory;
> It is to be represented by a mere outline; and
> The outline is to be black whatever the colour of the field.

The remaining paragraph[8] is headed 'De Armis Umbratis' and is accompanied by an illustration of *Leo umbratus* (pl. xxvii, *d*). It begins with a warning that such charges must not be confused with 'transmutid' charges (counterchanged in modern parlance), and after explaining that 'armys umbratid' denote that the wearer's ancestral possessions have passed to others but that he hopes to regain them, it ends with the dictum that 'it is bettyr to beer thos armis umbratit then hoolly to leef theyr progenitouris armys'. This 'lost property' theory also appears in an augmented version of the *Tractatus de Armis*[9] which dates from 1449.

The second printed work on heraldry to be published in England did not appear until 1562, Gerard Legh's *Accedence of Armorie*.[10] It was followed in 1572 by Bossewell's *Workes of Armorie*,[1] and in 1586 by Sir John Ferne's *Blazon of Gentrie*.[2] In the main all three books agree with Upton, but each adds something to the story. Legh applies the term 'umbrated' to the lion and the saltire, but calls the cross 'entrailed',[3] although all three charges are drawn as mere outlines. Ferne, who disapproves of the term entrailed and says that this cross should be blazoned umbrated or shadowed, supplements Upton's instruction that the shadow-outline is always to be black by adding that if the field is black the shadow should be drawn in a 'bruske or dark tawney' colour. He also stipulates that a shadow may not be charged.[4] Bossewell repudiates the 'lost property' theory, considering that those who had lost their ancestral possessions should bear the whole arms with such difference as might be assigned by the Kings of Arms.[5]

---

[1] An outline, as will appear shortly, was the classical manner of representing an umbra.

[2] One, Bodleian MS. Ashmole Rolls 4, has 'a lyon in Nounbre'; the other, a fifteenth-century copy in the collection of our Treasurer, Mr. Bradfer-Lawrence, has 'ennoumbre' written all in one word.

[3] Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. 8, 1869 (*Queene Elizabeth's Achademy*, etc., edited by F. J. Furnivall), p. 98, line 133. 'In umbre' is here perverted into 'in nomer'. The tract is one copied about 1494 by Adam Loutfut, Kintyre Pursuivant, for Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy, then Marchmont Herald and afterwards Lyon King of Arms. It is now art. 17 in Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 6149, see f. 153, l. 11.

[4] Harl. MS. 6149, art. 2, ff. 5–44. Although it differs from Upton in many ways this tract seems to be based on the armorial portion of *De Studio Militari* (cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. xxi, n. 2).

[5] *Nicholai Vptoni de Studio Militari Libri Quatuor*, published by Edward Bysshe, together with the *Tractatus de Armis* of Johannes de Bado Aureo and Sir Henry Spelman's *Aspilogia*, London, 1654. See pp. 220, 221, 247. See also the paragraph 'De cruce fimbriata', p. 221.

[6] *The Boke of Saint Albans, by Dame Juliana Berners . . . printed at St. Albans by the schoolmaster in 1486*; reproduced in facsimile by William Blades, London, 1901. The few verbal discrepancies between the Boke and Bysshe's Upton are trivial.

[7] The shields in pl. xxvii, *a–d* are reproduced from a contemporary manuscript in the College of Arms (Arundel 64). Save for the thin lines the artist's version of *crux molendinaris umbrata* might be blazoned as a millrind cross disjointed, whilst the cross he has drawn for (*c*) is not paty but botonny, *crux nodulata*; this mistake is rectified in Bysshe's edition.

[8] In Bysshe's Upton this is separated from the other three paragraphs by some 27 pages. In the *Boke of St. Albans* it follows immediately after the section about the perforated shadow, and has neither heading nor illustration.

[9] Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 28791; see Jones, p. 144 seq. and p. xviii note.

[10] *The Accedence of Armorie*, by Gerard Legh, London, 1562 and later editions, ff. 36, 45*b*, and 106.

Guillim[6] and Randle Holme add nothing material. The latter clearly takes umbra to mean shadow: 'umbrating is only a drawing or tricking out the form of any Cross with a darkish line, without any substance of a Cross to cast a shadow, but is only a meer shadow.' He has the right idea as to how an umbrated charge ought to be represented, that is with 'only a small line' or 'skore', not so full or thick as for a voided charge. He does not, however, translate this precept into practice, and the relevant illustration, a cross mascle umbrated, is drawn with an outline which is at least as broad as those of his voided charges.[7]

Edmondson, whose *Complete Body of Heraldry* was published in 1780, and who thought that shadows are never borne in English armory, says in one place that a shadow, 'adumbration', is 'outlined and painted of a colour darker than the field', and in another place that it is to be 'represented of the colour of smoke'.[8] As authority for the latter statement he cites the French armorist, Vulson de la Colombière. Archdeacon Woodward is aware of the classical method of depicting an ombre but prefers the later heresy; an ombre, he says, is properly represented by a darker shade of the field tincture though the artist often contents himself with simply drawing the outline of the charge in a neutral tint.[9]

---

[1] *Workes of Armorie . . .*, by John Bossewell . . ., 1597 (London), see p. 25. The first edition appeared in 1572.

[2] *The Blazon of Gentrie . . .*, by John Ferne . . ., London, 1586; see p. 174.

[3] See *Notes and Queries*, vol. 191, 1946, p. 222.

[4] Ferne also uses the word 'shadow' in speaking of differences, saying that the second brother should add to his paternal coat 'a bordure of the colour of the feeld, but severed from the coat, by a little tract, or shadow, drawne with the pencell' (*op. cit.*, p. 254). 'Umbrated' is used in a similar way in Sir George Carewes Scrowl, which is dated 1588; this gives for Reynell of East Ogwell in Devon: 'Ar. and upon it duble umbrated for a masons wall a chef indented sa.' (Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2129, f. 247 *v*; *Devon Notes and Queries*, vol. i, part 2, p. 90, no. 631). This would now be blazoned: *Argent masoned sable, a chief indented sable.*

[5] J. G. Nichols, commenting on this passage, opined that there was no such charge as a shadow, and that the idea arose from the occasional representation of charges by outlines, e.g. on brasses and gravestones (*Herald and Genealogist*, vol. ii, 1865, p. 96). Later he recanted so far as France is concerned, but he still thought that the device was 'probably never adopted in England'. As evidence of its use in France he cited the apocryphal coat of Gillion le Courageux (Gilles I de Trazegnies, *ob.* 1191) in the Salle des Croisades at Versailles (*ibid.*, p. 555).

[6] *A Display of Heraldry*, by John Guillim, 1610, bk. 2, chap. 3; so also in all subsequent editions.

[7] *Academy of Armory*, 1688, bk. i, chap. 5, p. 42, no. 6, and p. 48, no. 73; bk. ii, chap. 7, p. 144; bk. iii, chap. 13, p. 482, no. 139. At the last reference Holme confuses umbrating and voiding and describes as 'an Umbrated Mullet, or a Mullet voided and fretted' the figure known as a pentalpha and commonly blazoned as such in the arms of the two families which he cites, Degelin van Wangen and Stahler. The fact that Stahler repeats the charge as crest shows that it is not an umbra.

[8] In the Glossary, s.v. 'Adumbration' and 'Ombré' respectively.

[9] *A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign*, by John Woodward and the late George Burnett, Edinburgh, 1892, p. 223. A revised edition of the book was published in 1896 as by Woodward alone.

So far as I can learn, few of the early continental armorists say anything of the ombre. Bartolus de Sassoferrato (1356)[1] and Bernard de Roussergue[2] ignore it, and so does the treatise which is generally attributed to Sicily Herald (Jean de Courtois, *ob.* 1435), but which Dr. Adam after a close comparison of the manuscripts believes to be really the work of Clément Prinsault (*c.* 1470).[3] In the sixteenth century Jerome de Bara says nothing of the ombre,[4] and Cornelius Gailliard, Flanders King of Arms, is equally silent in his tract *Le Blason des Armes*, written in 1557, although he gives several examples in his Armorial of Flanders.[5] On the other hand an anonymous fifteenth-century French manuscript in the Heralds' College illustrates a lion *en ombre*,[6] and Noël le Boucq similarly includes an ombre among the types of lion with which he illustrates his treatise, whilst in the armorial appended thereto he gives the arms of Trazegnies and Florenville with the ombres correctly drawn in outline.[7] Neither he nor the Heralds' College MS. blazons the charge. In this connexion it is curious to note that Noël's son, Jacques Leboucq, who was deputy Toison d'Or from 1564 to 1572, ignores the charge completely.[8]

Not until the seventeenth century is the ombre generally admitted by the continental armorists. Then Petra Sancta and Segoing[9] represent the ombre as an outline, and that seems to be Louvan Geliot's idea, though his language is far from clear.[10] De Varennes, on the other hand, opines that ombres are only faintly coloured, 'ne sont pas beaucoup colorés',[11] and Vulson de la Colombière elaborates that into the statement that an *ombre de croix* must be represented 'de couleur enfumée afin, qu'on puisse voir à travers un peu obscurement'.[12] Although they have been followed by divers later writers, notably by Palliot[1] and Spener,[2] de Varennes and Vulson are, so far as I have found, the first armorists to advance this view. It is, however, at variance alike with the statements of the early English treatises and with the normal practice of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Indeed, so far as graphic representations[3] are concerned I have yet to meet with an ombre represented otherwise than as an outline until we come to seventeenth-century works such as Palliot's, whose engravings of the arms of Trazegnies and Ebrard de St. Sulpice are reproduced on pl. XXVII, *g*, *h*.[4] Menestrier is ambiguous, perhaps deliberately, for he defines the ombre as 'l'image d'un corps si délié que l'on void le champ aux travers'.[5] Of the later armorists some merely repeat Menestrier's definition, but others return to the classical representation of the ombre as an outline. Among these Victor Bouton's definition is a masterpiece of brevity: 'L'ombre de lion se trouve en armoiries. On la figure au trait.'[6] Like Bouton, the two latest continental writers on armory, Dr. Galbreath[7] and the Belgian armorist Fourez,[8] only recognize the outline as representing the shadow.[9]

---

[1] *De Insigniis et Armis*. See Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 221, and Bysshe's Upton, notes, p. 4 seq.

[2] 'De arte blasonandi arma', Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. latin 6020.

[3] This book is known from many manuscript versions, and is the earliest treatise on heraldry to be printed in France. It was first published in 1495, reprinted at various times to 1515, and last re-edited by Douët d'Arcq in the *Revue archéologique*, 1858, p. 321.

[4] *Le Blason des Armoiries*, 1579, and later editions 1581 to 1638. The date 1511 (J. Guigard, *Bibliothèque Héraldique de la France*, 1861, no. 19, citing J. Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, revised by Fevret de Fontelle, Paris, 1768–78) seems to be a mistake.

[5] *Le Blason des Armes, suivi de l'Armorial des villes, châtellenies, cours féodales, seigneuries, et familles de l'ancien comté de Flandre, par Corneille Gailliard, roi et héraut d'armes de l'empereur Charles-Quint, publié . . . par J. van Malderghem* . . ., Bruxelles, 1866. Gailliard died in 1563.

[6] MS. I. 28, f. 12. The volume has been given the title 'Ancient Rules of Blason'.

[7] Bibl. Nat., Paris, MS. franç. 11463, f. 31. Le Boucq, an amateur herald of Valenciennes, was born in 1490 and died in 1567.

[8] Jacques Leboucq, painter and genealogist, appointed herald by Charles V, Toison d'Or King of Arms *par intérim* 1559, 'lieutenant du Roy d'armes de la Toison d'Or' 1564–72; died 1573. Most of his manuscripts were destroyed in a fire, but a few have survived including a nicely emblazoned treatise, Le Blason des Armes, finished in 1564 (Brussels MS. 7452; Bibl. Nat., Paris, MS. franç. 9491). (Information from Dr. Adam; *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, vol. xi, col. 535.)

[9] Silvester Petra Sancta, *Tesserae Gentilitiae*, Rome, 1638, p. 321. Charles Segoing, *Le Trésor Héraldique ou Mercure Armorial*, Paris, 1657, pp. 122, 202.

[10] Louvan Geliot, *Indice Armorial*, Paris, 1635, p. 272.

[11] Marc-Gilbert de Varennes, *Le Roy d'Armes*, Paris, 1635, p. 240.

[12] Marc Vulson de la Colombière, *La Science Héroique*, Paris, 1644, p. 142. Both Vulson and de Varennes cite the alleged arms of Ebrard de St. Sulpice. The coat in question is that of Vayrac: *Argent semy of sable crosslets and a lion sable*. It was quartered by the Ebrards from about 1417 until the extinction of the family in 1581. It was not until they had been extinct for forty years or so that we find the crosses described as ombres. The first instance is in Hector Le Breton's *Armorial du St. Esprit* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fonds français MS. 25203, f. 60), and Le Breton was Montjoie King of Arms from 1615 to 1653. Le Breton blazons the coat: 'd'argent au lion de sable semé d'ombres de croisettes de mesme'. The mistake probably came from his misunderstanding an unfinished drawing, but however it arose it was repeated by author after author. Another ghost which needs to be laid is that attributed to Lexhy, of Liége, a branch of the house of Awans. Rietstap blazons their arms: 'De vair à l'ombre d'un lion de gueules couronné d'or'. In reality the charge is simply a red lion—see *Le Miroir des Nobles de Hesbaye*, by Jacques de Hemricourt (*ob.* 1403), printed at

The striking point in these continental works is the unanimity with which they cite the arms of Trazegnies, and that coat was examined in some detail by Count F. Van der Straten-Ponthoz in 1884.[10] Apart from that paper and the references in text-books, the ombre formed the subject of four short notes in the *Archives Héraldiques Suisses*,[11] the last of which brought the number of known examples up to four.

Brussels, 1673, p. 46, etc., Borman's edition, 1910–31, vol. i, p. 324.

[1] *La Vraie et Parfaite Science des Armoiries . . .*, by Pierre Palliot, Paris, 1660. Facsimile edition, Paris, 1895, p. 449. Palliot's book is a reissue, with additions, of the *Indice Armorial* of Louvan Geliot. The reference to Ebrard de St. Sulpice is one of Palliot's additions and was evidently taken from de Varennes. It will be noticed that Palliot cross-hatches the shadows which, paradoxically, are only distinguishable from his sable charges by the absence of outline.

[2] P. J. Spener, *Insignium Theoria*, Frankfurt a. M., 1680, and 2nd edit. 1717. See part i, p. 126.

[3] Engravings and carvings are on a somewhat different footing, as will appear in the course of this paper.

[4] De Varennes does not illustrate an ombre. Vulson's engraving shows a shield charged with a cross the vertical hatchings of which differ no whit from those used elsewhere in the book for the tincture gules.

[5] C. F. Menestrier, e.g. in *Abrégé Méthodique des Principes Héraldiques ou du Véritable Art du Blason*, Lyon, 1677, p. 127; *La Méthode du Blason*, Lyon, 1688, p. 57; *La Science de la Noblesse ou la nouvelle Méthode du Blason*, Paris, 1691, p. 46. In other books (e.g. *La nouvelle Méthode raisonnée du Blason*, Lyon, 1701, etc., pp. 6–7, 21, 38) he mentions the *Ombre du Soleil*, but says nothing of any other sort of shadow. The idea of the *ombre du soleil* is purely French, the theory being that the sun must necessarily be gold, and that if it is of any other colour it is not the sun but only its shadow. In such cases the features which normally distinguish the sun's face are often omitted. The only British example I have noticed was entered in the Lyon Register in 1829 for Sligo of Carmyle: *Gules on a saltire between a falcon volant in chief and three covered cups in the flanks and base or l'ombre du soleil of the first* (J. B. Paul, *Ordinary of Scottish Arms*, 1903, no. 5167). Count de Foras, whose book *Le Blason* (Grenoble, 1883, see p. 305) is generally, though with little reason, regarded as authoritative, will have nothing of the shadow, whether of the sun, of a lion, or of anything else. He thinks that the so-called shadows are simply misreadings of painted charges of which the colour has faded or from which the pigment has flaked or rubbed off. His strictures are directed mainly against the *ombre du soleil*, and in that regard he is no doubt justified, but he is certainly at fault in repudiating the other shadows.

[6] *Nouveau Traité de Blason*, par Victor Bouton, Paris, 1863, p. 332.

[7] *Manuel du Blason*, by D. L. Galbreath, Lausanne and Lyons, 1942, p. 92: 'Un meuble, un lion, par exemple, peut être du même émail que le champ qui le porte, et n'être indiqué que par le trait du contour. Dans ce cas, il est appelé *un lion en ombre* ou *une ombre de lion*.'

[8] Fourez, *L'Héraldique, Manuel d'Initiation*; undated. The dedication is dated December 1942. The book was written while the author was a prisoner of war in Germany.

[9] The theories of the shadow propounded by Emile Gevaert (*L'Héraldique, son esprit, son langage et ses applications*, Brussels and Paris, 1923, p. 169) and P. B. Gheusi (*Le Blason*, Paris, 1933, p. 241) are too absurd for repetition. Gevaert says, I know not on what authority, that, 'Les armes primitives de Bruxelles, de gueules plain, portèrent l'ombre de Saint Michel.'

[10] *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, vol. 17, p. 457 seq.

[11] 'L'ombre héraldique', by D. L. Galbreath, vol. 42, 1928, p. 4; 'A propos de l'Ombre du Lion', by H. S. London and S. M. Collins, vol. 53, 1939, p. 118; and

II. TRAZEGNIES

There is no lack of material about the arms of the Trazegnies and their cadets. There is a long series of seals running from 1195 to the present day,[1] and the arms are to be seen in many armorials from the Bigot roll of about 1254 onwards.[2]

The arms are a differenced form of the coat of Cisoing, a Hainault family who bore *Bendy or and azure*.[3] This is proved by the fact that the Trazegnies war-cry was 'Cisoing', but the link between the two families has not been found.[4]

The earliest known example of the arms is on a seal of Gilles II, appended to a document dated 1195 (pl. XXVIII, *j*). Here the arms are bendy of six pieces in an indented border, while a lion stands erect behind the shield as supporter.[5] This coat, but with the border plain instead of indented, i.e. *Bendy of six pieces or and azure a border gules*, was retained unchanged by the Wedergrate family (pl. XXVII, *k*), but before 1374, perhaps even a century earlier, the Trazegnies had added the outline of a lion and that charge was adopted in turn by all the other branches of the family. Both Clément-Monnier, in his history of Cambron Abbey,[6] and Van der Straten-Ponthoz, in his paper on the Trazegnies arms,[7] say that the ombre only appears on seals in 1374, and that Dom Marc Noël, the seventeenth-century historian of the abbey, was in error in attributing it to the family before that date, or rather before its appearance in the Armorial de Gelre.[8] Both writers have, however, overlooked certain evidence

---

'Toujours l'Ombre', by D. L. Galbreath, vol. 58, 1944, p. 81.

[1] Douët d'Arcq, *Inventaire de la Collection des Sceaux de l'Empire*, 3 vols., Paris 1863–8, vol. iii, s. n. Trazegnies. G. Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Flandre*, 2 vols., Paris, 1873, s. n. Steenhuse and Trazegnies. J. T. de Raadt, *Sceaux Armoriés des Pays-Bas*, 4 vols., Brussels, 1897–1903, s. n. Trazegnies, Beugnies, Florenville, Hembize, Poucques, Roeulx, Steenhuijs, and in the Appendix, s. n. Abbaye, Hamal, and Hembize.

[2] The arms of one branch or another occur in a score or more medieval (pre-1500) armorials, as well as in later collections. I am indebted to Dr. Adam for almost all the references to these. Of the medieval rolls the following are in print, wholly or partially: Compiègne, *c.* 1278 (see p. 131, n. 1); Navarre, *c.* 1370 (see p. 132, n. 6); Tournoi de Bruges, 1392; Frisian Campaign, 1396 (see also p. 131, n. 8); Partisans de Bourgogne, 1421; Armorial de l'Europe et de la Toison d'Or (see p. 134, n. 5); Armorial de Berry (see p. 134, n. 6); Armorial d'Assignies, second half of the fifteenth century. For all these as well as for the Bigot roll see Dr. Adam's *Catalogue des Armoriaux Français Imprimés* (reprinted from the *Nouvelle Revue Héraldique*, Paris, 1946, pp. 19 seq.). The Bigot Roll is being prepared by Dr. Adam for publication in the near future in the *Archives Héraldiques Suisses*. He is also preparing a complete catalogue of medieval French rolls of arms, printed and unprinted. The arms of the competitors at the Tournoi de Bruges in 1392 are painted in two manuscripts of King René's *Livre des Tournois* (Bibl. Nat., Paris, MSS. franç. 2692, 2693), and they are reproduced in monochrome on the end-papers to the recent abridgement of that work (see p. 147, n. 10 below). Among them are the arms of Arnoud van Sweveghem: *Bendy of six or and azure a lion in ombre in a border gobony gules and ermine*, and those of De Heere van Steenhuse: the same but with the *border gules and argent*. See also p. 133, n. 7, and p. 140, n. 1.

[3] It is worth noting that the Counts of Hainault and Holland of the Avesnes line bore *Bendy or and gules*, and that Jean de Cisoing (living 1185) married Petronille, daughter of Wautier d'Avesnes (*ob.* 1147). This no doubt explains the Cisoings' bendy coat. The Wedergrate family, who wore *Bendy or and azure in a plain border gules*, were of Cisoing stock, sprung perhaps from a younger son of the Jean de Cisoing who was living in 1188 and 1218. They are regarded by Van der Straten-Ponthoz as a branch of Trazegnies, but apart from the similarity of the arms I have seen no evidence for that affiliation.

[4] The Trazegnies pedigree has been traced back to 1135 (Edouard Poncelet in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, art. Trazegnies, vol. xxv, col. 555), or even earlier (Butkens, *Trophées de Brabant*, 1724–6, vol. ii, p. 168).

[5] Demay, no. 1661. If that lion had any special significance it has escaped me. For a moment I thought that it might allude to the fact that Gilles was Constable of Flanders, but he only held that post during the minority of the children of his wife Ailide de Boulaere by her first husband Philippe de Harnes, hereditary Constable, and he only married Ailide in 1197 (*Biog. Nat. Belg.*, vol. 25, col. 575).

[6] *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, vol. xiv, 1877, p. 1, etc.; and vol. xvii, 1884, p. 1, etc.; see vol. xvii, p. 72.

[7] *Loc. cit.*

[8] Both writers date this *c.* 1335; it should be *c.* 1370.

which seems to throw the ombre back a century earlier and thus to justify Dom Marc Noël. This evidence consists of two armorials and one seal.

Among the competitors at a tournament held in Compiègne about 1278 was Ostes or Otto de Trazegnies, fourth of that name. The tournament roll[1] depicts his arms as *Bendy of six pieces or and azure with the umbra of a lion and an indented border gules*. Unfortunately, only late copies of this roll are at present accessible, and one cannot overlook the possibility that these do not give the arms worn by Otto IV at Compiègne, but those known to the copyists as being borne by his fifteenth-century descendants. For the moment, however, and until better evidence is available, we can but accept these copies, and indeed Dr. Adam, after a careful study of their contents, has come to the conclusion that they may be trusted. Nevertheless, if Otto did charge his shield with the ombre at Compiègne, he must have erased it again soon after. There is no lion on his seal in 1284 and 1294 (pl. XXVIII, *k*);[2] there is none in the Dering and Fitz-William rolls about 1270–80,[3] nor is there one to be seen on the Trazegnies shields in the Vermandois[4] and Montjoie-Chandon[5] rolls of about 1300. This eclipse of the lion was not, however, complete. Even if it did not reappear in the main Trazegnies line until towards 1374, it is found in the interval in the arms of another branch, the Steenhuse, Lords of Zweveghem, and later Princes of Steenhuse.[6]

A seal of William seigneur de Steenhuse in 1308 (pl. XXVIII, *a*) displays a shield which is blazoned by Demay as 'bandé de six pièces à l'ombre d'un lion, à la bordure componée'.[7] As to the bendy and the gobony border there can be no question; the 'ombre d'un lion' is less certain. The treatises, as we have seen them, say that the shadow of an object is to be represented by its outline, and the Trazegnies lion is so represented many times, both in rolls and on seals. On this seal, however, there is no mere outline. On the contrary the whole lion is in relief, or rather those portions of it which lie on alternate stripes, the remaining portions being obscured by the first, third, and fifth stripes of the bendy field.[8] At first I thought this inconsistent with

---

[1] Printed divers times, especially as 'La Noblesse Hennuyère au Tournoi de Compiègne de 1238', by Armand de Behault; *ibid.*, vol. xxii, 1890, p. 61 seq. See p. 96, no. 147. The date 1238 is impossible; it should be about 1278.

[2] Demay, no. 1663, and de Raadt, iv, 50, an equestrian seal of 63 mm. diameter. Both buckler and trappings are charged with the arms, bendy of six pieces in an engrailed border.

[3] Dering Roll no. 301 for 'Otes Trasenie', *Bendy of six or and azure in a plain border gules* (Phillipps MS. 31146, now *penes* Mr. A. R. Wagner, F.S.A., Richmond Herald). There are several copies of this roll (see *Reliquary*, vol. xvii, 1876–7, p. 16), and they differ both in details of the arms and in the spelling of the name. FitzWilliam (or Planché's) Roll, Otes de Trasignies: *Or three bends azure in a border engrailed gules* (Soc. Ant. MS. 664, Roll 11, no. 443. Cf. *Genealogist*, N.S. iv, 198, where the name is given as 'Otes de Tasogines', and vii, 38).

[4] Bibl. Nat., Paris, MS. 2249 franç., ff. 40–108.

[5] So named from a former owner, Hector Le Breton, Montjoie King of Arms 1615–53, and the present owner, Count Chandon de Briailles.

[6] Louis de Bruges, whom Edward IV created earl of Winchester in 1472, was Prince de Steenhuse in right of his mother, Margaret, daughter and heiress of Félix Prince de Steenhuse.

[7] *Op. cit.*, no. 1630.

[8] I was tempted to see a parallel to this in the coat depicted in J. M. Lion's edition of the Frisian Campaign Roll for 'Li singr de trasengi', namely *Bendy of six pieces or and azure with a lion argent debruised by the first and second blue bands* (pl. i, no. 14), but no such coat is to be found in any of the manuscripts of this roll which Dr. Adam has examined, and Lion's work is not considered reliable (see, for example, von Berchem, Galbreath, and Hupp, 'Die Wappenbücher des deutschen Mittelalters, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Heraldik*, Berlin, 1939, p. 27; Adam, *Catalogue* . . ., p. 5). Apart from other shortcomings Lion mixes up two distinct rolls, that of the Frisian Campaign of 1396 and that of the Siege of Gorinchem in 1402. Both those rolls give the arms of Ansel de Trazegnies: *Bendy or and azure with the ombre of a lion and a border engrailed gules* (Lion, pl. iii, no. 17, omits the ombre). The earlier roll also gives the coat of Sir Jehan de Hembize; *Bendy of six pieces or and azure with the*

Demay's blazon, but I am now disposed to regard it as the engraver's attempt to represent the ghost of a lion, a charge which he had probably never met before.[1] In any case, whether this seal was meant to depict a lion *in corpore* or *in umbra*, we find the coat with the umbra of a lion in a plain border in a painted armorial in the library of the Heralds' College,[2] the paintings in which can be dated from internal evidence *c.* 1360–70. This shield is named 'Sr de tragignors', but the legends are a good deal later than the painting and the coat was probably meant for Steenhuse, the Trazegnies border being properly engrailed.

Be that as it may, the ombre was certainly borne by the Trazegnies a few years later. It occurs in 1374 and 1391[3] on seals of Otto VI (pl. XXVIII, *b*, *c*) and VII (pl. XXVIII, *d*), and in 1388[4] (pl. XXVIII, *e*) and 1405 to 1417[5] (pl. XXVIII, *f*) on those of the latter's brother, Anseau. It also occurs in several rolls of arms about that time. The Navarre roll, for instance, *c.* 1370, blazons the arms of 'le Sire de Segnies' [*sic*] as 'bendé d'or et d'azur de VI pièces à un lion en umbre à une bordeure de gueulles endentée.[6] A few years later come the painted rolls of Gelre and Bellenville. The former is the well-known work of one Heynen, Gelre Herald to the duke of Gelderland, and was compiled between about 1369 and 1400.[7] Under the name 'Die H'e v' Trasegnies' (fig. 1)

---

ghost of a lion and a border gules semy of silver roundels. This last coat is also given by Lion (pl. iv, no. 16) with the unimportant difference that he makes the field *Bendy of five pieces azure and or.*

[1] Dr. Galbreath arrived at the same conclusion quite independently. After the above passage was written he wrote to me: 'I think that the aberrant types in the 1308 seal and some of the armorials are due to the engraver's or painter's uncertainty how to indicate the ombre. The engraver in particular, who does not normally deal in outlines, would be rather put to it, and the interlacing of the bends seems to me to be quite a bright way out of the difficulty.' A similar effect of interlacing is to be seen in a Munich manuscript of 1562, Codex iconographicus 265. This contains, in the body of the roll, three Trazegnies coats, nos. 203, 257, and 559, attributed to the lords of Overbrakele (Hembize), Zweveghem, and Steenhuse respectively, and in each case instead of a bendy field with the lion's shadow stretching over all the stripes, we have a gold field charged with the umbra and with three (two in no. 559) blue bends over all. The three chevrons in the arms of Courtraisins (no. 124, see also below) surmount the ombre in like manner. The coat of Steenhuse appears a second time, no. 638, among the 'Baenderyes' (bannerets), but here it is in the usual form, *Bendy of six or and azure with the ombre of a lion over all and a border gobony argent and gules.* An odd feature is that the segments of the gobony borders are cut diagonally; they might be blazoned *gobony embelif.* A variant of the Hembize coat is mentioned on p. 133, n. 6. This manuscript was published in 1919 at Brussels and Paris as *Armorial de Flandre du XVI*^{e} *siècle*; the introduction is by Paul Bergmans, whence it is cited hereinafter as the Bergmans Roll

[2] MS. 2 L 12, f. 16v. The 'Sgr de Zueveghem' is said to have borne the umbra at a tournament at Lille in 1361. A manuscript formerly in the Hangouwart collection (afterwards bought by Dr. Kurt Mayer; present whereabouts unknown) blazons his arms 'de Bourgogne [*Bendy or and azure in a border gules*] a l'ombre de lion', while MS. 806 in the town library at Valenciennes has the shield painted with the outline of a lion. It is, however, doubtful whether the date 1361 is correct. Dr. Adam thinks that the so-called tournament of 1361 is the same as that held at Lille in 1435, which is about the time when the Valenciennes MS. was painted.

[3] Douët d'Arcq, no. 10498; Archives Royales, Brussels, nos. 11575, 22578 (cf. de Raadt, iv, 50 and pls. 51 and 202). The shield on the first seal is blazoned by Douët d'Arcq as 'un bandé de six pièces sur une ombre de lion (cas rare) et à la bordure engrêlée'. He is, however, at fault in saying that the bendy is over the shadow; the contrary is true, the shadow-outline being clearly visible on all the stripes.

[4] A. Coulon, *Sceaux de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1912, p. 87, no. 513.

[5] De Raadt, iv, 50 and pl. 154; Demay, no. 1660. These are two specimens of the same seal, the documents being dated 1405 and 1417 respectively. It would seem that the enormous sunflower or marguerite and the little badge with which the seal is strewn must have some meaning, but I have found no clue to it.

[6] No. 1222. The principal manuscript of this roll is in the Bibl. Nat., Paris, no. 14356 franç. It was published in part and somewhat defectively by Douët d'Arcq in the *Cabinet Historique* (Paris, 1859–60) as 'Armorial de France de la fin du XIVe siècle'. See Adam, *op. cit.*, no. 13, and A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, London, 1939, p. 53. It was probably compiled by Martin Carbonnel, Navarre King of Arms *c.* 1369–78. The unpublished portions and the Flemish section have recently been edited by Dr. Adam in the *Nouvelle Revue Héraldique*, 1947, p. 49.

[7] See Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 52; von Berchem, Galbreath, and Hupp, *op. cit.*, p. 12; de Raadt, *op. cit.* i, 104; Lyna,

this shows the same outline lion and the same queer crest of two heads on enormously long necks which are engraved on Otto's and Anseau's seals.[1] The Bellenville Roll is a Flemish armorial contemporary with and closely related to the Armorial de Gelre; it is perhaps the work of one of Gelre's pupils or assistants.[2] This gives the shield of Trazegnies as in Gelre.[3] Both rolls also give the coat: *Bendy or and azure with the outline of a lion and an engrailed border gobony argent and gules.* Bellenville names this Steenhuse (pl. xxvii, *j*), but Gelre calls it Zweveghem. The like coat but with the border *ermine* and gules and plain instead of engrailed also appears in Gelre superscribed, like the other, Zweveghem; it is surmounted by the Trazegnies crest of the two heads.[4] From that time seal after seal, armorial after armorial, give the arms of Trazegnies, Steenhuse, and Zweveghem with the umbra. Moreover, that charge had been adopted by the Hembize branch by 1373[5] (fig. 2), by their cadets the Overbrakele by the middle of the sixteenth century[6] (fig. 3), and by the Florenvilles by the early part of the fifteenth century[7] (fig. 4). About the same time Michaut bâtard de

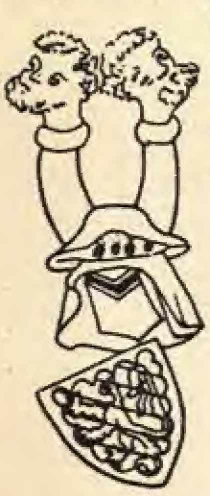


FIG. 1.

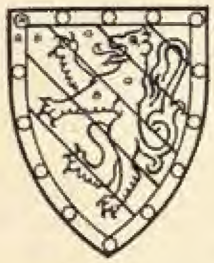


FIG. 2.

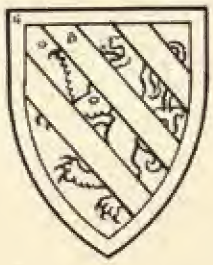


FIG. 3.

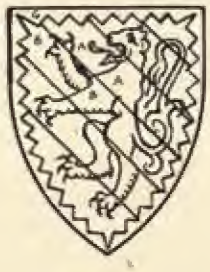


FIG. 4.

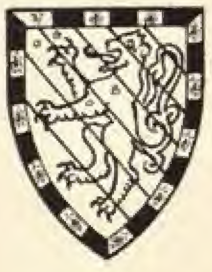


FIG. 5.

FIG. 1. Trazegnies (Armorial de Gelre). FIG. 2. Hembize (Frisian Campaign Roll, 1396). FIG. 3. Overbrakele (Bergmans Roll, 1562). FIG. 4. Florenville (Armorial d'Urfé, 15th century). FIG. 5. Cocqman (Gailliard's Armorial, *c.* 1557).

Catalogue des MSS de la Bibliothèque Royale à Bruxelles, vol. xii, Héraldique. The original manuscript is in the Royal Library at Brussels, MS. 15652–6. A facsimile edition, with hand-painted lithographs, was published by Victor Bouton: *Wapenboek ou Armorial de 1334 à 1372 . . . par Gelre Héraut d'Armes* . . ., Paris and Brussels, 4 vols., 1881–6. References are to this edition, a copy of which is in the British Museum.

[1] Pl. 104, no. 3; the mantling is gules, the chapeau gules turned up ermine, and the crest all white except for the gold collars.

[2] *Arch. Hér. Suisses*, vol. 60, 1946, p. 78. The manuscript, fonds franç. no. 5230, has lain in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris for nearly 300 years and was unknown and unnoticed until it came to the eyes of Dr. Adam, who is preparing a first instalment for publication in the *Archives Héraldiques Suisses*. It belonged at one time to the Sieur de Bellenville, that is Antoine de Beaulaincourt, Toison d'Or King of Arms, 1550–9. Some parts of this roll evidently preceded Gelre's work and were copied into that armorial.

[3] F. 39 *v*.

[4] Bellenville, f. 36*v*.; Gelre, pl. 98, no. 4, and pl. 152, no. 7. There are minor differences in the colouring of the two crests.

[5] Seal of Segher van Embise on a document of that date. De Raadt (ii, 60) blazons this as a lion with three bends over all and a plain border charged with fourteen roundels, but I take it that a shadow was intended, for in the roll of the Frisian Campaign of 1396 Sir Jehan de Hembize bears an ombre (see p. 131, n. 8). The shadow is also given in several later rolls (e.g. Tournoi de Lille 1438, and C. Gailliard, p. 39), as well as on sixteenth-century seals (de Raadt, iv, 473, 474).

[6] Bergmans Roll, no. 203, 'Les siegneurs de Overbrakele; leur surnom est de Imbiese', *Or the shadow of a lion with three bends azure over all, all in a border gules* (cf. p. 132, n. 1). A peculiar variant of this coat is given in the same roll for 'Imbiesen', no. 741, among the patricians ('nobles burgois') of Ghent; this is *Bendy of six pieces azure and or with a lion rampant argent over all and a border engrailed argent*. I suspect that this is an unfinished painting.

[7] Armorial d'Urfé. Dr. Adam considers this the fullest

Trazegnies bore *Gules two fish* (*barbel?*) *back to back or* with a quarter of Trazegnies.[1] Cornelius Gailliard also records the arms of 'La mayson surnomé Cocqman, d'or à troes bendes d'asur à l'umbrage de lyon sur le tout à la bordure componné d'ermynes et de sable'.[2] Nothing seems to be known of this family, but the arms are evidently a brisure of Trazegnies (fig. 5).

The other branches have died out, but the ghost is still borne by the Marquis de Trazegnies[3] (pl. XXVIII, *g*), and throughout the 500 or 600 years since its adoption it is represented by the outline of a lion.[4] To give but a few instances—it is so for 'le s^{r}. de Stenusse' in the *Armorial Equestre de la Toison d'Or*[5] and for 'Loys de Florainville' in the Armorial de Berry[6] (pl. XXVII, *l*), both of about 1450. It is so in the case of Jehan Baron de Trazegnies in the *Grand Armorial de la Toison d'Or* painted under the direction of Antoine de Beaulaincourt, Toison d'Or King of Arms from 1550 to 1559.[7] It is so again in a Belgian armorial of 1845.[8]

As to the motive behind the adoption of the ombre, it is to be observed that on the

---

and most important of the medieval French rolls. It is in blazon and dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century. It includes the following items: le sire de Trasegnies, bende d'or et d'asur à l'ombre d'un lion à la bordure de gueules, et crie Silly; Le sire de Cisoing, bende d'or et d'asur; Le sire de Steenhuse, telles armes à la bordure de gueules (another manuscript adds: à l'ombre de lion, et crie Silly); celui de Florenville, bende d'argent et d'asur à la bordure de gueules dentée à l'ombre d'un lion, et crie Silly. See also p. 134, n. 6 and p. 140, n. 1.

[1] His arms are so painted in an Armorial of the Order of St. Antoine de Barbefosse, in Hainaut (Bibl. Royale, Brussels, Goethals MS. 707, painted *c.* 1416–25). He was admitted to the Order in 1418. The arms on the main shield are doubtless his mother's. The lion-outline is clearly visible on the Trazegnies quarter. The same armorial contains another ghost: *Bendy gules and azure a lion in ombre*; this shield is not named. See a paper by Félix Hachez on the above manuscript in *Annales de l'Académie royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, vol. 55, 1903, pp. 93 seq.; for the above Michaut, see p. 110.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 58. Figs. 2–5 and 7–11 are my own interpretation of the arms; some of the rolls in question are in blazon only; in other cases no satisfactory photograph was available.

[3] Anseau de Trazegnies, who died in 1418 (brother of Ostes VIII), left a daughter and heiress, Anne, Dame de Trazegnies et de Silly. She married Arnou de Hamal and had by him a son, Anseau, Seigneur de Trazegnies, etc., who assumed his mother's name and arms and was the ancestor of the present Marquis de Trazegnies.

[4] So far as seals are concerned the ombre occurs in the inventories, in one branch or another, twenty-one times between 1374 and 1794, while only six seals are blazoned as bearing a lion *in corpore*, one fourteenth century, two fifteenth, two seventeenth, and one late eighteenth century. Even if the blazon correctly interprets the engraver's intention (and for reasons already indicated I doubt if it does) these six seals are not enough to vitiate the above statement.

[5] *Ancien Armorial Equestre de la Toison d'Or et de l'Europe au 15e siècle . . . reproduit d'après le MS. 4790 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, par Lorédan Larchey*, Paris, 1890. Larchey failed to recognize the shadow. On pl. 83 the arms are: *Bendy of six pieces or and azure in a plain border gules*, but the text (p. 194) says that 'un lion passant [*sic*] a été esquissé sur le tout mais le croquis n'a pas été peint'. The lion-outline is in fact rampant. In subsequent notes this manuscript is cited as: *Armorial Equestre*.

[6] *Armorial de France, Angleterre . . . composé vers 1450 par Gilles le Bouvier dit Berry Premier Roi d'Armes de Charles VII*, published, in part, by Vallet de Viriville, Paris, 1866. The original manuscript is in the Bibl. Nat., fonds franç. 4985. Cf. Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 54. De Viriville also (p. 132, no. 888) failed to recognize the shadow, for he blazons the coat 'd'argent à trois bandes d'azur, à la bordure engreslée de gueules, un lion de sable brochant sur le tout'. In the manuscript, however, there is only the outline of the lion, and Guichenon, in transcribing this roll (Arsenal MS. 4802, p. 56), blazons the entry thus: 'le s de florainville d'A à III bandes B sur le tout ung ombre de lyon et une bordure engrelée G'. See also 'Les Blasons Lorrains de l'Armorial de Gilles le Bouvier', by Pierre Marot (in *Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie lorraine*, vol. lxvii; reprint, Nancy, 1928); this (no. 43) also gives the ombre.

[7] The manuscript (apparently private property) was published in facsimile at Lille in 1911 by J. and M. van Driesten, see p. 129. In this painting the artist has gone rather beyond the bare outline of an earlier day. A similar, over-elaborated shadow is to be seen for Florainville, no. 171, in *Le Simple Crayon de la Noblesse de Lorraine*, by Mathieu Husson l'Escossois, Nancy, 1674; republished 1857.

[8] *Armorial de Belgique*, by Baron Isid de Stein d'Altenstein, 1845, pl. 157. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the shadow was sometimes converted into a sable lion, e.g. by d'Hozier (cited by Victor Bouton in *De l'ancienne Chevalerie de Lorraine*, 1861, p. 87) and St. Genois (*Armorial du Hainaut*, eighteenth century, published 1944).

death of Otto IV's elder brother, Gilles III, the lordship of Trazegnies and Silly passed to Gilles's only child Agnes (*ob.* 1287), and her husband Eustace du Roeulx became lord of Trazegnies in her right.[1] Such was the position when Otto is said to have worn the ombre at Compiègne, but by a family pact Agnes's children did not succeed to her domains[2] and by 1288 Trazegnies and Silly had come to Otto IV. The coincidence of these circumstances and those premised by Upton some 160 years later is striking, and if there was only Otto's shadow to account for, the 'lost property' theory might serve, absurd though it sounds to modern ears.[3] It seems, however, quite irrelevant to the later cases, and I have found nothing to account for the adoption of the ghostly lion by the Steenhuse and Hembize branches or by the fourteenth-century Trazegnies.[4]

III. MONPAULBON OR MONTPAON

Of the other named continental umbrae which have so far come to light all but one date from the fourteenth century and four of these are Dr. Adam's discoveries.[5] Another, Monpaulbon, was published by Dr. Galbreath in 1944.[6] This ghost is known only from the Berchem-Mayer armorial, a painted collection of arms dating in part from about 1390.[7] In this the coat, *Azure four bends or with the outline of a peacock over all*, is attributed to 'le S^{r} de monpaulbon gascon' (fig. 6). Monpaulbon almost certainly means Montpaon in Rouergue, and within the next half-century this ghost seems to have been embodied, for the Armorial de Berry attributes to Montpaon, *Quarterly azure and argent with a peacock over all.*[8]

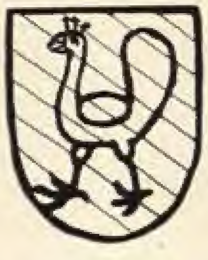


FIG. 6. Monpaulbon (Berchem-Mayer Armorial).

---

[1] In a deed of 1270 he styles himself Eustasses del Rues sires de Trasignies. He sealed that deed with the three lions of Roeulx, but the counterseal displays the Trazegnies bendy in a grailed border (de Raadt, iii, 252).

[2] E. Poncelet in *Biog. Nat. Belge*, vol. xxv, col. 591. As Agnes did not die until 1287 and the ombre had disappeared from her uncle's seal in 1284, it would seem that he must have dropped the charge on the death of Eustace du Roeulx, or perhaps when the pact was made. In 1279 (was this before the pact?) Agnes's second son Otto du Roeulx used the name Trazegnies and sealed with the arms of Trazegnies with a canton of Roeulx (Demay, no. 1662; cf. 'Le Roeulx, ses seigneurs . . .', by T. Lejeune in *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, vol. xxii, 1890, p. 229).

[3] The fact that there was no charge on the Trazegnies shield which could be reduced to a shadow is a difficulty, but perhaps not insuperable. If Otto IV was attracted by the idea he might well have conceived the notion of adding some charge for the purpose, and in that case what could be more appropriate than a lion? His grandfather used it as supporter, and it was borne by Brabant and Hainault, the two dynasts with whom the Trazegnies were most closely associated.

[4] Poncelet (*op. cit.*, col. 566) and Dr. Galbreath see in it a recurrence of Gilles II's supporter. That might explain the addition of a lion, but it would not account for the choice of its ghost.

[5] Courtraisin and the three Ghistelles cadets.

[6] *Arch. Hér. Suisses*, lviii, 81.

[7] The manuscript has also been referred to as Armorial Liégois de *c.* 1450. It belonged to the late Freiherr Egon von Berchem, and in 1944 to the German armorist Dr. Kurt Mayer. It appears to be of Liégois origin but includes arms from all over Europe.

[8] Edit. Vallet de Viriville, p. 155, no. 1169. It may be noted that L. de St. Maurice, seigneur de Montpaon (de Monte pavonis), used a peacock as a canting seal-device in 1298, and the local historians attribute to the family of St. Maurice: *Azure a peacock or with three estoiles argent in chief* (*Arch. Hér. Suisses*, *loc. cit.*). With regard to the bendy field in the Berchem-Mayer Roll, Dr. Adam has pointed out that in the Navarre Roll the Vicomte de Turenne bears *Bendy or and gules* (no. 1400, *Nouvelle Revue Héraldique*, 1947, pp. 53, 64), and he tells me that the Abbé l'Espine (Genealogical collections in the Bibl. Nat., Périgord 64, p. 687) thought that the Seigneurs de Montpaon might have sprung from the house of Turenne.

IV. COURTRAISIN, CUINGHIEN

The next example occurs in the so-called Dupuy Roll, which dates from the last quarter of the fourteenth century.[1] This blazons the arms of 'Sire Soyer de Courtrai, D'or à iiij chevrons de gueules à une ombre de lion' (fig. 7), and the same coat but with only three chevrons is painted in a Flemish armorial in the Royal Library at Brussels for 'Sohier de Courtray'.[2] This is evidently the Flemish family of the Courtraisins, sprung from the old castellans of Courtrai,[3] and Dr. Adam thinks that the individual in question must be Siger III, who died in 1394.[4] The lion was probably borrowed from the arms of his wife, Claire de Masmines, or of his grandmother, Oda de Rodes, whose family, Flemings, of Schelderode in the Pays d'Alost, held considerable lands in England in the thirteenth century, and whose arms are shown in various English rolls.[5]

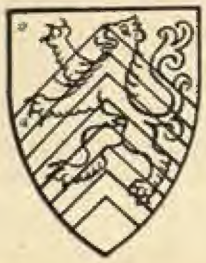


FIG. 7. Courtraisin (Dupuy Roll, *c.* 1400).

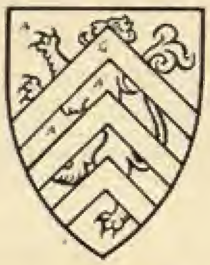


FIG. 8. Courtraisin (Bergmans Roll, 1562).

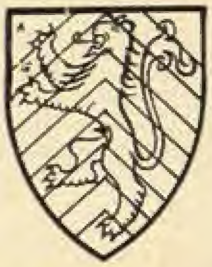


FIG. 9. De Gravynne (Gailliard's Armorial, *c.* 1557).

Two variants of that coat occur in the sixteenth century armorial published by Bergmans in 1919: no. 123, *Argent* [*sic*, for gold], *three chevrons gules*, 'Les armes de la très noble maison surnomé les Courteraisiens de Flandre, et ont aussy porté d'or à trois à quatre chevrons de gueule'; and no. 124, *Argent*, *the umbra of a lion with three chevrons gules over all*, 'Les Corteraisiens et ont cry Courtray au Harlebeke' (fig. 8).[6]

A very similar coat, 'd'argent à quatre chevrons de gueulle, le premier coupé, à l'ombre du lyon sur le tout' (fig. 9) is assigned by Cornelius Gailliard to 'Le seigneur de Gravynne près Deynze' (in East Flanders). He gives their war-cry as 'Quinghyen, Quinghien le Courtraeysien'.[1] The lords of Gravynne were of the family of Cuinghien, patricians of Ghent, who bore a silver shield with three or four chevrons of gules.[2] So far as is known, Cuinghien and Courtraisin were distinct families, but it is evident from the war-cries, to say nothing of the quasi-identity of their arms, that they came of the same stock.

---

[1] This is a collection of arms, mainly of Flemish patricians, interpolated in several manuscripts of the Flemish section of the Armorial d'Urfé, notably in MS. 259 of the Dupuy collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[2] Goethals MS. 674, an anonymous and rather poorly painted armorial, apparently dating from about the end of the fourteenth century.

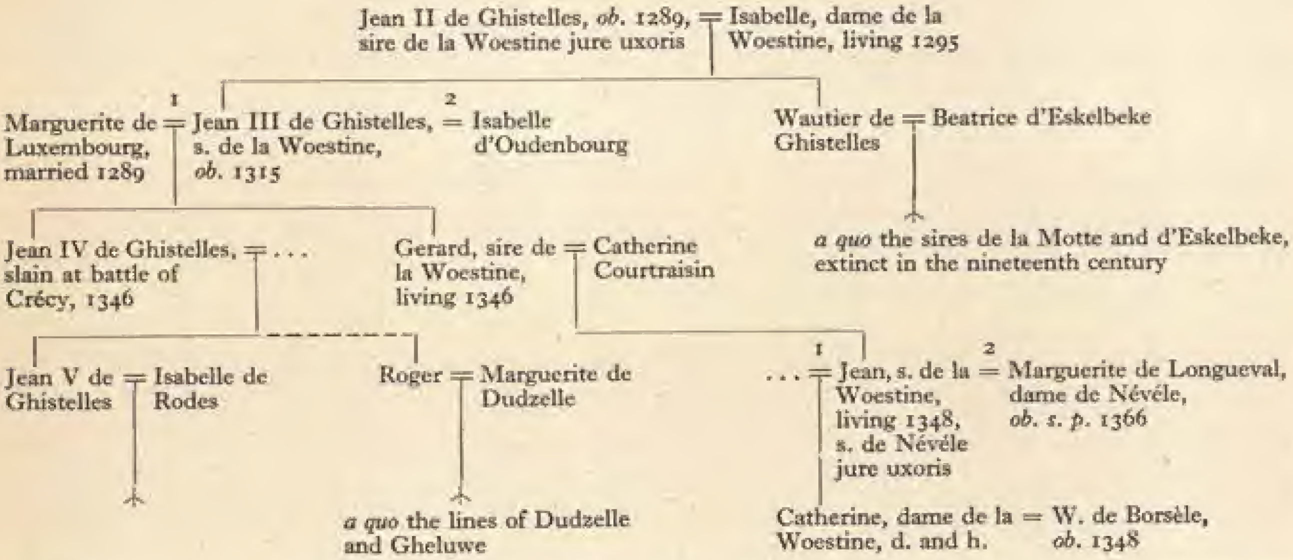
[3] The undifferenced coat of the Courtraisins, *Or, 3 alias 4 chevrons gules*, occurs in the Vermandois Roll, no. 796, and in the Armorial d'Urfé, no. 101.

[4] Siger le Courtroisin, leader of the anglophil party in Flanders and marshal of that county in 1326, married Oda de Rodes and was beheaded in 1337. The arms on his seal are chevronny of 8 pieces (Demay, *Sceaux des Archives de l'Empire*, no. 10367; de Raadt, ii, 271). His son and heir, Siger II, was Ruwart of Flanders in 1345 and adhered to Edward III in 1347. He died before 1350, leaving three sons, of whom Siger III, Sire de Melle and Grand Veneur de Flandre, married Claire de Masmines and died in 1394. On the genealogy of this family see de Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, pp. 786, 857.

[5] Camden Roll, *temp*. Ed. I, no. 77: 'Munsire William de Rodes lescu de asur od un leun rampant dor a une bende de gules' (*Genealogist*, iii, 263). The Dering Roll, *c.* 1270, for 'William de Rode' (*penes* Mr. A. R. Wagner, F.S.A.; cf. *Reliquary*, xvii, 16) and the FitzWilliam Roll of similar date, no. 376, for 'de Rode' (Soc. Ant. MS. 664, roll 11; *Genealogist*, N.S. iv, 21), both give *Azure, a lion or*. The de Masmines were of de Rode stock; they cried 'Rode', and bore the de Rode lion differenced with a fleur-de-lis gules (Gelre, f. 81; *Armorial Equestre*, pls. xv and lxxxiv, no. 5; Bergmans Roll, no. 86).

[6] Gailliard, p. 16, gives: 'Le Seigneur de Courtraey, d'or à cinq chevrons, le premier coupé, tout de gueulle, et crye Haerlebeque, Haerlebeque.'

V. GHISTELLES CADETS


Jean II de Ghistelles, *ob.* 1289, sire de la Woestine jure uxoris
Isabelle, dame de la Woestine, living 1295
1
2
Marguerite de Luxembourg, married 1289
Jean III de Ghistelles, s. de la Woestine, *ob.* 1315
Isabelle d'Oudenbourg
Wautier de Ghistelles
Beatrice d'Eskelbeke
Jean IV de Ghistelles, slain at battle of Crécy, 1346
. . .
Gerard, sire de la Woestine, living 1346
Catherine Courtraisin
a quo the sires de la Motte and d'Eskelbeke, extinct in the nineteenth century
Jean V de Ghistelles
Isabelle de Rodes
Roger
Marguerite de Dudzelle
. . .
1
2
Jean, s. de la Woestine, living 1348, s. de Névéle jure uxoris
Marguerite de Longueval, dame de Névéle, *ob. s. p.* 1366
a quo the lines of Dudzelle and Gheluwe
Catherine, dame de la Woestine, d. and h.
W. de Borsèle, *ob.* 1348

Ombres were also borne by two or three cadets of the Ghistelles family, who wore *Gules, a chevron ermine*.[3] Two of these are in the Bellenville Roll to which I have already referred.[4] The one, *Gules, a chevron ermine with the outlines of two millrind crosses in chief and a label over all* (fig. 10 and pl. XXVII, *i*), is attributed to 'Van Woestinen'. The other, *Gules, a chevron ermine between the ghosts of three molets* (fig. 11), is

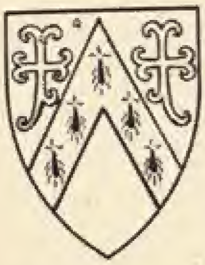


FIG. 10. Woestine (Bellenville Roll, *c.* 1370).

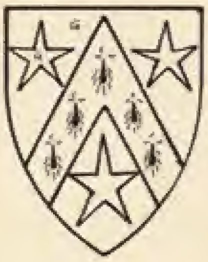


FIG. 11. Esklebecke.

---

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

[2] Armorial d'Urfé, *c.* 1400: 'Celui de Quingien, d'argent à iij chevrons de gueules et crie: Courtray'; Assignies Roll, f. 15; Bergmans Roll, no. 259: 'Les Siegneurs de Quinghien', *Argent, four chevrons gules*, no. 673 'Coyeghem', *chevronny of nine argent and gules*; Gailliard, p. 43: 'Le Seigneur de Quynghyen: d'argent à quatre chevrons, le premier coupé, de gueulle, et crye: Quynghyen, Quynghyen l'amoureulx.'

[3] 'Le seigneur de Ghystelles de gueulle au chevron d'ermynes, et crye son nom' (Gailliard, p. 22); also Gelre, f. 80; Navarre Roll, no. 1177; Tournoi de Compiègne, 221; *Armorial Equestre*, pls. 83, 84; and many other rolls.

[4] Ff. 36 *v*, 37 *v*

named 'Sire de Hekelbeec'. The third example is in the Armorial de Gelre, where Die He' van Nevel bears *Gules, a chevron ermine between the umbrae of three millrind crosses*.[1] The above pedigree shows the connexion between these branches.[2]

The 'Sire de Hekelbeec' in the Bellenville Roll must be Wautier,[3] founder of the line of Eskelbeke and de la Motte, or perhaps his son or grandson. The molets were evidently taken from the arms of Wautier's wife, Beatrice d'Eskelbeke, who bore *Gules, three molets argent*. I know of no reason why they should have been borne *en ombre*, and in fact they seem to have been turned into silver molets almost at once, for they are so depicted in the Armorial de Gelre,[4] which, as stated before, is of much the same date as the Bellenville Roll.

The Woestine-Névéle ghosts may have lasted somewhat longer, but even they seem to have been embodied by about 1400, for the Armorial d'Urfé assigns to 'le sire de Wostines les armes de Ghistelles à iij croisettes d'argent recroisettées'.[5]

'Die He' van Nevel' in Gelre's Roll must be the Jean de Ghistelles, sire de la Woestine, who married as his second wife Marguerite de Longueval, dame de Névéle. He held the lordship of Névéle in her right and he was the only Ghistelles who did so, for he had no issue by her. In the Bellenville Roll 'Van Woestinen' may be meant for him, but the presence of the label suggests a brother or uncle.

The Woestine branch was founded by Jean's father, Gerard, a grandson of Jean II de Ghistelles by Isabelle de la Woestine,[6] and it was evidently from her arms, *Gules, a millrind cross argent*,[7] that the crosslets were taken as brisure of this line. Two of Isabelle's seals are illustrated by Limburg Stirum[8] (fig. 12). The one bears her portrait flanked by two shields each charged with a cross moline and has four like crosses in the field. The other displays a shield of Woestine dimidiating the Ghistelles chevron,[9] but in this case the cross is disjointed and resembles that in pl. XXVII, *a* above save that the members are appreciably heavier. Is that why Jean de Ghistelles bore the crosslets *en ombre?* It may be, but I am also tempted to see a Courtraisin influence in the ombres. Not only was Jean's mother a Courtraisin, but, though this is going very far back, his wife Marguerite de Longueval also had a Courtraisin connexion, her mother Marguerite de Mortagne-Névéle having inherited the latter lordship from an heiress of the old castellans of Courtrai, the very stock whence came the Courtraisins.

---

[1] F. 80v. This coat was observed by Dr. Adam on a recent visit to Brussels. Bouton's 'facsimile' (pl. xcv, no. 5) omits the umbrae.

[2] I give this with all reserve. It is based on *Le Chambellan de Flandre et les Sires de Ghistelles*, by T. Comte de Limburg Stirum, Gand, 1868 (see pedigree opp. p. 186, and text *passim*). The book appears to be well documented, but since this paper was written Dr. Adam has pointed out that the pedigree differs in many respects from the versions of such reputable Low Country genealogists as Scohier and Blondel de Joigny, whose works I have not seen.

[3] Uncle of Gerard de la Woestine according to Limburg Stirum, great-nephew according to others.

[4] Pl. 99, no. 15. Cf. Dupuy Roll 119, Wouter de Ghistelles', 'de Ghistelles accompagné de iij étoiles d'argent'; Bergmans Roll, no. 51, 'Messire Wouter de Ghistelles, and no. 56, 'Les siegneurs de la Mote, surnom est de Ghistelles', *Gules, a chevron ermine between three spur-revels argent*; Demay, *Sceaux de la Picardie*, no. 354, seal of Jean de Ghistelles, 1366, *a chevron ermine between three molets*.

[5] Cf. Gailliard, p. 58, 'Le seigneur de Ansebeque, de gueulle au chevron d'ermynes à troes croes ancré d'argent sur le gueulle, et crye: Ghystelles, Ghystelles'. Bergmans Roll, no. 55, gives the arms of 'Les siegneurs de Geelue, leur surnom fut de Ghistelles' as *Gules, a chevron ermine between three millrind crosses argent*. The Gheluwe branch had only a collateral connexion with the Woestine line, although both were descended from Jean II and Isabelle de la Woestine. Limburg Stirum gives, p. 155, the brisures borne by sundry Ghistelles cadets at the end of the fourteenth century, but neither there nor in his other allusions to the Woestine and Eskelbeke lines does he say anything of an ombre.

[6] So Limburg Stirum; others make him their son.

[7] Gailliard, p. 14, 'Le seigneur du pays de la Woestyne, de gueulle à la crois ancré d'argent, et crye: Woestyne, Woestyne'. The earlier armorials give no coat for Woestine. In the Fitzwilliam (*alias* Planché's) Roll, *c.* 1300, are the arms of 'Sir de Wuncein', *Gules, a chevron ermine*, and 'Henri sun frere', the same *with a label azure* (*Genealogist*, N.S., iv, 21, nos. 390, 391, and vi, 225). The former is the undifferenced coat of Ghistelles and may be meant for Gerard's father, Jean III de Ghistelles, who was sire de la Woestine jure matris. Limburg Stirum does not mention any Henri de Ghistelles about that date.

[8] Pl. xi, opp. p. 124.

[9] Note that precedence is given to her paternal coat.

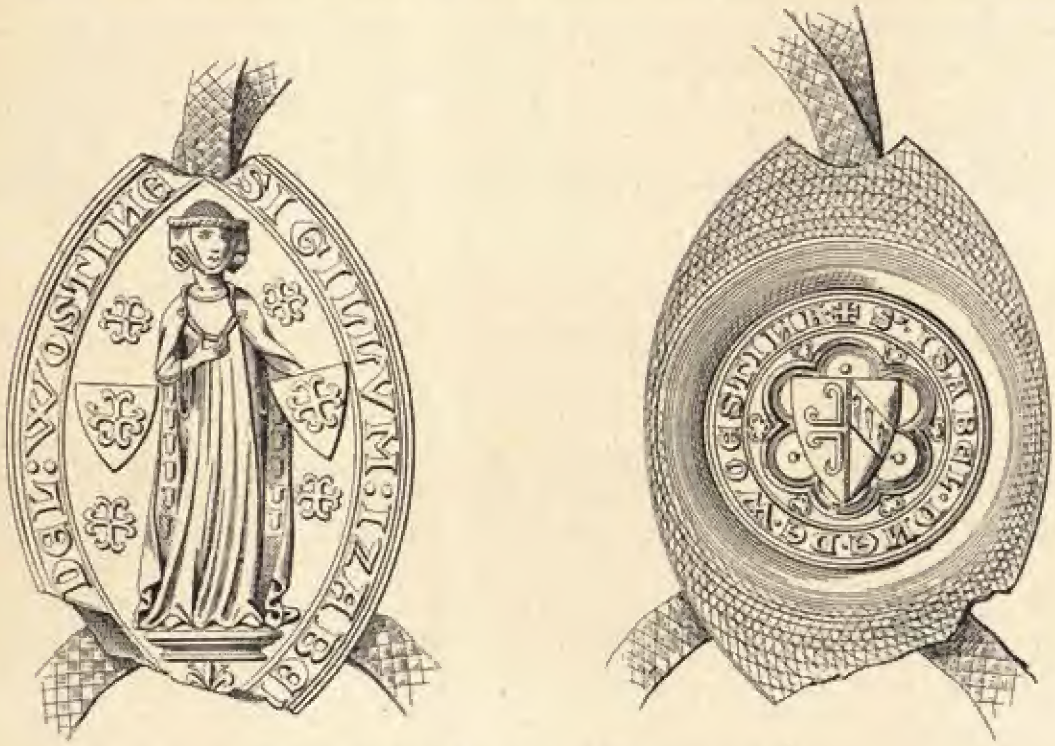


FIG. 12. Seals of Isabelle de la Woestine, *c.* 1290.

Considering the early embodiment of both the Woestine crosses and the Eskelbeke molets, I was at first tempted to regard their outlines as no more than unfinished drawings, but after a careful examination of the roll I am emphatic that that is not so. The Bellenville artist used transparent colours, and the painting of the field only reaches to the edge of the charges, which in unfinished paintings are left plain white. In gouache painting, on the other hand, the whole shield is first painted with the field colour and the charges painted over that with a thick, opaque pigment. In these two shields the red of the field covers the crosses and molets which are only represented by black outlines drawn over the red field. It is clear, therefore, that these are not unfinished coats, but that the charges in question were deliberately left in outline. Drs. Adam and Galbreath share my opinion.

At this point I must mention two shields in Gelre's Armorial which at first sight look like ombres, but the Gelre artist used gouache colours, and it is almost certain that these are only unfinished coats. One of these shields, Pendrecht (pl. 108, no. 3), appears in the manuscript as *Argent semy of umbrated billets, a fess gules.* Bouton blazons this, 'billetty gules', and that is no doubt correct. The other, pl. 48, no. 5, is the coat of Mornay. The arms of Mornay are well known: *Burely argent and gules, a lion sable.* Gelre only shows the ghost of the lion, that is an outline within which the barry field is seen. This looks like an interesting variant intermediate between the two Mornay coats given in the Armorial de Berry, the one, no. 178, the usual coat with the sable lion, and the other, no. 115, burely argent and gules without any lion. It is, however, pretty clear that Gelre's version is wrong; he was probably misled by the Armorial de Bellenville, where the shield is unfinished, the lion being drawn in outline but left plain white.

Another shield which appears to contain an ombre is in the British Museum MS. Egerton 1908, f. 18 *v*: 'Les armes de Mastaing', *Gules, a fess with a narrow dance in chief, both gold, and the outline of a couped cross on the fess.*[1] Dr. Galbreath, who brought this manuscript to my notice, regards this as an unfinished painting, for a plain cross couped was used as a brisure in that family.

VI. PREMARIN

This, the only Italian example, was brought to my notice by our Fellow, Sir George Hill. The usual coat of Premarin is *Undy argent and azure with a chief gules*, but Coronelli's Venetian Armorials[2] also give the coat in pl. XXIX, *d*.[3] As they stand, the outlines of the fishes are much too heavy for shadows; nevertheless it is as 'ombre' that they should be blazoned. *Ombra*, besides being the Italian for ghost or shadow, is also a local name for a large fish common in the Mediterranean,[4] and it seems clear that this coat plays on the two meanings of the word. Choosing fish in allusion to the name Premarin, its composer gutted them to show that they were *ombre*. The coat may perhaps be blazoned: *Azure the ombres of three ombre or.*

VII. SCHWARZACH

It may be that the coat of Schwarzach in the Zürich Roll,[5] *c.* 1330, reveals yet another ghost. The portion of the roll which contained this coat has been lost, and its contents are only known from copies. Of these the Aulendorfer copy gives it as: *Argent on a fess azure two fish hauriant.* This copy dates from the first half of the sixteenth century and translates the arms into the fashion of that day.[6] It is less accurate than the eighteenth-century copy by Hans Conrad Bernhauser (1698–1761), which is a facsimile, excellent and reliable save for an occasional small detail as is shown by a comparison with the extant portion of the roll. This copy makes the fess green and sets the fish horizontally, i.e. naiant (pl. XXIX, *f*), a more plausible attitude than that of the Aulendorfer copy. The crest is two buffalo horns painted as the shield, with one fish on each horn. In both copies the fish are merely drawn in black, the colour of the fess showing between the lines. They are, however, drawn with considerable elaboration, and are very far from the mere outline of later ombres.[1] Apart from that, the disagreement between the two copies as to the attitude of the fish[2] suggests either that one of the copyists was very lax, or that the shield was badly damaged when one or both of the copies were made. In either case corroboration is necessary before the fish can be admitted with any certainty as ghosts.

---

[1] This manuscript appears to date from *c.* 1460–80 and was probably compiled in the Low Countries. It contains the following Trazegnies ghosts: f. 4*v*, 'Les armes de trasegnies bende dor et dazur a ung ombre de lion sur le tout et la bordure endente de gueulle'; the border is drawn engrailed; f. 18, 'Les armes de Floreville', *Bendy of six argent and azure, an ombre de lion in a border engrailed gules*; f. 99 *v*, 'Silly' (a Trazegnies lordship), *Bendy of six or and azure, with a lion in ombre and a plain border gules.* The two latter items are not blazoned. The comtes de Mastaing were of the family of Jauche, whose undifferenced coat occurs on f. 4 *v*, 'Les armes de Gomegnies de gueulle a la fece dor et wibre dor sur le chief'.

[2] *Armi ò Blasoni dei Patritij Veneti, Co' Nomi di quelli, che per l'Età si trouano capaci* . . ., Venice, 1694; and *Blasone Veneto, o Gentilizie Insegne delle Famiglie Patrizie, Oggi esistenti in Venezia*, 1706.

[3] A search of Sir G. Hill's extensive collections on Italian heraldry has failed to produce any other mention of this coat, or any clue to the date of its adoption.

[4] *Sciaena aquila*, the maigre or meager, also called *ombria* and *umbrina di canale* (Hoare's *Italian Dictionary*).

[5] *Die Wappenrolle von Zürich*, edit. Drs. Merz and Hegi, Zürich, 1930. See no. 516 and pl. XXV. The coat is unnamed but has been identified by the editors.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. lxvi, and foot of pl. XXVII.

VIII. SCROPE

Here in England I have found no specimen of the ombre before the second decade of the fifteenth century. In one of the clerestory windows in York Minster, the third from the west, on the north side of the choir, there are seven shields bearing the arms of Scrope, two in the tracery and five at the foot of the window. One of those in the tracery displays the arms of Archbishop Scrope and does not concern us for the moment. The other bears Scrope impaling Wells (*Or a sable lion with forked tail*), while the five shields at the foot of the window all bear the single coat of Scrope (fig. 13). In all these six shields the golden bend is charged with the black outline or umbra of a leopard or lion *passant guardant*. Moreover, three of the lower shields have a small difference mark, annulet, crescent, and fleur-de-lis respectively, charged on the lion's shoulder,[3] whilst one observer detected a trefoil on one of the others.[4] The presence of the arms of Wells impaled on the tracery shield and of these difference marks on the others shows that they were

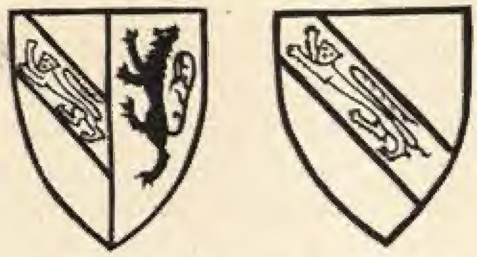


FIG. 13. Shields of Scrope in York Minster, (*a*) Sir Stephen, 2nd Lord Scrope of Masham, and his wife Margaret Wells; (*b*) Sir Henry, 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham.

---

[1] At least in Bernhauser's copy, the relevant portion of which is reproduced by Drs. Merz and Hegi. I have not seen the Aulendorfer copy. This elaboration is not conclusive. The Trazegnies lion in the *Grand Armorial de la Toison d'Or* is just as elaborate and that is undoubtedly an ombre.

[2] Doubt as to the colour of the fess, blue or green, seems less significant.

[3] John Browne, *The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York*, London, 1847, pp. 238–9, and *A Description of the Glass in the Windows of York Minster*, York, 1859, pp. 222, 226, 227, 249; A. P. Purey-Cust, *Heraldry of York Minster*, vol. i, Leeds, 1890, pl. i, and pp. 82, 95–6, 99; J. W. Knowles, *Historical Notes on the Stained Glass in York Cathedral* (1920), manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum library 86 H 10, pp. 513 seq.; Rev. F. Harrison, 'The West Choir Clerestory Windows in York Minster', in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxvi, 1922, p. 361 seq. The five lower shields are tricked in Sir W. Dugdale's *Yorkshire Arms* (manuscript in College of Arms), f. 96*b*, but without any lion on the bends. In the *Description* Browne draws all the lions with their heads in profile, but in the *History* he speaks of them as guardant, and both J. W. Knowles, who examined the shields at close quarters, and Dean Purey-Cust agree with that blazon. It has not been possible to inspect the glass as this was removed for safety during the war. The opportunity was, however, taken to have it cleaned and photographed, and Canon Harrison was good enough to show me the photograph of the most legible of these shields. After 500 years' exposure the glass is badly corroded and it is not easy to say what the marks on the bend represent, but after a very careful examination I came to the conclusion that it is in fact, as earlier writers said, the outline of a lion with the head turned full-face or guardant. With this conclusion both Canon Harrison and our Fellow Mr. J. A. Knowles concur.

[4] J. W. Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 514. He says that he himself took the difference marks from the ledge outside the window in July 1894.

intended to represent Sir Stephen Scrope, 2nd Lord Scrope of Masham, and his wife, Margery, daughter of John Lord Wells, with their five sons, Sir Henry, 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham, and his younger brothers. It is, however, remarkable that there is nothing else to suggest that the ombre was borne either by Sir Stephen or by any of his younger sons. Indeed, the little evidence there is points in the opposite direction. Geoffrey Scrope, a second son of Scrope of Bolton, who bought Masham at the beginning of the fourteenth century, took as his difference a silver label, and *Azure a bend or with a label argent* was borne by the successive heads of the Masham branch.[1] This is the coat displayed on Sir Stephen's seal[2] (pl. XXVIII, *h*), and a bend with a label in chief adorned the brass in York Minster to the memory of his fourth son William, archdeacon of Durham, who died in 1463.[3] On the other hand, we know that Sir Stephen's eldest son, Henry, 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham, K.G., Treasurer of England and intimate friend of Henry IV and Henry V, did charge his bend with the shadow of a lion for the last few years of his life.

Having contracted to lead a contingent on the Agincourt expedition, Sir Henry made his will in June 1415, when he was at Southampton waiting to embark for France. A few weeks later he was arrested for plotting against the king, adjudged guilty of treason, and beheaded.[4] The will[5] is a most interesting document. At the very beginning he directs that his effigy was to be set on his tomb and that it was to be 'armata in Armis meis cum Umbra Leonis in le Bende prout vivens utor'—armed in my arms with the shadow of a lion on the bend as used during my lifetime. Somewhat lower down comes a clause bequeathing to Louthpark Abbey two copes 'cum armis meis antiquis'—with my old arms; and by another clause, towards the end, Lord Scrope bequeathed to his heir certain silver plate worked 'cum armis meis quibus utor de novo'—the arms which I have been using of late—and also certain discs which had belonged to his father and which were emblazoned with his arms—'cum armis suis'. 'Arma quibus utor de novo' evidently means the coat with the 'umbra leonis', and so we have this contrasted with his father's arms on the one hand and with his own old arms on the other. This confirms that Sir Stephen did not use the shadow-charged bend and shows that Sir Henry himself at first bore some other coat, presumably the usual Masham coat with the silver label.[6]

The will is silent as to when and why Sir Henry changed his arms, but the answer seems clear. In the autumn of 1411, a bare four years before he made his will, Lord Scrope married into the royal family, taking as his second wife Joan Holland, sister and co-heiress of Edmond, earl of Kent, and widow of Edmond of Langley, duke of York. That surely was both the occasion when and the reason why he discarded the label and threw the shadow of a leopard across his shield. Whether this was one of the royal beasts specially granted to him as a mark of kingly favour, or whether it was taken *proprio motu* from Lady Scrope's arms, England in a silver border, no one can now say. In either case the idea of setting the beast on the bend was probably suggested by the fact that, a century before, his namesake, Sir Henry of Bolton, chief justice of the King's Bench, brother of the Geoffrey who founded the line of Masham, had charged his bend with the purple lion of Lacy (pl. XXVIII, *i*) in token of his close friendship with the last Lacy, earl of Lincoln.[1] Nor can Lord Scrope have been unconscious of the fact that a mere outline of a leopard would be much less conspicuous than the label, and would be the least possible blemish on the family arms, arms which not thirty years before had been the subject of the famous suit against Sir Robert Grosvenor.

---

[1] Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, 1832, ii, 98, 119, 132, etc. Brit. Mus. seals 13353, 13367, 13377.

[2] Brit. Mus. seal 13367.

[3] Sir William Dugdale's 'Yorkshire Arms' (MS. in Col. Arm.), f. 115*b*.

[4] See *D.N.B.*, Nicolas, *op. cit.*, etc.

[5] Rymer, ix, 272; Nicolas, *op. cit.*, p. 142 seq.

[6] Before his father's death in 1406 the label would be gobony, see below.

But if it be a fact that the umbra was only added to Sir Henry's shield on his marriage to Joan Holland, how is it that it appears in the York window on the shields of his father and brothers? The Minster records are silent as to both donor and date of the window, but its style is consonant with an early or mid-fifteenth-century date. Now, I have already said that one of the two shields in the tracery is that of Sir Henry's uncle, Archbishop Scrope, and he was executed for treason in 1405. Chancellor Harrison, whose work on the York glass is so well known, thought it unlikely that the dean and chapter would have dared to insert his arms and those of other members of his family after the archbishop's execution. He therefore thought that the window must have been erected either before 1405 (that part of the choir was built about 1400) or else much later.[2] There is, however, another possibility. Sir Henry, as we have seen, was in high favour with both Henry IV and Henry V, and I suggest that he was the donor, and further that it was at once to emphasize that fact and to stress his own connexion with the royal house that he antedated the shadow of the leopard and attributed it to his father and brothers. On the facts known to us that seems the only possible explanation.

In addition to this glass there are three other representations of the arms of Scrope where the bend is charged with what I take to be Sir Henry's *umbra leonis*. All three are carved in stone. One is in York Minster on the wall of the choir. The other two are in the cathedral cloisters at Canterbury. The beast on the York shield is a leopard, but instead of being in outline it is carved in full relief. From its position near the Scrope window the shield must be meant for Sir Henry, but the shadow is, as Dean Purey-Cust observed, a very substantial one,[3] doubtless because the carver did not know of the outline convention. The beast is also in relief on the two shields at Canterbury, but here it is a lion, not a leopard (pl. XXIX, *a*). Willement blazoned these shields: *Azure on a bend or a lion passant sable*, and assigned the coat to Scrope without any comment.[4] Ralph Griffin,[5] after quoting Willement, observed that this shield with a black lion on the bend is assigned by Papworth to the 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham. That is true, but Papworth[1] gives no authority and the statement cannot be accepted as it stands; either the coat is wrongly attributed, or, as is more likely, the sable lion is a misreading of the umbra. Griffin, however, accepted Papworth's statement and capped that mistake by confusing Sir Henry's *umbra leonis* with the Lacy lion borne by his namesake a century earlier, for he added that the lion is sometimes coloured purple instead of black, and purple it was painted at the recent restoration of the cloisters.[2]

---

[1] Nicolas, i, 98, and ii, 14, 17, etc.; Nativity Roll no. 9; Parliamentary Roll no. 1078; Cook's Ordinary, *temp.* Ed. III (Phillipps MS. 26463 *penes* Mr. A. R. Wagner): Brit. Mus. seal 13358; C. H. Hunter-Blair, *Durham Seals* (Soc. Ant. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1911–21, and reprint), no. 2200 and pl. 23; cf. *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser., iii, 244. This purple lion was, however, borne in chief, a fact which was brought out very clearly by the prior of Guisborough, one of Lord Scrope's witnesses in his case against Sir R. Grosvenor. In the course of his evidence the prior blazoned the coat; 'dazure ove un bende dor ove un petit lyoncelle de purpir en le caunton descu paramont sur le bende' (Nicolas, i, 98).

[2] *Op.* and *loc. cit.*

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

[4] *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, London, 1827, pp. 111, 112, nos. 398 and 419.

[5] 'The Heraldry in the Cloisters of the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury', in *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 1915, pp. 517, 519, and pl. 40, fig. 11. A complete set of the photographs taken at that time (before the shields were cleaned and painted) is preserved in a copy of that paper in the Society's library. Pl. XXIX, *a*, *b*, *c* have been reproduced from these photographs.

It might be thought that these two shields were intended for the chief justice, but it is far more likely that Lord Scrope of Masham was meant. In the first place the lion on both these shields, like Sir Henry's umbra in York Minster, is set in the middle of the bend, whereas the chief justice bore his purple lioncel in chief.[3] In the second place there are two other shields in the cloisters which can only be for our Sir Henry. The one, no. 261, displays a bend with a gobony label in chief, quartering three piles (pl. XXIX, *b*). The other, no. 769, has a bend impaling three leopards in a plain border (pl. XXIX, *c*). The former must commemorate Sir Henry's first marriage, to Philippa, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Guy de Brian, who wore *Or three piles meeting in base gules*. Philippa died in 1406, only a few months after Sir Henry succeeded to the title, so his bend is differenced by the gobony label[4] which was the usual brisure of the eldest sons of Masham, the plain silver label being appropriated to the head of that line. The second shield must commemorate Sir Henry's second marriage, to Joan Holland, but it is remarkable because there is neither label nor lion on the bend. The shield displays the whole and undifferenced coat of Scrope of Bolton, a coat to which Sir Henry had no right whatever. Is it possible that the bend was originally painted with the outline of a lion and that that disappeared long since?

IX. BOYNTON

Sir Henry died without issue and after his execution the umbra leonis disappeared from the Scrope armory.[5] It is, however, found on the shield of an allied family. About the middle of the fifteenth century Sir Christopher Boynton, of Sedbury in the North Riding of Yorkshire, took to wife Agnes Scrope, daughter of the 4th Lord Scrope of Bolton (*ob.* 1459) by his first wife Elizabeth, who was a niece of the 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham.[6] The arms of Boynton are given in Willement's Roll, *c.* 1395, as: *Or, a fesse and three crescents gules*,[7] but a century later, in a collection of arms and pedigrees of northern families dating from about 1490 to 1500, the arms of

---

[1] p. 225.

[2] A. W. B. Messenger, F.S.A., *The Heraldry of Canterbury Cathedral*, Canterbury, 1947, p. 110. Mr. J. A. Knowles, F.S.A., tells me that the lion on the similar shield in York Minster is now painted brown.

[3] See p. 143, n. 1. The fact that the charge is a lion might be thought to point to the chief justice, but in early heraldry the distinction between lions and leopards was not strictly observed.

[4] Both Griffin and Messenger blazon this as a label with two billets on each pendant, but as the 'billets' stretch right across the pendants I take 'gobony' to be the better blazon even though the fillet is of a single colour.

[5] Thomas 6th Lord Scrope of Masham used the label as difference on his seal (Brit. Mus. no. 13377). He was grandson of Sir Henry's brother and successor, John.

[6] Both Elizabeth and her daughter were alive in 1498, but Sir Christopher, Agnes's first husband, must have died fifteen years or more before that, for her second husband, Sir Richard Radclyffe, was slain at Bosworth in 1485 (Nicolas, *op. cit.*, p. 59).

[7] No. 339.

Boynton of 'Sadbury' are blazoned 'topace a vng fesse entre trois croissantes ruby et sus la dite fesse vng lion en vmbre'.[1]

When I alluded to this coat in the *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* some years ago I suggested that the ghostly lion was first taken by Sir Christopher on his marriage to Agnes Scrope, and that it was a hark-back to Sir Henry's umbra.[2] That may be so, but since I have had an opportunity of examining the original manuscripts I feel very doubtful. Whereas the other copies of the above visitation, if I may use the word, merely blazon the arms at the head of the pedigree, the oldest version—if not the original, it is an almost contemporary copy[3]—has a shield of arms tricked above each of the principal individuals, and these show the shadow not only for Agnes Scrope's husband, but also for his father and grandfather.[4] If that attribution is correct, the Boynton shadow must go back to the early years of the century and be contemporary with the Scrope umbra and with the Flemish examples recited above, but in that event the reason for its adoption is still to seek.[5]

This same coat with the shadow of a lion on the fesse was recorded to the family by Thomas Tonge, Norroy, on his Visitation of the Northern Counties in 1530. Three copies of that visitation are in the Heralds' College, one painted and two in trick. In each of these the arms are depicted twice, once at the head of the Boynton pedigree and once impaled by Gascoyne for Sir Christopher's granddaughter Elizabeth and her husband Henry Gascoyne.[6] In the painted version the lion is drawn in outline in both cases, but whereas on the Boynton pedigree the outline is in black ink (pl. XXIX, *e*), on the Gascoyne pedigree it is most carefully and neatly drawn with yellow paint[7] (pl. XXIX, *g*). This yellow outline directly contravenes the rule laid down by the early armorists and is a sort of half-way house to the golden lion which replaces the outline in some manuscripts.

The other two copies of this visitation are, as I have said, in trick, but to obviate any possibility of the outline being mistaken for an ordinary lion passant the copyists have written the word 'vmbre' against it.[8]

---

[1] The collection was edited by Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair in 1930 for the Surtees Society, vol. cxliv. In addition to the copies described in the introduction to that volume, p. xi seq., two copies have since been identified in the College of Arms. One of these, M4, ff. 99–131, is either the original or an almost contemporary copy; the other, E7, is of much later date. The collection is clearly the work of a skilled herald, and may perhaps be attributed to Christopher Carlill, Norroy King of Arms 1493–1510 (see Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 106). The Boynton pedigree is on f. 135 of M4 and f. 75 of E7. Many pedigrees from this collection were copied into the Norcliffe MS. printed by the Harleian Society, vol. xvi, as *The Visitation of Yorkshire 1563 and 1564* (see p. 34 for Boynton).

[2] Vol. liii, 1939, p. 119.

[3] Col. Arm. MS. M4, f. 135.

[4] The pedigree is headed by his great-grandfather, Sir Thomas, but he is given no arms, although we know from Willement's Roll that he bore the fesse uncharged.

[5] Does it refer to the manor of Sedbury? This belonged to the Scropes of Masham until the early part of the fifteenth century (*V.C.H.*, *West Riding of Yorks.* i, 79), and it seems to have passed to the Boyntons before Sir Christopher's marriage to Agnes Scrope, for one pedigree at least styles his father 'of Sadbery'.

[6] Col. Arm. MSS. D4, ff. 32*b*, 51; D9, ff. 16*b*, 30*b*; E6, ff. 26*b* (20) and 14 (8). See also Surtees Society, xli, 42.

[7] The shadow-outline is also painted yellow in the Heralds' MS. L10, f. 84*b*, which is little if any later than Tonge's Visitation. This manuscript does not blazon the arms, but another manuscript of similar date, L1, f. 34, says 'Boynton of Sudbery beryth gold on a fece betwene thre cressantes geules a lyon in umbre'; the lion is, however, omitted from the accompanying painting. Similarly, Thomas Wall's Book of Arms (MS. *penes* Soc. Ant.), which was compiled in the very year Tonge visited the north country, 1530, blazons the arms 'gold a fesse betwene thre cresantes geules on the fesse a Lion passant in umbre'. In Smith's Ordinary, compiled by William Smith, Rouge Dragon, in 1599 (Coll. Arm. MS. E.D.N. 22, f. 53*v*.) the arms of Sir T. Bointon de Aclom in Cliveland in co. Ebor.' are tricked with a 'leo in umbra' passant on the fess.

[8] The omission of this word from the Boynton pedigree in E6, f. 14 (8) I take to be inadvertent.

It is impossible to doubt that the ombre of a lion is intended in each of these three manuscripts, but in two other manuscripts in the College the Boynton lion is tricked 'or' with no mention of 'vmbre'.[1] As the entries in question are no more than copies of those recorded by Tonge in 1530, it is probable that these are mere blunders on the part of clerks who did not know what to make of the 'vmbre'. The change is, however, noteworthy, for when Robert Glover made a Visitation of Yorkshire in 1584, as deputy for his father-in-law William Flower, Norroy, he entered the arms with a gold lion on the fesse, a whole lion, not a shadow.[2] The lion was afterwards dropped and in the 1666 Visitation the fesse is bare of all charges.[3] In all the above manuscripts the beast, whether shadow or solid, is a lion with the head in profile, and not a leopard as borne by Lord Scrope. It is a lion also on the tombstone of Sir Henry Boynton and his wife Isabel Lumley in Gilling church,[4] but in this case it is carved in relief.

X. A BEAUCHAMP QUARTERING

Among the quarterings of Beauchamp of Binnerton which Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux, entered at the 1531 Visitation of Cornwall[5] is this: *Sable ermined argent with the umbra of a stag's head caboshed* (pl. XXIX, *h*). The field of this coat being black, the outline of the head is drawn in white. I have failed to find for whom this quarter was borne. It appears again in the 1620 Visitation, but there the field seems to have been changed to ermine although the head remains sable ermined argent.[6]

XI. FILKYN AND WINNINGTON

As to the arms of Filkyn there is some uncertainty. Ballard's Book of Arms of *c.* 1480[7] says that 'Fylkyn beryth sylver ix peetis[8] in bordure, a voyde scochon sabylle', and later entries of the coat also call the central charge a voided scocheon.[9] On the other hand the Domville Roll,[10] a little later than Ballard's Book, draws the escocheon as a mere outline no thicker than that of the main shield, and a manuscript of about 1520 expressly blazons it as 'a scochin in umbryd'.[11] The illustration in this last manuscript represents the scocheon as an outline somewhat heavier than that of the main shield, but very much thinner than the voided scocheons (orles) of Balliol and other families. This heavy umbra or ultra-light orle is also to be seen in other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts such as the County Roll, where the Filkyn scocheon and billets are attributed to Sir John Strech,[1] in Portcullis's Book for Sir Richard de Wynynton and Philip Fylkyn,[2] in the Heralds' College MS. L2 for Fylkyn,[3] and in Sir William Le Neve's Book for Sir Richard de Wynynton and Thomas Fylkyn[4] (fig. 14). The arms of Wynynton only differ from those of Filkyn in that the billets are replaced by martlets, and if the Filkyn charge is properly described as 'in umbryd', then it would seem that Wynynton also bore the ghost of a scocheon although I know of no case where it is so blazoned.

---

[1] Col. Arm. MSS. D2, f. 19 and H21, f. 28*b*.

[2] Col. Arm. MS. 2D5, f. 5. See also *The Visitation of Yorkshire . . . 1584–5*, edited by Joseph Foster, privately printed, 1875; and Constable's Roll in Surtees Soc., xli, viii.

[3] Col. Arm. MS. C40, f. 80.

[4] *V.C.H., N. Riding*, i, 81 and pl. opp. p. 80. The slab is on the wall of the tower. In view of the variations in the manuscripts I dare not affirm that a shadow was intended, although that is by no means impossible. Sir Henry was son of Sir Christopher and Agnes.

[5] Coll. Arm. MS. G2, f. 81. I have to thank Mr. E. A. Mitchell, herald-painter, for bringing this to my notice.

[6] Coll. Arm. MS. C1, f. 415. I say 'seems' because the arms are only shown by a trick which is not as clear as it might be. The shield in MS. G2 is painted.

[7] Coll. Arm. MS. M3, f. 5*v*. The compiler William Ballard was March King of Arms from about 1477 until his death in or just before 1490.

[8] Peats or turves are indistinguishable from billets.

[9] e.g. Coll. Arm. MSS. 1 D14, f. 317 (1580 Visitation of Cheshire) and E.D.N. Alphabet, *c.* 1700.

[10] A painted roll without blazon, *penes* Sir Sydney Cockerell, see f. 26 *v*, no. 1037.

[11] Coll. Arm. MS. L1, f. 258: 'Filkyn beryth silver the feld billetted in a scochin in umbryd a cressant sable.' I have to thank our Fellow, Mr. H. D. Butchart, for this reference and for bringing the coat to my notice.

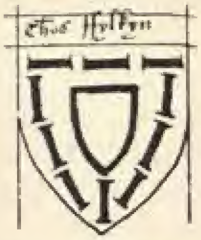


FIG. 14. Filkyn (Sir W. Le Neve's Book).

XII. IMAGINARY AND NAMELESS COATS

In addition to these umbrae which were borne by known families there are several examples in imaginary and unidentified coats. One of these is attributed to a Knight of the Round Table who is variously named as Sir Mouceholt, Morholt, or Moinehalt of Ireland. In one Elizabethan or early Jacobean manuscript[5] his arms are blazoned: 'Closettes entrailed a lyon saliant g. armed vert'. Another manuscript blazons it: 'A. barry umbreted over all a Lion rampant G.'[6] A third manuscript, of similar date to the first, has a tricked shield with the marginal note 'bars umbratid';[7] the field is argent crossed with six equidistant horizontal lines and with the red lion over all[8] (pl. XXIX, *i*). This example shows that Ferne was not alone among Gerard Legh's contemporaries in equating entrailed with umbrated.

Another imaginary umbra occurs in a finely illuminated copy of the treatise on tournaments by King René of Anjou. The treatise was written about 1450, and this copy was apparently made to the order of Louis de Bruges[9] some ten or fifteen years later and presented to Charles VIII.[10] The coat in question is: *Checky argent and gules, a lion in ombre* (pl. XXX). It is attributed to one of the companions of the duc de Bourbon.

I have already mentioned a nameless coat painted in the early fifteenth-century Armorial de l'Ordre de St. Antoine de Barbefosse: *Bendy gules and azure, a lion in ombre*.[11] Reference must now be made to two coats in Randle Holme's Book, a tricked armorial with numerous annotations which dates from the reign of Henry VI.[12] The former of these: *Argent, a chief gules and over all a millrind cross disjointed,*

---

[1] Soc. Ant. MS. 664, Roll 16, f. 2*v*, early fifteenth century.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 521, ff. 52, 55, mid-fifteenth century.

[3] f. 198, early sixteenth century.

[4] Soc. Ant. MS. 664, Roll 17, ff. 8*v*, 15, thirteenth century with additions as late as the sixteenth century.

[5] Coll. Arm. MS. E11, part 2, f. 42.

[6] Randle Holme, *Academie of Armorie*, vol. ii (ed. Roxburgh Club), p. 354, col. 1.

[7] Coll. Arm. MS. Vincent 173, f. 58*b*.

[8] This is almost identical with the coat of Montalt, Monhaut, Mawhood or Mawde: *Argent, three gemel bars sable and over all a lion gules* (see *N. & Q.* cxcii, 85, 83, 110).

[9] See p. 131, n. 6.

[10] Bibl. Nat., Paris, MS. franç. 2692. The illuminations with an abridged text were published as *Le Livre des Tournois du Roi René* (*Verve*, vol. iv, no. 16), Paris, 1946. See pp. 27, 61.

[11] Bibl. Roy., Brussels, Goethals MS. 707; see p. 134, n. 1 above.

[12] Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2169. The armorial was published by Oswald Barron in *The Ancestor*, vol. iii, etc., and by Joseph Foster in *Two Tudor Books of Arms* (De Walden Library), 1904.

set saltireways and counterchanged, is unnamed[1] (fig. 15). The cross is, to borrow Legh's words, 'no bigger than touched with a pensell or tricked with a pen', and seen by itself I should have no hesitation in rating it as an ombre in spite of its being counter-coloured instead of black. Its context, however, makes me somewhat doubtful. In the first place the compiler of the armorial did not recognize it as an ombre;[2] had he done so I feel sure that he would have noted it as such instead of merely calling it a 'fere'. In the second place one cannot exclude the possibility that the artist intended to indicate a voided cross and that he drew it with a single line merely to save trouble.[3] That certainly seems to be the case in the second of these two coats (fig. 17), which is attributed to the king of Syria.[4] As it is drawn it may perhaps be blazoned: *Gules the umbrae of four bars battled on both sides or*, although the fourth bar is incomplete. Actually, however, I think that the pattern is meant to be the same as that of the coat attributed on the same page to the king of Macedonia, and that is clearly to be blazoned: *Or, four voided bars battled on both sides gules*[5] (fig. 16).

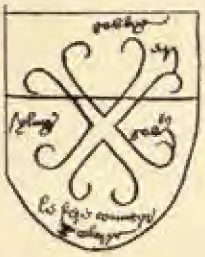


FIG. 15.
Unnamed shield
(Randle Holme's
Book, f. 60 *v*).

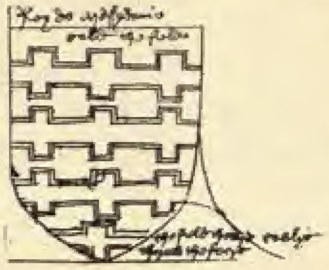


FIG. 16.
King of Macedonia.

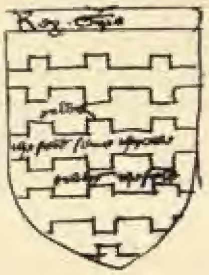


Fig. 17.
King of Syria.

XIII. HAMILTON OF RAPLOCH

It remains to consider a Scottish coat which is officially blazoned: *Gules, a heart proper shadowed or betwixt three cinquefoils ermine*. In 1678–9, soon after the opening of the Lyon Register, this coat was matriculated as a quartering by Hamilton of Udstone and his cadet of Wishaw. It was later matriculated with congruent differences by Hamilton of Barncluith (1680–7), and Hamilton of Newton (1738–47), and finally in 1896 by Lord Belhaven and Stenton, the present representative of Wishaw.[6]

---

[1] f. 60 *v*; *Ancestor*, ix, 167; *Two Tudor Books*, pp. 97, 98. Barron blazons the cross 'voided', Foster calls it 'entrailed'. Neither description is adequate. Cf. pl. XXVII, *a* above.

[2] Perhaps because he had never met one.

[3] In Robert Cooke's version of this collection (Coll. Arm. MS. L8, f. 4 *v*, *c*. 1560) the charge has become an ordinary cross moline saltireways, neither disjointed nor voided. This trick also is unnamed.

[4] f. 67 *v*; *Ancestor*, ix, 179; *Two Tudor Books*, p. 111.

[5] This was Barron's view although he misread the Syria trick.

[6] Balfour Paul, *An Ordinary of Scottish Arms*, 1903, no. 3686, etc.; Nisbet, *System of Heraldry*, 1804, i, 386. The coat is named by Nisbet as Hamilton of Raploch, but Major Lawson, Rothesay Herald and Lyon Clerk, doubts whether the attribution is correct. The heart is obviously the red heart of Douglas, alluding to Jacoba Douglas, wife of Sir John Hamilton of Cadzow, the fourteenth-century progenitor of the Raploch family (Lt.-Col. Geo. Hamilton, *The House of Hamilton*, Edinburgh, 1933, p. 731). But why this insistence on its red colour? A gold or silver heart would have met the case just as well; and indeed a

I have found no example of the coat prior to the entries in the Lyon Register, nor is there anything in the Register to show how the central charge was represented in the seventeenth century. In 1896 it was painted with a narrow band or shading of gold between the red heart and its black outline. But bearing in mind how the terms umbrated and shadowed were used by fifteenth-century and later writers, and remembering that the Boynton umbra is represented by a gold outline in an official record of the 1530 Visitation, it seems probable that the charge was really the umbra of a heart and that it ought to have been so represented in 1896. Whether that suggestion is sound or not, the coat is important. In the one case it is the sole surviving ghost in British armory. In the other case it is a rare, perhaps unique, example of such shadowing.

XIV. SUMMARY

To sum up, the ombre is represented in heraldry by the outline of the object, be it lion, peacock, cross, or what not. Normally the shadow-outline is black, but examples are known where it is painted yellow or white.

It is mentioned in nearly all the English treatises from the fifteenth century onwards. On the Continent, apart from two sixteenth-century tracts of Flemish origin, it does not appear in the treatises until the seventeenth century, and then it is often bungled.

In actual use it is first seen in the Low Countries about 1275 or a little later. Thence it made its way to France about 1390, England about 1411, and perhaps also to Switzerland, Italy, and Scotland.

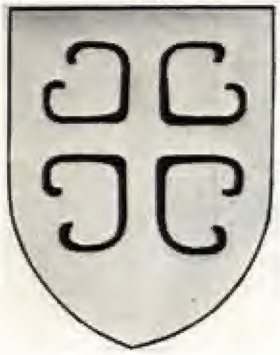
One family only, Trazegnies, has used the ombre regularly and in all its branches, Steenhuse and Zweveghen, Hembize, Overbrakele, Florenville, and Cocqman. They first took the charge in the latter part of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century and it is borne to this day by their heir and representative, the Marquis of Trazegnies.

Other families which have borne this charge are, in the Low Countries, Courtraisin, Cuinghien, and Ghistelles in the cadet lines of Woestine-Névéle and Eskelbeke; in England, Scrope, Boynton, and an unidentified ancestor of Beauchamp of Binnerton; and in France, Montpaon (Monpaulbon). In all these cases the ghost disappeared after a time, either fading away completely or being materialized like the Montpaon peacock.

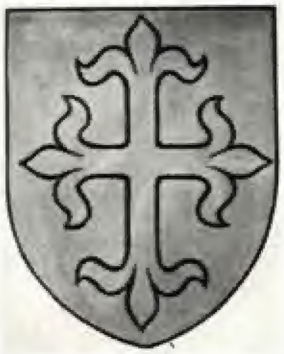
Ombres may perhaps be seen also in the arms of the Swiss family of Schwarzach, of the Venetian Premarins, the English Filkyns and Winningtons, and a cadet of the Scottish house of Hamilton. This last coat is still quartered by Lord Belhaven and Stenton, and is (if I have read it aright) the sole survivor of the British ghosts.

Apart from these known families the charge was familiar enough to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century armorists to be used in several imaginary coats.

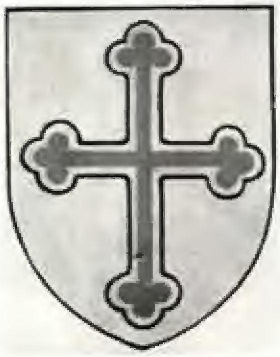
golden heart was, or so it seems, already in use as a Raploch brisure, for a year or so before the Udstone and Wishaw matriculations Robert Hamilton of Barns, whose father was a second son of Raploch (Nisbet, i, 387), matriculated: *Gules, a man's heart or betwixt three cinquefoils ermine within a bordure indented gold* (Paul, *op. cit.*, no. 3683).



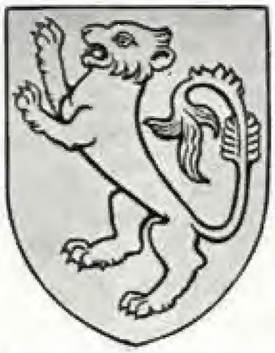
a
Crux molendinaris umbrata



b
Crux florida patens umbrata

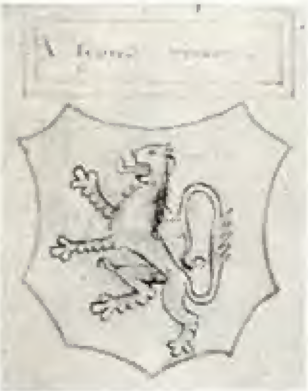


c
Crux umbrata et perforata

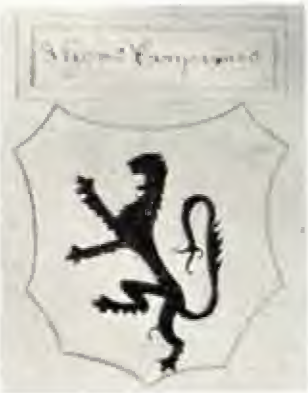


d
Leo umbratus

(Nicholas Upton, Coll. Arm. MS.)

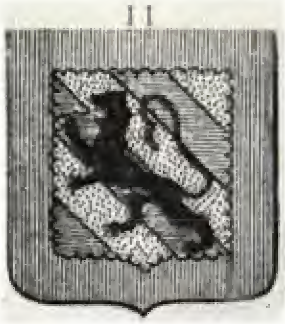


e
Lyon in umbre

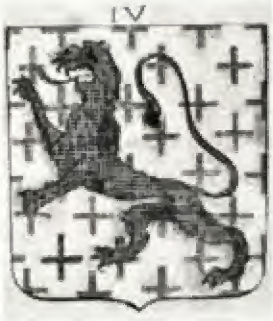


f
Lyon rampant

(MS. treatise in Coll. Arm.)

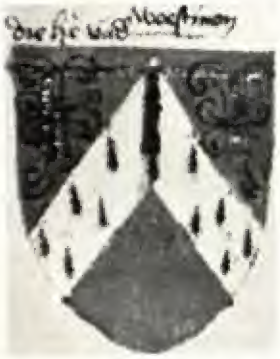


g
Trazegnies

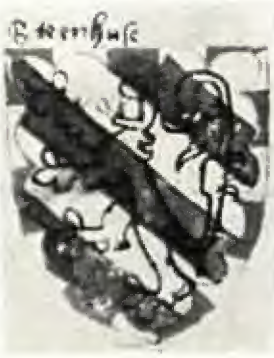


h
Ebrard de St. Sulpice

(Palliot)

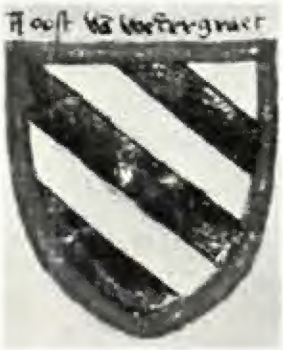


i
Woestinen

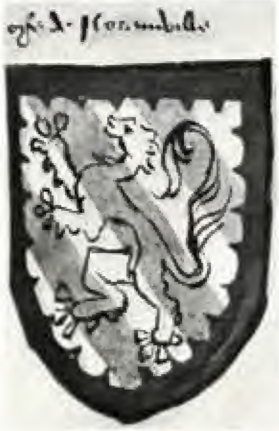


j
Steenhuse

(Bellenville Roll)



k
Wedergrate

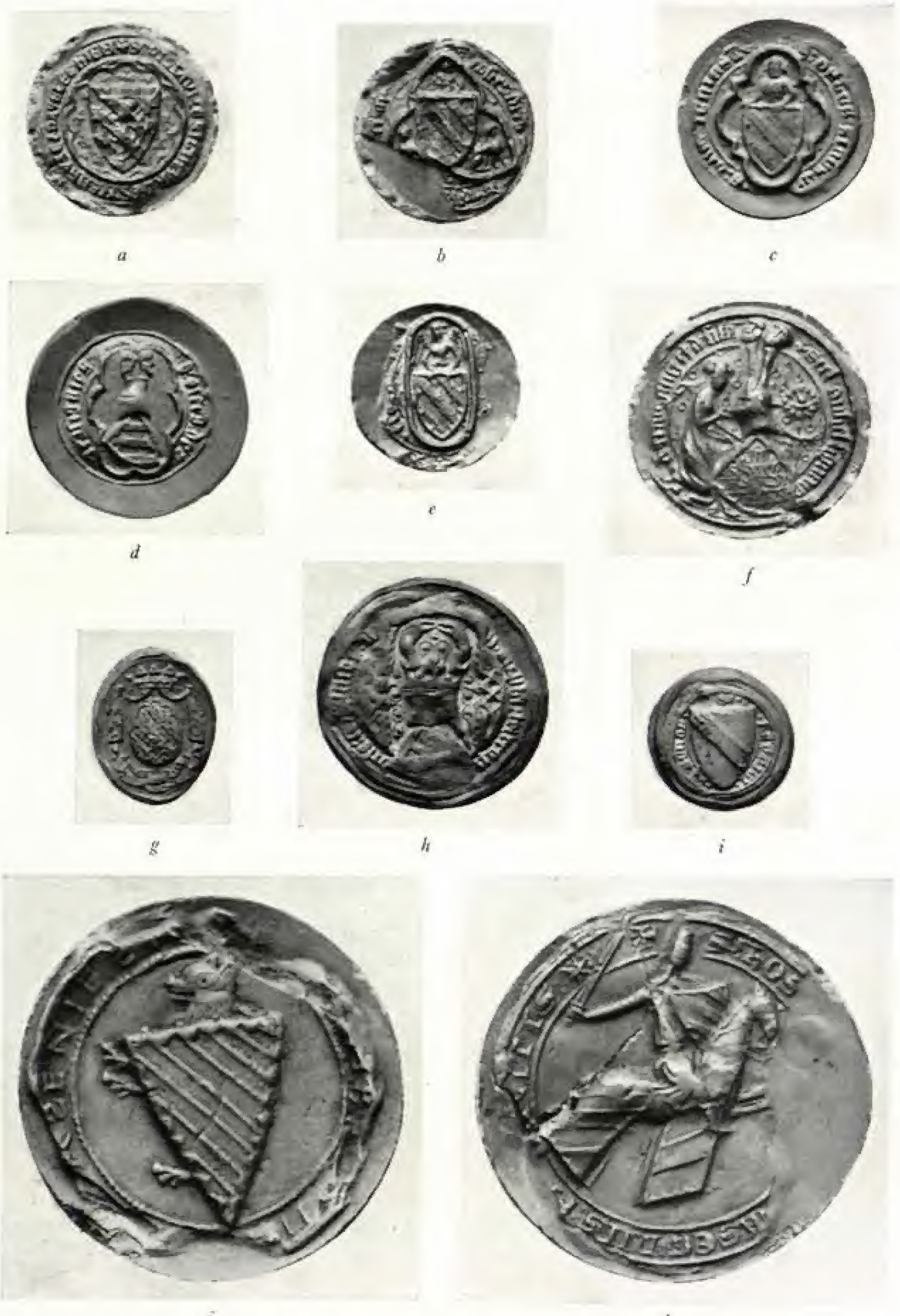


l
Florenville

(Armorial de Berry)

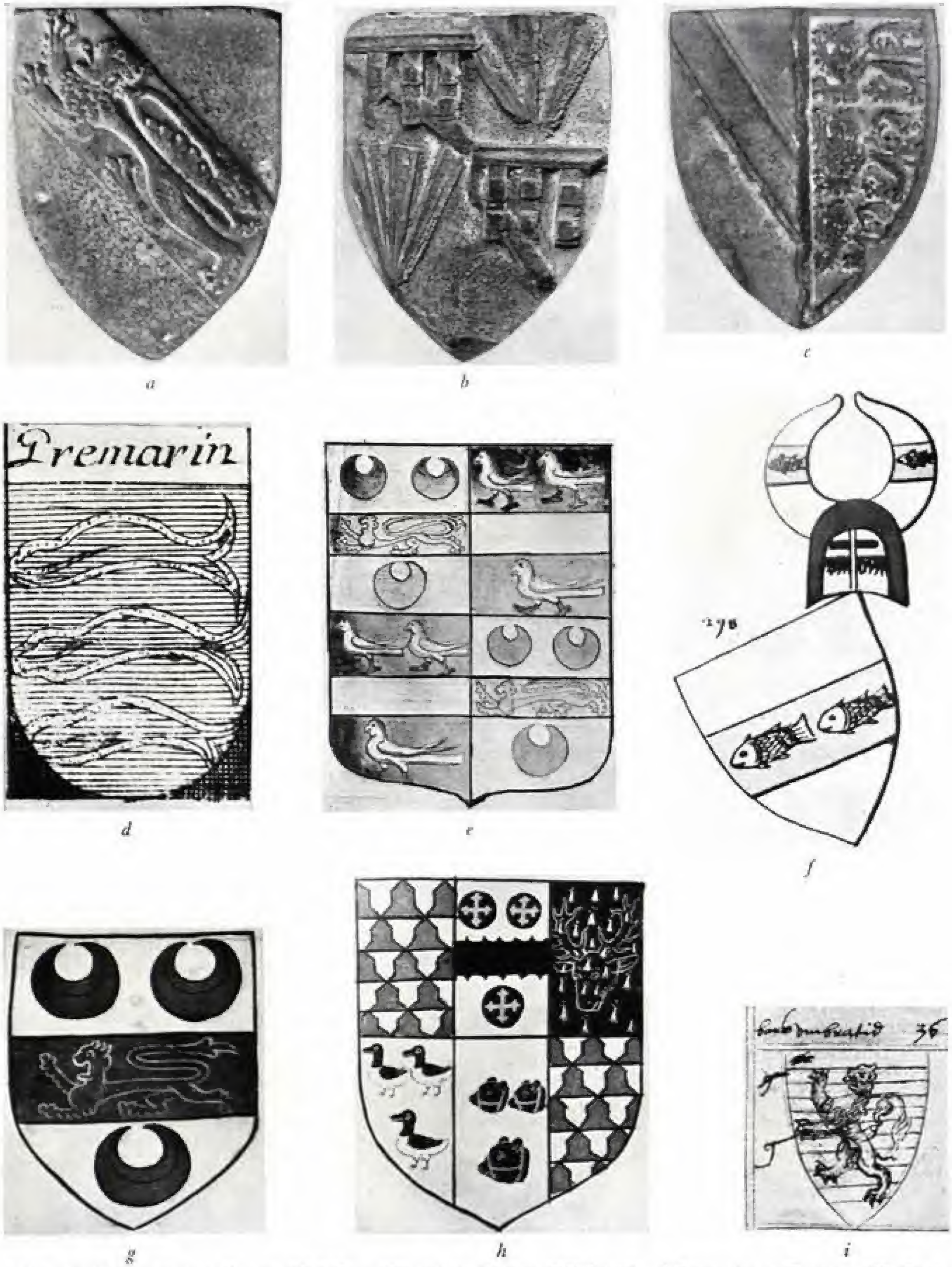
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

PLATE XXVIII



a. William de Steenhuse, 1308. *b, c.* Otto VI de Trazegnies, 1374 and 1391. *d.* Otto VII de Trazegnies, 1374. *e, f.* Anseau de Trazegnies, 1388 and 1405. *g.* Marquis de Trazegnies, 1947. *h.* Sir Stephen, 2nd Lord Scrope of Masham, *ob.* 1406. *i.* Sir Henry Scrope of Bolton, *ob.* 1336. *j.* Gilles II de Trazegnies, 1195. *k.* Otto IV de Trazegnies, 1284

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



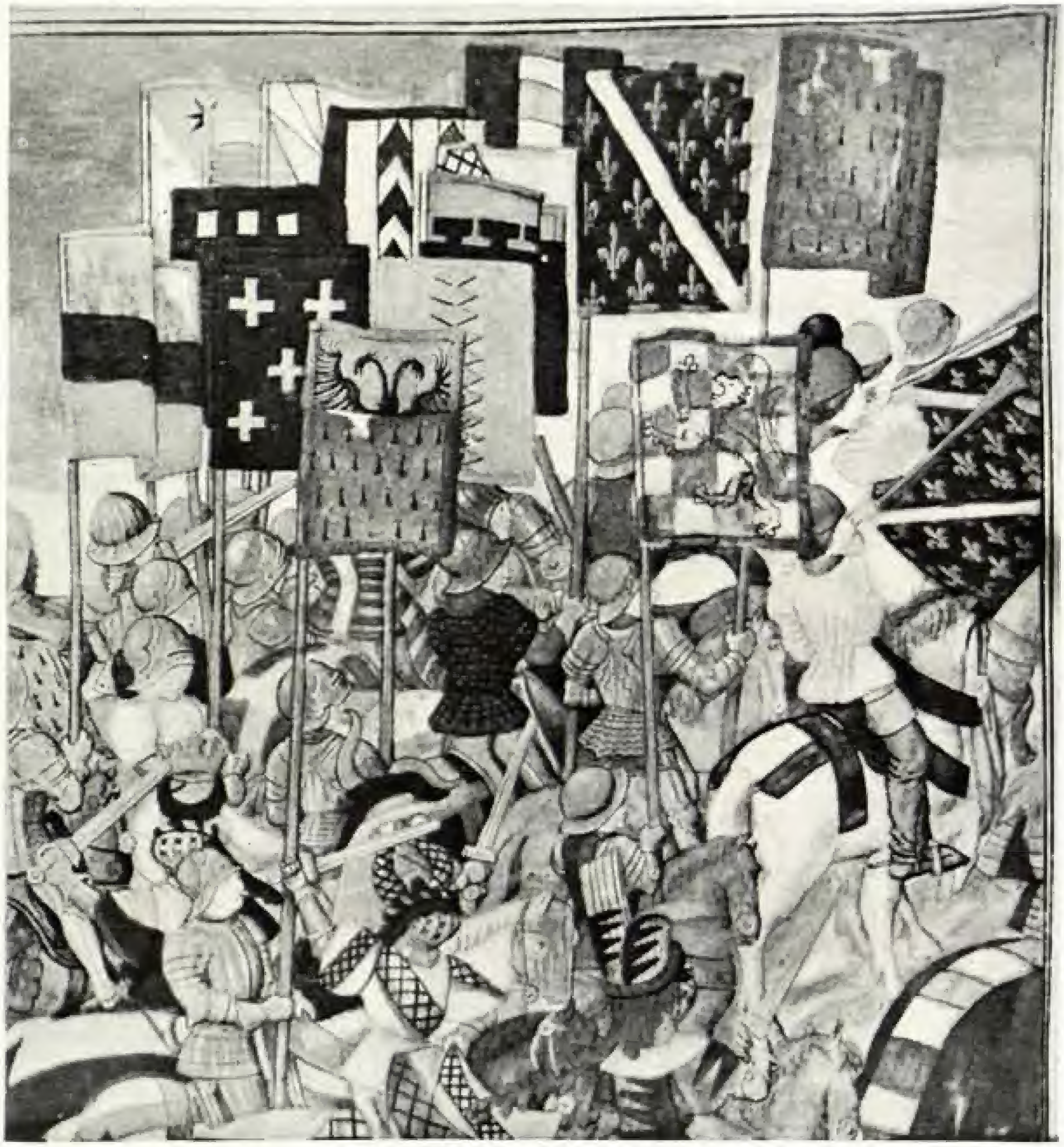
a *b* *c*

d *e* *f*

g *h* *i*

a, b, c. Sir Henry, 3rd Lord Scrope of Masham (Canterbury Cathedral Cloisters). *d.* Premarin. *e.* Boynton of Sedbury (Coll. Arm. MS. D 4). *f.* Schwarzach (Zürich Roll). *g.* Boynton of Sedbury (Coll. Arm. MS. L 10). *h.* Beauchamp of Binnerton (Coll. Arm. MS. G 2). *i.* Sir Moinehalt of Ireland (Coll. Arm. MS. Vinc. 173)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



From 'La Mêlée' in the 'Livre des Tournois' by King René of Anjou

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

On Some Recent Discoveries in Westminster Abbey

By SIR CHARLES PEERS, C.B.E., F.B.A, *Hon. Vice-President*
Surveyor to the Fabric

AND

LAWRENCE E. TANNER, Esq., M.V.O., F.S.A.
Keeper of the Muniments

[*Read 17th February 1938*]

I. THE BOHUN TOMB IN ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST'S CHAPEL

ON 14th November 1302, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex and constable of England, married at Westminster the Lady Elizabeth, widow of John, count of Holland and Zealand, and daughter of King Edward I, by his first wife Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand III, king of Castile. In due course—we do not know the exact date—a daughter was born to them and was called Mary.[1]

In the following year a further happy event was anticipated, and as the time drew near the countess, who had been with her husband in Scotland, moved south and took up her residence at Knaresborough. Thither in haste in the early part of September came two of the brethren from the Convent at Westminster, Brothers Robert de Bures and Guy de Asshewell, bearing with them one of the most sacred relics which the abbey of Westminster possessed. This was the girdle of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was deemed to have special efficacy in childbirth.[2] There they tarried until, on or about 10th September 1304, the countess gave birth to a son and heir, who was given the family name of Humphrey. The birth of a grandson to the king and of an heir to the great possessions of the Bohuns was naturally a matter for rejoicing. The semi-royal infant was immediately given a household commensurate with his rank and on 11th October, the day on which the countess gave thanks for her safe delivery, Robert, the king's minstrel, no doubt by the king's command, together with his fifteen companion minstrels made 'minstrelcy' before the countess and the other 'magnates' and were gratified by receiving 6 marks for their efforts.[3]

But in spite of this, all was not well with the child. A payment of five shillings by the countess on 13th October at the tomb of the famous hermit, St. Robert of Knaresborough, and other payments to religious bodies suggest disquietude, and on 15th October a sad little procession started from Knaresborough towards London. Step by step, in the household accounts, which have fortunately been preserved at the P.R.O.,[4] we can follow their progress, and day by day occurs the item, 'Wages of 4

---

[1] G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, vi, 469. *Monasticon*, vi, 135.

[2] P.R.O. E.101. 370/20. Household expenses of the Countess of Hereford, 32 Ed. I: 'Fratribus Roberto de Bures et Guidoni de Asshewell monachis Westm' venientibus usque Knaresbourgh' et ibidem morantibus cum zona beate Marie et redeuntibus usque Westm' pro expensis suis de dono eiusdem Comitisse per manus proprias ibidem eodem die [Sept. 15th] xl. s.'

[3] P.R.O. E.101, 370/20: 'Roberto Regis menestrallo et xv sociis suis menestrall[is] fac' menestrac' sua coram Comitisse et al' magnat' die quo dicta Comitissa erat purificata de dono eiusdem Comitisse per manus proprias ibidem xi die Octobr'. vj marc.'

[4] P.R.O. E.101. 365/17. Account of daily expenses of Humphrey de Bohun, son of the Earl of Hereford [32 Ed. I].

"garciones" carrying the infant viiid.' On Saturday, 24th October, they reached Leighton Buzzard, where they stayed the week-end, and on the following Tuesday they got to Fulham. And there on Wednesday, 28th October, the child, whose birth had given rise to such high hopes, passed away.

On 30th October there is the following entry in the accounts: 'Ricardo de London plombario pro uno sarcofago de plumbo faciendo pro corpore Humfridi filii Comit' Herefordie imponendo. iiij s. jd.' Payments for wax, etc., follow and then on Sunday, 8th November, come the expenses for the funeral which took place in the abbey church of Westminster to the accompaniment of the tolling of the bells *pro anima dicti Humfridi*. For a few days members of the household remained at Westminster to settle up outstanding accounts, and then sadly they turned homeward.

But terrible as this blow must have been to the parents, they were destined to suffer a further sorrow before their marriage was blessed with a son to carry on the line. For within four months of the death of their eldest son their surviving daughter, Mary, was to follow her brother. Unfortunately we have no details beyond a brief note in the *Flores Historiarum*: 'Septimo die Februarii (1305) obiit domina Maria de Boun, et sepulta est cum domino Hugone [*sic*] fratre suo in monasterio beati Petri Westmonasterii.'[1]

It will be noted that she was buried with her brother and it is natural to ask where within the abbey church we may look for the tomb of these two grandchildren of King Edward I? We have only tradition to help us, but ever since Camden wrote the first printed guide to the tombs in 1600, it has pointed with some hesitation to a small Purbeck marble altar tomb with arcaded sides, which until a few months ago was half buried in the north wall of the chapel of St. John the Baptist.

The identification in itself was not unlikely, but it was not entirely satisfactory for, in the first place, the tomb was obviously not in its original position, and secondly the tomb itself appeared to date from about 1260–70, and not from the first decade of the fourteenth century.

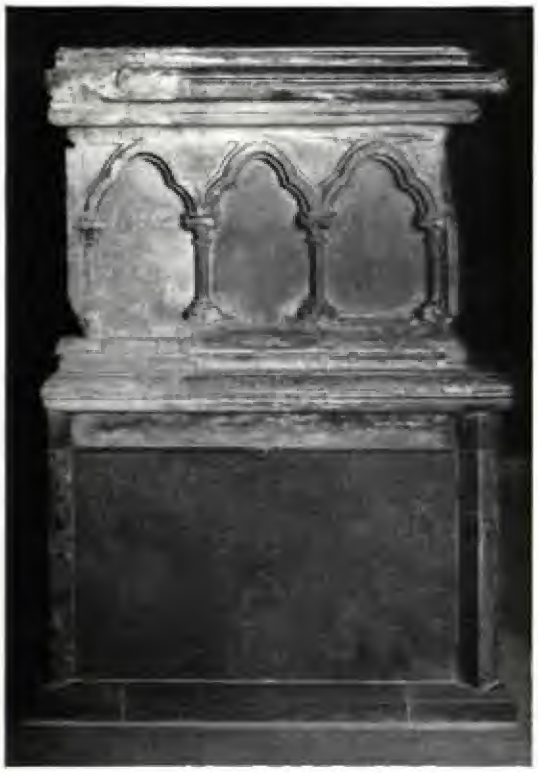
With regard to the position we can obtain some light from certain sixteenth-century manuscript lists of tombs which exist in the muniment room at the abbey, in the British Museum, in the College of Arms, and elsewhere.[2] These lists present several features of interest. They are not identical, but seem to fall into two groups, and they all appear to derive from a lost original which was drawn up between the building of the chapel of St. Erasmus, which was added to the old lady-chapel by Queen Elizabeth Wydville, the wife of King Edward IV, and completed by 1486–7, and the building of the new chapel of King Henry VII, of which the foundation-stone was laid in 1503. The earliest of the existing lists, that in the muniment room, is unfortunately incomplete, but it cannot have been written before 1532, for it includes Abbot Islip who died in that year, although, curiously enough, it gives the tombs in the old lady-chapel which had been pulled down thirty years before that date.

For our present purpose, however, the interesting thing is that all these lists agree

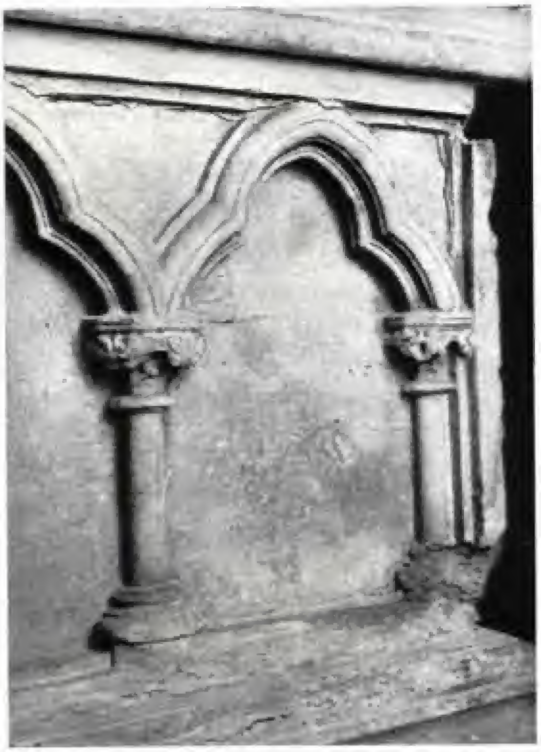
---

[1] Rolls Series, iii, 129.

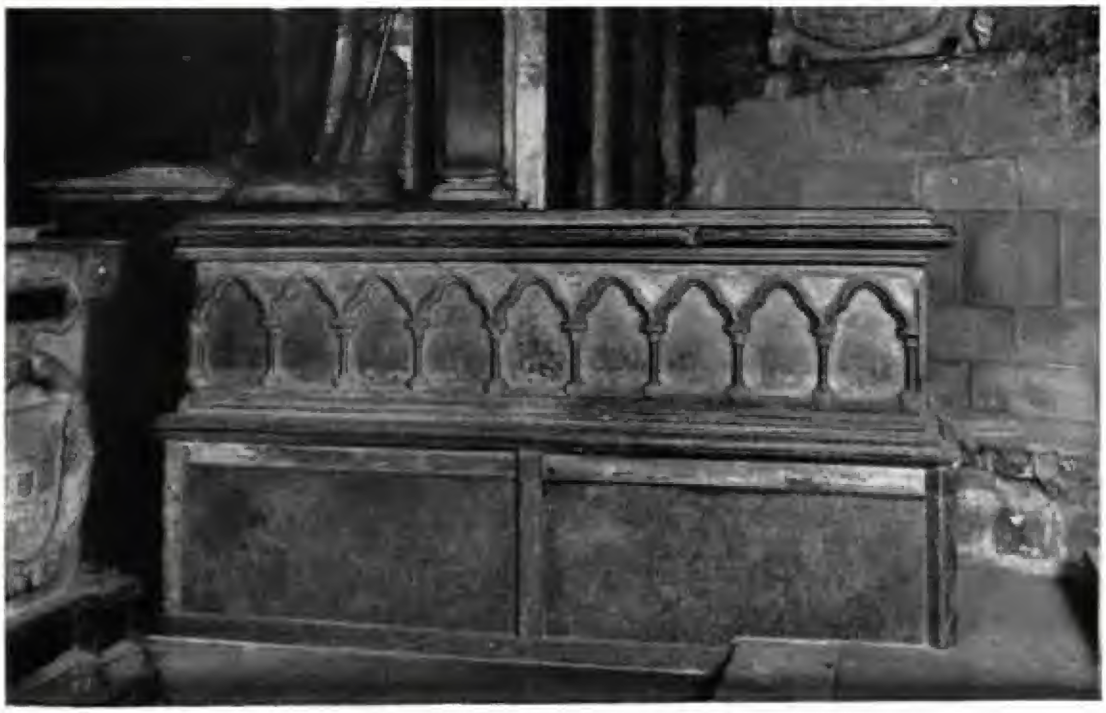
[2] West. Abb. Mun. 53318; B.M. Harl. 544, ff. 65–75; B.M. Add. MSS. 38133, f. 98; B.M. Egerton 2642; Coll. of Arms MSS. A. 17 and F. 9; All Souls Coll., Oxon. MS. 126.



a. Bohun tomb. West end

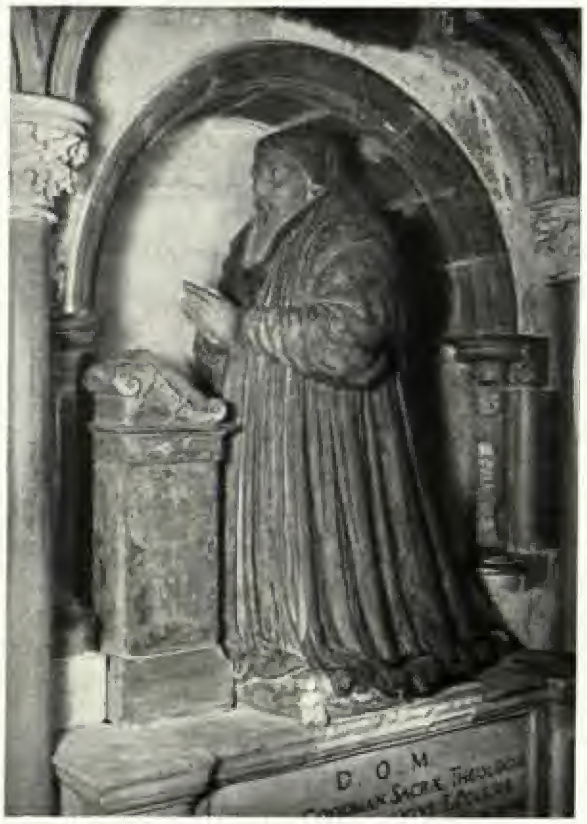


b. Arcading on Bohun tomb

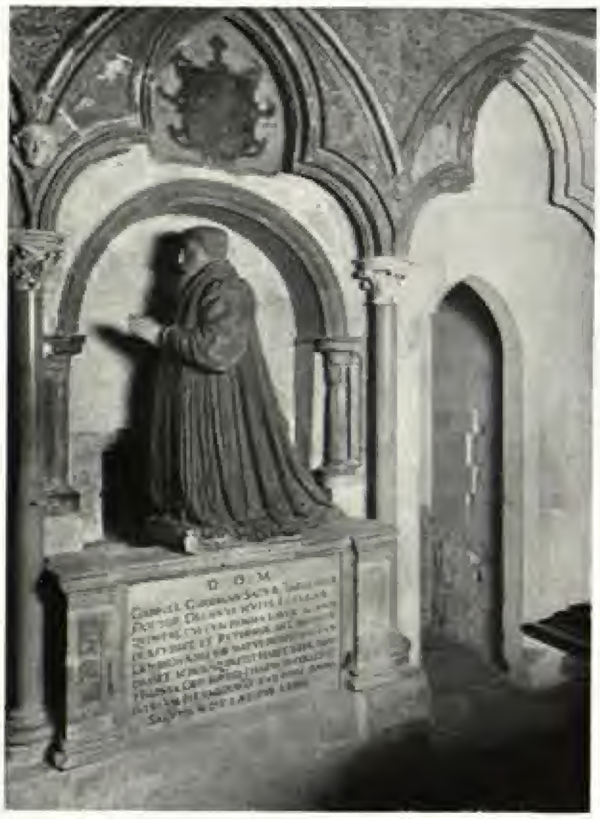


c. Bohun tomb. South side

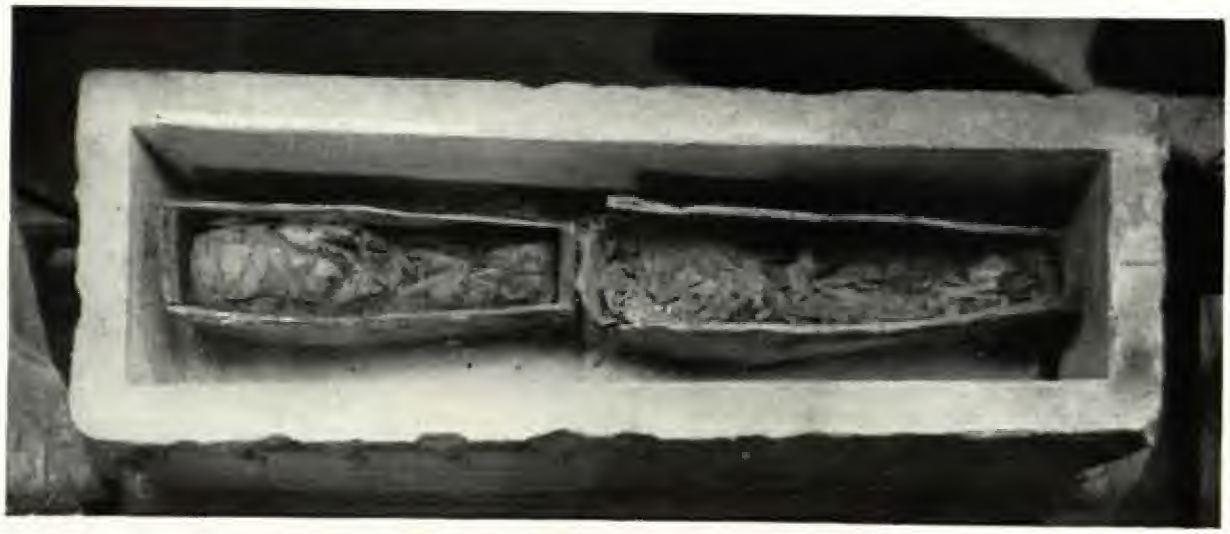
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



a. Monument of Dean Goodman



b. The same, with prayer desk removed



c. Coffins of Humphrey and Mary de Bohun

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

in identifying what is called either 'the lyttle tombe' or the *parva tumba lapidea*, then in the chapel of St. Nicholas, as that which contains the bones of the children of Humphrey and Elizabeth de Bohun.

It would appear, therefore, that at some date between 1532 and 1600, when Camden wrote his guide, the little tomb was moved from the chapel of St. Nicholas (which bearing in mind that St. Nicholas was the patron saint of children, may well have been its original home) to the chapel of St. John.[1] No doubt it was moved to make way either for the Elizabethan monument of Mildred, Lady Burghley (d. 1589) or for that of the marchioness of Winchester (d. 1586).

We come, then, to the truth or falsity of the traditional identification. Some months ago it was suggested that if the tomb were to be removed from its unworthy setting, half hidden in the wall, it was probable that we should find the arcading complete on the hidden side and that we might also find something which might assist towards the identification of its contents.

This investigation appealed very strongly to our late Fellow, Dr. Foxley Norris, to whose artistic sense and enthusiasm the abbey owes so much, and his agreement was at once given. The tomb, as has been said, was evidently not in its original position, but a little closer description is here demanded. It is a chest or coffin of Purbeck marble, 5 ft. 6 in. long over all, with marble cover and base whose moulded edges project beyond its arcaded sides and ends. It is slightly tapered, being 1 ft. 10½ in. wide at the west and 1 ft. 8½ in. wide at the east. It was placed on the stone bench which runs round the chapel, which being too narrow to carry it with safety, the wall face above the bench was cut away so that nearly half the chest was set into the wall, the projecting mouldings of cover and base being roughly hacked away on the north side to avoid deeper cutting into the masonry of the wall. Whether it was so placed when first brought into the chapel, or whether the intention was to make room for later monuments, must remain uncertain. Each long side is ornamented with nine bays of trefoiled arcading, having capitals carved with flowers and leaves, short round shafts and moulded bases, all of beautiful and delicate detail. Three bays of the like arcading are at each end of the tomb. The upper face of the cover is plain, and if it ever carried an effigy or effigies there is nothing to show it, nor does there seem to be any place for an inscription. When the tomb was taken out of the wall, the difference in condition between its long-exposed and its newly revealed parts was striking. The exposed or southern half, besides being chipped and ill-treated in the fashion only too common in the abbey, has a rough and dull surface, whereas the northern half, except for the wilful hacking of the moulded edges of cover and base already mentioned, is smooth and in parts has preserved its original polish, showing that at the time of its removal to the chapel of St. John the Baptist the corrosion, so evident to-day everywhere on the marble work in the church, had not begun. In this connexion it is interesting to note that Burges, in a note on the tomb printed in Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, says that traces of colour and gilding remained, and that in the panels of the arcades there had been painted shields hanging from straps. That the tomb was originally ornamented in colour is quite what would be expected, but not only is there no trace of this to-day, but on the north half, which is in far better preservation than the south (the only piece which Burges could have seen), there is not the slightest evidence of the painted shields, or of any colouring at all. The character and proportions of the tomb suggest that it was raised on a base, and in setting it in its present position immediately in front of the benching on which it hitherto rested, a base has been provided. It happened that a slab of grey marble was available among the abbey stores, just large enough to provide a decent facing to the new base when carefully sawn up. Let us hasten to add, lest any suspicion of vandalism crosses the minds of the Fellows, that the said slab had served its first apprenticeship as the cover of a radiator, which the development of the science of heating had made obsolete.

---

[1] We can, perhaps, go a step farther, for Wm. Johnson in his manuscript *History of the Abbey*, now in the chapter library and written *c.* 1730–1, notes that part of the railings which formerly surrounded the great monument of Lord Hunsdon (d. 1596) stood upon 'an ancient tomb . . . in the wall'. The little tomb must, therefore, have been in its present position when the Hunsdon monument was erected.

In moving the tomb to its new place, it was found that the marble cover was only secured in its position by its weight, and could readily be raised and slid on rollers off the coffin. When this was done it was seen that the whole interior was filled up with rubble and mortar rubbish, among which the outline of the lid of a small wooden coffin was at once apparent. A little clearing revealed a second like coffin, and the two, set in a line east and west, occupied nearly the whole internal length. Their dimensions were: of the eastern coffin, occupying the head of the tomb, 2 ft. 2 in. by 8 in. at widest point; of the western, 2 ft. 6 in. by 9 in. They were of oak and had lids of oak secured by nails at either end, but not along the sides: that of the smaller coffin had fallen in, but the other was in position. The contents of the coffins appeared entirely undisturbed, swathed in their original wrappings, which were in a very fragile condition. No attempt was made to find what they enclosed, so we may leave it on record that here were two very young children, that at the east end of the tomb being clearly the younger at the time of death. Small pieces of the outside of the wood and of the wrappings were sent to Dr. Plenderleith of the British Museum for examination, as there seemed some appearance of a textile, or possibly leather, cover to the coffins, which might have been painted. Dr. Plenderleith's report established certain points, and must be quoted verbatim.

> Question as to the presence of leather. Reddish-brown granular dust consisting mostly of decayed wood. A few fragments of flat material of lighter shade consisted of a textile sandwiched in a light coloured hard substance. The textile was so greatly decomposed as to render conclusive determination impossible as between wool and hemp; the pale material, although gelatinized by ammonia, was not leather but seemingly the remains of an unpigmented oil varnish. It was easily decomposed by alkalis, though unattacked by acids and insoluble in water and organic solvents. It burned with a smoky flame smelling of varnish.

Of the shroud he reported that it was probably of hemp.

As a conclusion he agreed that the coffins must have been covered with a painted fabric.

The filling of the Purbeck marble tomb must now be described. Among the mortar rubbish and chips were two very charming knops of leafwork from thirteenth-century capitals, with remains of colour and gilding, some pieces of ashlar facing, also with colour, some bits of plain glazed earthenware tiles, and some fragments of white plaster. The tiles might have been of any date from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. These materials had been put in to keep the wooden coffins in position, and since it is not very likely that fine coloured thirteenth-century capitals would be available as rubbish at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it may perhaps be suggested that this filling dates from the time of the removal of the children from St. Nicholas' to St. John the Baptist's chapel. The thirteenth-century wall arcades, whose capitals are much of the character of the two fragments, were at that date being freely cut away to make room for the large Elizabethan monuments, and we know from other evidence that much of their colour remained at this date.

Notice of these discoveries was given to Dr. Foxley Norris, who came and carefully examined them, and subsequently the President of the Society of Antiquaries (Sir F. Kenyon) came to see them before the Purbeck cover was again placed in position.

It remains to make a few general observations, in view of the historical evidence. It being assumed that the two children are what tradition says they are, the eldest son and the eldest daughter of Humphrey and Elizabeth de Bohun, the smaller of the two must be Humphrey, buried in the abbey on 8th November 1304. A leaden coffin had been made for him between 28th and 30th October, and it may be assumed that he was buried in that, and that it may have enclosed the wooden coffin we have seen. Was the Purbeck marble coffin used also at the time of his burial? There are two objections, one that it would be some thirty years old at the time, the other that it would seem needlessly large, if we may take the analogy of the two children of Edward III, and their tomb in the chapel of SS. Edmund and Thomas. But the size of the Purbeck coffin is peculiar. It is 5 ft. 6 in. long over all, and allowing for the thickness of its ends, only 4 ft. 11 in. long within—too short, that is, for any ordinary grown-up person. As we have seen, it just holds the two little coffins, and perhaps when Mary de Bohun came to be buried with her brother in February 1305, it was found suitable for this double use, Humphrey's lead coffin being removed to give more space. All mere conjecture, but the fact remains that this thirteenth-century coffin could never have been made for a grown person, and perhaps that is all that we shall ever know.

II. THE CELL OF THE RECLUSE IN WESTMINSTER

From the Muniments of the abbey and elsewhere it is possible to gather together a number of references to the recluse of Westminster. The earliest reference appears to be in 1246 when the abbess of Rumes[1] was granted 'a tun of wine for veiling the niece of N.', the anchorite of Westminster, and two years later Brother Nicholas, the anchorite, received a pension of three halfpence from the king.[2]

The Customary of Abbot Ware (1258–83), which was begun in 1266, in describing the route to be followed by the *custos ordinis* in his inspection of the Cloister and its precincts, says that he is to go 'per totam curiam, eciam usque ad reclusorium fratris nostri atque ulterius per Tamisiam si voluerit'.

[1] i.e. Romsey.

[2] Lib. Roll, 1245–51, p. 78; Close Roll, 1248.

After this record there is nothing until towards the end of the fourteenth century, and, though there is no reason to suppose that there were no recluses during this time, we have nothing to guide us. All that is suggested by the Customary is that the dwelling of the recluse was in early days somewhere on the eastern boundary of the precinct. This is borne out by the story of William Ushborne as told in the Abbey Chartulary known as the Liber Niger.[1] He was keeper of the palace in the reign of Edward III, and joined with the abbey plumber in nefarious designs to steal the lead of a coffin in which a certain recluse had been buried. The place of burial was near the Jewel House, on the site of a little chapel which had apparently long been a ruin. The bones of the recluse, being taken out of the lead coffin, were thrown into a well in the monks' cemetery, and the plumber carried off the coffin to his own house. Needless to say both he and the keeper of the palace came to a bad end, but the interest of the story is that the mention of the Jewel House identifies the site of the old chapel as somewhere on the eastern boundary of the precinct, near the infirmary. It is also evident that if a recluse had ever lived there—and it was common for a recluse to be buried on the site of his cell—it was long before the date of the story, for the Jewel House was built somewhere between 1360 and 1372.

It is possible that for some reason the continuous occupation of the cell had been allowed to lapse and that both it and the chapel had become ruinous. If so it is interesting and, perhaps, not without significance for what we shall have to say later, in discussing the later site of the reclusorium, that with the accession of Richard II, whose reign appears to coincide with a marked revival of what perhaps we may call the cult of the anchorite, references to an abbey recluse suddenly begin to appear for the first time in the Obedientiary Rolls and elsewhere[2], and continue with increasing frequency until about 1450 when they as suddenly cease. During this period there is evidence to show that more than once there were actually two recluses at the same time within the abbey precincts—one no doubt occupying the reclusorium and the other a separate chamber in the infirmary.[3]

Then what seems to have happened with regard to the abbey recluse is that in the middle of the fifteenth century the cell remained vacant, but the allowances of coal and faggots and the small pensions which were formerly paid to the recluse by the sacrist and the warden of the Lady chapel were transferred to one or more of the senior brethren, the *stagiarii*—or, as our late Fellow the bishop of Worcester liked to call them, 'the old stagers'. These elder brethren appear in exactly the same position as that formerly occupied by the recluse in the various annual account rolls, but without the descriptive word after their names. No doubt they were allowed to spend the last years of their lives in honourable retirement—recluses in fact if not in actual name and status

---

[1] W. Abbey Muniments; Liber Niger, ff. lxxix–lxxx. 6. For Ushborne see also W. A. M. 18457, 18462.

[2] e.g. in 1386 William Fryth, 'stokfisshmonger', left a bequest 'to the recluse monk at Westminster'. *Cal. of Wills, Court of Hustings*, ii. 398.

[3] There was yet another recluse attached to the parish church of St. Margaret's, Westminster. This recluse was usually a woman who tended the church and washed the linen. She occupied a cell on the south side of the church which later became known as the Vicarage House and lasted to the eighteenth century. It is interesting to note that to this day the dean and chapter pay a yearly sum of £7 to the rector of St. Margaret's in lieu of 'the Anchors House'.

There is one further matter which is perhaps worth mentioning before we discuss the later site of the reclusorium. It has hitherto always been a matter for regret that the name of the recluse whom Henry V is said to have consulted on the night of his accession was unknown. From the death of Brother John Murimouth in 1393 until 1424–5 when the treasurer records the receipt of viij s. from Brother John London 'recluse',[1] there is no mention of a recluse by name among the Abbey Muniments and Mr. Westlake was inclined to think that for most of that time the cell was vacant.[2]

An examination of Brother John London's career at Westminster, however, has suggested a different conclusion. He entered the Convent in 1378–9. At first his career was perfectly normal. He held the various minor offices which were usually assigned to junior monks and might have been expected in due course to have become one of the greater Obedientiaries. But in 1393 he ceases to be treasurer of the manors of Queen Eleanor and from that date, although his name is duly entered in its proper place in the annual lists of the brethren made by the chamberlain and other officials, he appears to have held no further office until we find him described as the recluse in 1424–5.[3]

Now as Brother Murimouth, recluse, died in the same year that Brother London ceased to be treasurer of the manors, the conclusion is almost irresistible that Brother London did in fact succeed him in that year as the abbey recluse, and this conclusion is practically confirmed from two outside sources. In 1415 Lord Scrope of Masham, in his very remarkable will, bequeathed 100*s.* and the rosary which he was accustomed to use to Dom. John, the Anchorite at Westminster;[4] while, under the date 1429, the St. Alban's Chronicle has this interesting entry: 'Circa Festum Sanctae Scholasticae Virginis [Feb. 10] obiit Dominus Johannes, monachus Westmonasterii, et ibidem heremita reclusus per quadraginta annos extiterat.'[5] In the same year the chamberlain at Westminster entered Brother John London on his list *inter mortuos*.[6] The sanctity of his life, and a reputation which was sufficient to cause the chronicler of St. Albans to note his death, would readily explain the slight inaccuracy as to the number of years he had been in retirement. No doubt he had outlived most of his contemporaries and had already become something of a legend.[7]

In 1936, in the course of the internal cleaning of the abbey church, we were at work on the chapel of St. Benedict in the angle between the south ambulatory and the south transept. Below its south window is a wall arcade of three bays, in the middle bay of which is the kneeling figure of Dean Gabriel Goodman, placed here after his death in 1601. It is set in front of a round-headed recess of which the arched head is of the seventeenth century, but the Purbeck shafts and jambs belong to the original piscina and are contemporary with the building of the chapel. No perfect specimen of such a piscina now exists in the church, but in the east wall of the north transept there is one, till recently hidden by an alabaster tablet, from which the design of the head, with two trefoiled arches in Purbeck marble, can be recovered. There is a moulded Purbeck marble shelf in the recess, but the sill, also of marble, which projected beyond the wall face, has been cut back, destroying the sinkings for the drains, of which there was certainly one and perhaps two. In St. Benedict's chapel the shelf has been cut back to the wall face, and the sill is hidden by being used as a base for the dean's effigy, and the prayer desk at which he kneels, but the circular basin of a drain exists under the effigy. Between the shelf and the sill, in the eastern half of the recess, is a square opening, rebated for a wooden shutter or door, 13 in. wide by 15 in. high. This is now blocked with rough masonry at 18 in. back from the inner wall face, but enough can be seen to show that its east side is carried at right-angles through the wall, while the west is splayed off, so that at the outer wall face the width would have been increased to 2 ft. 6 in. In the west bay of the wall arcade a doorway 3 ft. wide and 6 ft. 6 in. high has been cut through the wall, probably in the second half of the fourteenth century, though the detail is too simple for close dating. This would have given access to a chamber in the angle between the chapel and the south transept. All the outer face of the walls at this part has been renewed, and no evidence of the dimensions of the chamber has survived. But it will be seen that the squint through the back of the piscina would give a view of the altar in St. Benedict's chapel to anyone in the chamber; a point of value, for if the doorway had been designed to give access to a vestry, or possibly to the monastic cemetery, the need for observation of St. Benedict's altar would not be likely to arise. But that the recluse in his cell should do so is natural, and it is recorded that John Murimouth, recluse, who as we have mentioned died in 1394, left a legacy to the altar of St. Benedict.

---

[1] W.A.M. 19922/3.

[2] *Westminster Abbey*, p. 337.

[3] See Pearce, *Monks of Westminster*, p. 115.

[4] 'Item lego Domino Iohanni, Anchoritae apud Westmonasterium C.s. et 1 Par *Pater Noster* Geinsid de gete, quibus utor.' *Rymer Foedera*, iv, pt. ii, p. 131.

[5] *John Amundesham's Chronicle* (Rolls Series 28, v), i, 33.

[6] W.A.M. 18745.

[7] Cf. Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites of England*, pp. 154–5. Miss Clay first made the suggestion that the recluse in 1413 might be Bro. John London, but the confirmatory facts from the Abbey Muniments were not available at the time she wrote her book. It is, perhaps, necessary to say—as Miss Clay and others have been misled by it—that the so-called 'unpublished chronicle in the Westminster Archives' quoted by the late Sir Walter Besant in his *Westminster* (pp. 102–10), and purporting to be written by a Westminster monk, is a fabrication.

We may then put forward our conclusions thus; that in the thirteenth century the Westminster recluse lived somewhere in the east part of the precincts near the infirmary, and that when the new church was set out in 1245–50 it was not contemplated that his cell should be attached to it. At some time, however, in the fourteenth century the reclusorium was placed in the external angle between the south transept and St. Benedict's chapel, and a door cut through the south wall of the chapel to give access to it, and thenceforward, so far as we know, the recluse lived there. Of the details of his cell we can say little, but he had a fireplace, as faggots and coal were provided for him, as well as twelve pounds of candles yearly.

It would be difficult to find a more suitable or secluded site, opening as it did on the one side into the chapel dedicated to the founder of the Order, and on the other on to the monks' cemetery. In one way only was it accessible other than through the church or the infirmary and that was by the private postern gate which led to the palace. It is perhaps worth noting also that the original site would have been outside the great wall which was built round the monastery in 1374 and succeeding years. If, on the other hand, the cell had remained in or near the infirmary, as Mr. Westlake thought, it is almost inconceivable that the infirmarer would not have been called upon from time to time to repair it; but it is never mentioned in the very complete series of Infirmarer's Rolls which are preserved in the Muniment Room.

The abbey church is so full of history that it may seem needless to dwell on what it has seen, but we can hardly be taken to task for imagining that it was to this plain little doorway, on the night of 21st March 1413, that the remorseful Prince Hal came from Jerusalem, where his father lay dead, to make his confession to the recluse of Westminster. So before him had come King Richard the Second on that dreadful day when Wat Tyler was slain before his eyes, and so too came many others from time to time whose names belong to history. But such things find little or no place in our records, and of the thousands who come to the abbey to-day few would ever know that the doorway existed, if it were not that in front of it, day in day out, sits one of the vergers who receives the sixpences which pass them through to the tombs of the kings.

Note

Since this Paper was read to the Society we have come across an interesting passage in the *Autobiography of Thomas Raymond*[1] which seems to provide very curious corroboration for the identification of the site of the recluse's cell suggested in the Paper. Raymond was living with his uncle[2] in a house by the entrance to Poets Corner about 1629–30, and it is clear from what he says in the last sentence that at that time the tradition was still a living one that this house embodied part of the recluse's cell. It is probable, too, that the window looking into the church was still in existence for otherwise Raymond would have been unlikely to have mentioned it or even to have known of it. The passage is as follows:

> Our lodginge were in a little straight howse built in a corner on the lefte hand as soone as you are out of the East door of Westminster Abbey, bellonging to one of the vergers of the Church, and is since demolished. My chamber was just under there, high towards on pynacle of the Abbey, and in rayney or wyndy nights there would fall downe upon the leades of the roofe of my chamber such huge pieces of free stone (those parts of the Church being much decayed and dayly decaying) that I often tymes thought I should be knocked on the head before morneing.[3] And as before I tooke my selfe to be much endangered by theeves, soe here I apprehended as bad a death My unkle, being wondered at and sometymes laughed at for the place of his lodgings, had this storey with other arguments to defende it, which I have heard him often relate for a real truth. In the latter tymes of Henry the 7th a prebendary of this Church[4] (haveing lived most of his life in his cloyster commeing little in the world) was perswaded by some friends to goe toe a maske at Courte where he hardly ever had beene, but never saw such a sight, the masks very glorious and the King and Courte in mighty gallantrie. The maske ended not till well towards morneing, and the prebendary returned home hugely satisfied and admyring the glories he had seene, and rose not that morneing till towards ten of the clock. And being very still these

---

[1] *Autobiography of Thomas Raymond*, pp. 26–7. Camden Society, 3rd series, vol. xxviii (1917).

[2] William (afterwards Sir William) Boswell at that time secretary to John Williams, dean of Westminster, bishop of Lincoln and lord keeper. See *Autobiography of Thomas Raymond*, pp. 69–80, and *D.N.B.* under Boswell, Sir William.

[3] Dean Williams 'found the Church in such decay, that all that passed by, and loved the honour of God's house, shook their heads at the stones that dropped down from the pinnacles'. Hacket, *Life of John Williams* (1693), p. 46.

[4] He means, of course, a monk. The most likely is, perhaps, Brother William Lambard who entered the Convent in 1456–7 and was refectorer 1503–5. After that date he seems to have held no further office until his death in 1513. For some years before his death he had been in receipt of a small pension such as was usually given to the recluse.

things much possessed his thoughts, and, haveing received many civillities at this mask from several greate courtiers, he resolved to goe to Courte to returne them his thancks and again to feede his eyes with the glories there. And comeing to the Courte, the great gates were both open and no porters attending, and passing farther the yards were strewed with straw and horse dunge; not a creature to be seene. Goeing up stayres in the like case to the gard chamber, there he found only bare walls, dust and rubbish, and the tables and trustles throwne aboute. Then to the presence chamber where he had seene the cloth of state, rich hangings, yet nothing but dust and bare walls, and one corner a poore old man with a piece of candle in his hand—the Courte being that day removed—lookeing for pynns. This soe sudden and strange a change from what he had with admiration seene the night before strucke such a serious consideration into him of the mutability of the glories of this world that, returneing to his monastery, he within a while after bound himselfe an anchorite. And in this very place where our lodging nowe was his cell, haveing a little hole through the Churche wall, by which he could see the high altar and heare masse. Where he in greate devotion lived and dyed.

III. THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HERALDIC GLASS

The glass which, by permission of the dean and chapter, we are exhibiting to-night, is shown for its interest as early specimens of heraldic glass, and we propose to say with regard to it only so much as will record its known history.

There are three heater-shaped shields, one of the leopards of England, for King Henry III; one of the red pallets of Provence, for his queen Eleanor; and one of the lion rampant in a border bezanty of Cornwall, for Richard of Cornwall, brother of the king.

King Henry's shield alone of the three is in its original state. Queen Eleanor's has had its pallets counterchanged with its gold ground in a perverse manner, and the Cornwall shield has had a blue ground substituted for the original silver, thus committing the heraldic crime of colour on colour.[1]

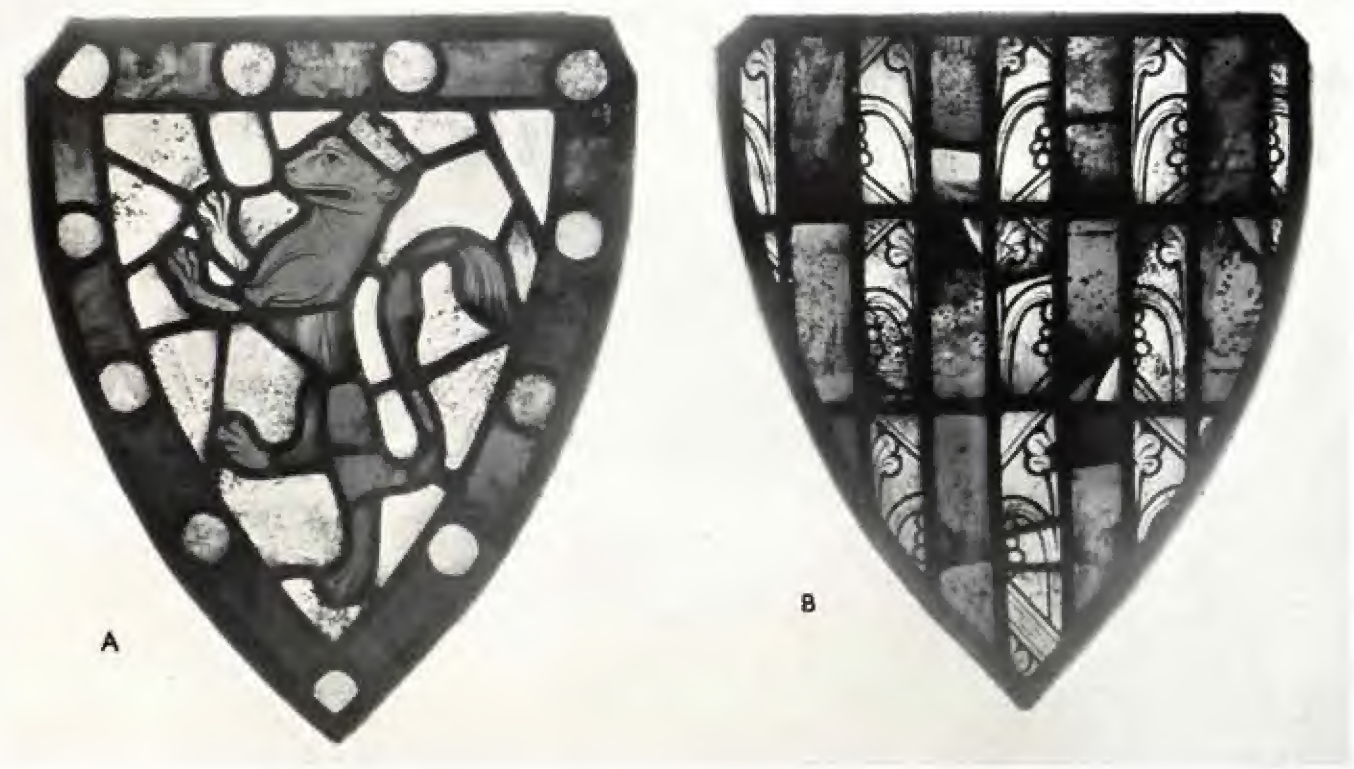
As to the later story of these shields, it is on record that during the general reglazing of the church under Sir Christopher Wren between 1700 and 1722 there was paid in 1706 the sum of £70 for '566·3 feet of painted glass amended and new leaded at the east end of the church'.[2] This date, with the name of the glazier Edward Drew, is scratched on the shield of St. Peter in the head of the central clerestory window of the main apse, above the Confessor's chapel. This window and those to the north and south of it, that is, the three eastern windows of the clerestory, are filled with a jumble of glass of all dates collected at that time from various parts of the church, the scheme showing large figures standing under ogee canopies, in the heads of which are shields of arms. There being two lights in each window, there are six shields.[3] Three of them are here to-night; of the others one shows the arms of the Confessor, on which the gold cross may be ancient, but the plump pigeon-like martlets are of much later date. The remaining two, in the north-east window, are mere jumbles, with impossible inverted chevrons, but glazed into one of them is a thirteenth-century fleur-de-lys, which may have been part of a grisaille border.

---

[1] These shields have now been set in one of the windows of St. Edmund's chapel. The pallets of Queen Eleanor's shield have been restored to their original form, and the blue glass of Richard of Cornwall's shield has been replaced by clear glass.

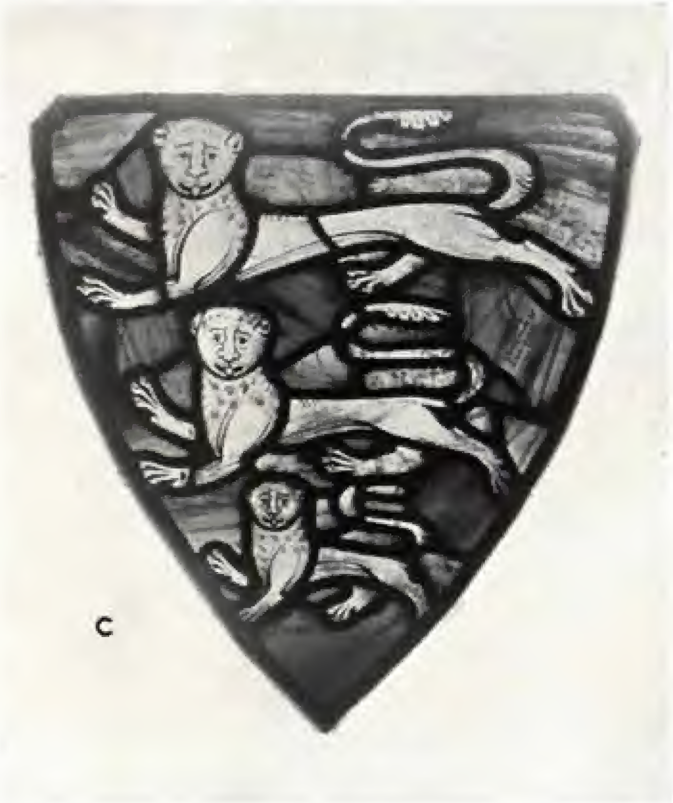
[2] W.A. M. 34511, f. 10.

[3] These are probably the '6 coates of Armes new leaded at 15s' in 1701 (W.A.M. 34519, f. 41).



A. Cornwall

B. Provence



C. England

Thirteenth-century heraldic glass now in St. Nicholas's Chapel

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

Of the original position of these shields we have no certain knowledge, but perhaps they were set in the grisaille glass of which a little has survived—a few panels having been put together in the southern window of the west aisle of the north transept.[1] What is, however, relevant to our purpose is that in the MS. D.d.viii.39 in the Cambridge University Library, there is some account of glass remaining in the abbey in or about the year 1686, just before Wren's rearrangement, compiled by Henry Keepe, author of an account of Westminster Abbey and its monuments, printed 1682, and again with additions in 1683. The manuscript contains materials for a more ambitious book on the same subject, never completed. In the windows of the chapter-house, he says, 'are only the arms of Henry III . . . Provigne . . . and Richard Rex Roman. R. Siciliae et Com. Cornub.' In the windows of St. Edmund's chapel, 'Hen. 3 and Provigne divers times as before in ye Chapterhouse, St. Edw. the Confessor'. There were also the arms of John Williams, dean 1620–44, and bishop of Lincoln. In St. Nicholas chapel the arms of Dean Williams and Lincoln are repeated.

There are no other notes of glass in the church in this manuscript though, of course, more survived at the date, but it is interesting to see that the shields now in the clerestory windows of the apse can all be accounted for in the above extracts. In Lethaby's *Westminster Abbey Re-examined*, p. 239, is a reference to MS. Lansdowne 874 (British Museum), in which a set of heraldic drawings by William Camden occur. These Mr. Lethaby considers to have been from the windows, but this is not certain, and some of them may be from the stone shields in the spandrels of the wall arcades in the north and south aisles of the nave. They include not only the king, the queen, and Richard of Cornwall, but also Prince Edward, Castille and Aragon, the Empire, Clare, Ponthieu, the Confessor, and De Lacy.

One more piece of heraldic glass remains to be noticed. It comes from the circle in the head of the north-east window of the apse, and may be described as the Royal Arms of England, *temp*. Henry VIII. The first and second quarters, France and England, seem contemporary, and the bloated countenances of the leopards recall that of their master in his last years, as, for example, on his 'bag-cheek' groats. The third quarter, however, has three thirteenth-century leopards, ruthlessly cut down to fit their places, but coming doubtless from another shield of Henry III, like that which fortunately survives.

This heraldic glass, except the last-mentioned shield, may be assumed to be part of the original glazing of the abbey church, and to have been in its place by 1269. No other heraldic glass in England can rival it in age, unless it be that in the base of the west window of the nave of Salisbury cathedral, described by our Fellow, Mr. Dorling, in vol. iv of the *Ancestor*, pp. 120–6. The arms in these shields are those of Clare, Provence, France, England, Cornwall, and Bigod, and Mr. Dorling suggests that the occasion of the 8th Crusade, 1268, may have been the reason for their appearance. He notes that these shields are 21 in. high and 17 in. wide: ours at Westminster measure 18 in. by 15. They were only placed in the west window of the nave at

---

[1] Now (1948) in the Muniment Room. This glass was found in 1868 'in its original position in the window on the east side (of the Chapel of St Nicholas), which was blocked up by the erection of Henry VII's Chapel'. H. Poole in *Journal R.I.B.A.*, 20th Feb. 1890.

Salisbury in 1828, having previously been in the chapter-house—but their history is quite uncertain. If those of England and Cornwall are compared with their opposite numbers at Westminster, it will be seen that they are markedly different in drawing, and no argument for a common origin can be sustained.

Here, perhaps, it may be convenient to notice one further, though later, coat of arms which was formerly in one of the windows of the abbey and has not hitherto been recorded. Among the Ashmole MSS. in the Bodleian (Ashmole 1121, f. 225) is a drawing of 'The Arms of King Edward the 4th with his Queene as they stand in the North Window in the Abbey of Westminster with these supporters'. The drawing shows a large shield surmounted by a crown with lion and greyhound supporters. The arms are France and England quarterly impaling the six quarterings of Queen Elizabeth Wydeville. The dexter supporter has the note 'King Edward the 4th bore the White Lion in right of his earldom of March'. It will be remembered that Queen Elizabeth Wydeville, in return for the kindness with which she had been treated when she was in sanctuary at Westminster, built at her own cost a chapel[1] dedicated to St. Erasmus which adjoined the old Lady chapel. It is quite possible that this shield was originally in a window in this chapel and that when the chapel was pulled down to make way for Henry VII's chapel, it was moved to the 'North Window'.

IV. A NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION ON THE CHRISTOPHER PAINTING IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT

It remains to add a note for purposes of record, on the painting of St. Christopher in the south transept. This, with the adjoining painting of the Incredulity of St. Thomas was the subject of an article by Professor Tristram in the *Burlington Magazine* for May 1937. In the upper part of the St. Christopher is an inscription in white capitals on a green ground, which is referred to as not being decipherable with certainty. This, however, is not the case, only one word—the last but one in the hexameter—being at all doubtful. It runs thus:

XPOFORVM : QVIA : FERT : XPM : SIC : CONCIPE : DICTVM
CRESCERE : QVEM : PORTAT : HINC : FACIT : OMNIPOTENS

The verses need no translation, but inasmuch as the painting is so closely of the date of the compiling of the *Golden Legend*, we ask your indulgence if we quote a few sentences from our translation, for the sheer pleasure of reading William Caxton's English:

> And then Christopher lift up the child on his shoulders, and took his staff, and entered in to the river for to pass. And the water of the river arose and swelled more and more: and the child was as heavy as lead, and alway as he went farther the water increased and grew more, and the child more and more waxed heavy, insomuch that Christopher had great anguish and was

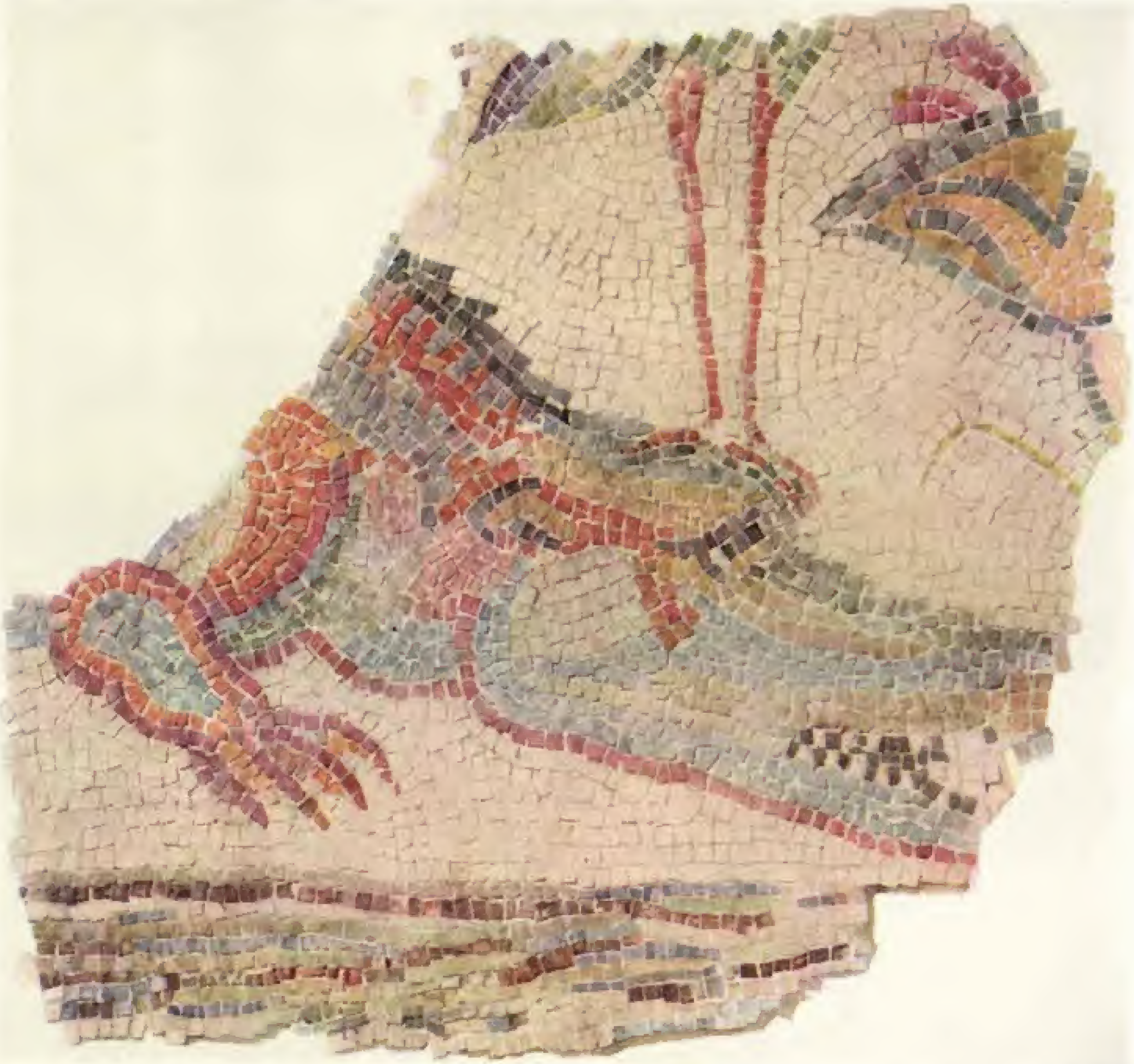
---

[1] In a draft copy of a royal charter dated 1479 among the Muniments (W.A.M. 5254) it is described as 'quædam capella Sancti Erasmi per praefatam [*torn*] consortem nostram contigua et connexa capelle beati Maria [*sic*] ecclesia illius de novo nuper constructa'. Twenty-one thousand bricks, three hundred and two loads of lime and twenty loads of sand were used in the building (W.A.M. Liber Niger, f. 93. Cf. Westlake, *Westminster Abbey*, ii, 350)

afeared to be drowned. And when he was escaped with great pains, and passed the water, and set the child aground, he said to the child: Child, thou hast put me in great peril: thou weighest almost as I had all the world upon me, I might bear no greater burden. And the child answered: Christopher, marvel thee nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast borne him that created and made all the world, upon thy shoulders.

In cleaning the wall below the painting, another inscription has been revealed. This is the usual couplet, referring to the protection given to anyone who day by day looked at a representation of the saint. The dashboard of many a motor-car bears testimony to the survival of this precaution to our own day.

SANCTI XPOFORI SPECIEM QVICVMQVE TVETVR
ILLA NEMPE DIE NVLLO LANGVORE TENETVR



From a water-colour by L. E. Gallagher

Room 2 (Frigidarium): detail of mosaic in semi-dome of east plunge, south side ($\frac{1}{4}$)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

The Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna

By J. B. WARD PERKINS, Esq., F.S.A., and JOCELYN M. C. TOYNBEE, D.Phil., F.S.A.

Survey by RICHARD FRASER, Esq, A.R.I.B.A.

THE Hunting Baths[1] at Lepcis Magna lie on the western fringes of the town, about 100 yards from the sea-shore and about half-way between the mouth of the Wadi er-Saf, which formed the western boundary of the city at its fullest extent, and the defensive wall which enclosed the more compact late-Imperial city. It was found and cleared in 1932–3, under the direction of the late Professor Giacomo Guidi. He was at the time already engaged on the excavation of a number of other major sites, both at Lepcis and Sabratha, and the only contemporary account of the excavation is that contained in the brief weekly reports compiled by the technical foreman in charge of the work. These reports are preserved in the archives of the Superintendency of Monuments and Excavations at Tripoli, and they consist of little more than a summary working-diary of the problems of clearance and consolidation, tasks which, in view of the condition of the vaults, were of necessity undertaken simultaneously. With the exception of these reports, the only record of these buildings as they were at the time of their discovery is contained in a small, but valuable, collection of photographs in the archives of the Superintendency, some of which were taken while the work of restoration was still in its initial stages (pls. XXXV, *a* and *b*; XXXVI, *b–d*).

The present account is based on a detailed survey of the structure undertaken in the summer of 1948 by Mr. Richard Fraser, Rome Scholar in architecture at the British School at Rome. In presenting this survey we have limited ourselves to a factual account of the surviving remains with a minimum of critical commentary. The interest of the building lies in its completeness. The state of preservation both of the structure and of its ornament is such that, while neither is, in itself, of outstanding distinction, the whole forms a quite unusually comprehensive example of a class of building which was widespread in the later Roman Empire but is all too often represented by foundations only. The remains can safely be left to speak for themselves.

Our thanks are due to the authorities of the British Military Administration, who gave us every facility, and in particular to Mr. R. G. Goodchild, at the time Antiquities Officer for the Administration, to Professor Giacomo Caputo, Superintendent of Antiquities, and to all those members of their staff who helped us during the work of survey. We have had the advantage of discussing the Baths on the ground with Miss Kenyon and Professor R. E. M. Wheeler; and Miss M. V. Taylor has been most helpful in the preparation of this report. Pl. XXXIV is taken from a water-colour by Mr. L. E. Gallagher; and the water-colour reproductions on pls. XLII and

---

[1] This name has been adopted in preference to the Italian *Terme extraurbane*, as being more distinctive. The building did not, in any case, lie outside the walls until the second decade of the fourth century.

XLIV are the work of Signor Calabrò, formerly on the staff of the Superintendency. The present publication appears concurrently with a critical study of the mosaics of the apse in the Frigidarium, by Dr. Gennaro Pesce, former inspector in the Superintendency, in *Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero*, 1949, fasc. 1, pp. 46–50.

I. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SETTING

In the absence of any detailed record of the excavation, there is not much that can be said of the archaeological setting of the Hunting Baths. The district in which they lie is remote from the town-centre, and can have been developed little, if at all, before the beginning of the second century A.D. That it lay within the area of formal development seems certain, both from the plan of the adjacent buildings and from the fact that the street is carefully paved with limestone blocks; and it would seem that, on this side at any rate, the town proper stretched, at its greatest extent, almost to the limits of the space enclosed by the *monticelli*.[1] The Baths were not the first buildings on the site (see below, p. 167); and they can hardly therefore, at the earliest, have been built before the latter part of the second century. They were probably abandoned in the fourth century. We know from Procopius that the army of Justinian in 533–4 found most of the city deserted and buried under sand-dunes;[2] and it is clear from the surviving remains that the encroachment began from the south and west of the city. In the West Gate, for example, the carriage-way was partially blocked against the sand by a semicircular retaining wall at some date between its construction in the early fourth century and its final abandonment, probably in the fifth. The walls which block the street immediately to the south of the Hunting Baths no doubt served a similar function;[3] and in the Baths themselves the still-unexcavated deposits beneath the hypocaust floors are of fine dune-sand. Historically, while there is no reason to believe that the construction of the early fourth-century walls involved the immediate abandonment of all the districts which lay outside the circuit,[4] it is improbable that many outlying buildings survived the disastrous events of 363, when the city was besieged and the surrounding country-side brutally ravaged by the tribesmen of the interior.[5] Such as it is, then, the external evidence suggests that the Hunting Baths were not built before the latter part of the second century, if indeed as early; and that they were abandoned not later than the third quarter of the fourth century under the combined stress of sand-encroachment and political events.

Despite this relatively brief duration, the remains are by no means homogeneous and reveal a structural history of some complexity. This may conveniently be considered under four main heads: pre-bath structures; the original bath-building; modifications to the original bath-building; and the enlargement and extension of the early nucleus by the addition of a number of fresh rooms to the west, north, and east.

---

[1] For the *monticelli* see P. Romanelli, *Leptis Magna*, Rome, 1925, pp. 72 ff. To the west of the Wadi Lebdah they combine the functions of a flood-water channel and a defensive rampart. The corresponding earthworks, which complete the defensive circuit to the east, were identified from the air in 1945.

[2] *De Aedificiis*, vi. 4.

[3] One such blocking-wall can be seen in pl. XLVIII, beside the cisterns. A few yards to the south, at the angle of the insula, a second late wall completely blocks the street.

[4] Many buildings were, however, demolished to provide building-material.

[5] Ammianus, xxvii. 6. Traces of overturned walls and of extensive burning noted by the excavators along the north-west perimeter (Weekly Report of 28th June 1933) may perhaps be ascribed to these events.

As will become clear from the detailed study of the building and of its ornament, the third and fourth of these phases are, in fact, closely interrelated; but it is convenient at this juncture to distinguish the two, and to describe their main features separately.

II. THE BUILDING[1]

(*a*) *Pre-bath Structures*

The central bath-building was a completely new structure and obliterated all trace above ground of any earlier buildings on the same site. At several points, however, on the periphery of the central block there are remains of earlier buildings, which were later incorporated into the outbuildings that were added to the original nucleus. The distinction is unmistakable, for, in contrast to the rubble concrete of the bath-building, the earlier walls are of massive sandstone masonry, and they are also slightly off alinement to the axis of later buildings. The west and south walls of what was later to become room 19 are of this character; and the plunge of the Tepidarium (room 5) is built into the south-west angle of a room of similar masonry.[2] At both points the concrete walls of the bath-building are demonstrably secondary to the sandstone blocks of the earlier buildings (pl. XXXVII, *b*). To the east also there are footings of a similar structure in the space between rooms 15 and 16 and the tank which abuts on the eastern end of the Frigidarium.

To the same early phase belongs the initial layout of the *insula* immediately across the street, to the west of the Baths. Little more than the street-frontage has been exposed, but this includes an elaborate entrance, or exedra, with a triple opening between columns and flanking piers. The material throughout is a fine grey limestone, which was quarried locally in enormous quantities during the first and early second centuries, but seems to have been exhausted soon afterwards, certainly well before the close of the second century. The form of the bases and of the Ionic capitals is equally characteristic of the developed early-Imperial architecture of Lepcis. The latest securely dated examples are in the Hadrianic Baths; and by the middle of the century the local tradition seems to have been wholly abandoned in favour of imported marble columns and standardized Corinthian forms of capital and base.

(*b*) *The Early Bath-building*

Both in material and in appearance the early bath-building forms a striking contrast to any building which preceded it. It is built throughout of rubble concrete, and the architectural forms are those first evolved by the architects of the dynamic, concrete-vaulted architecture of the capital during the latter part of the first, and early years of the second, century A.D. (see below, p. 192). The individual rooms are conceived in terms, not of a unified classical exterior, but of the space to be enclosed by each; and the resultant medley of domes and barrel-vaults must have conveyed a startling impression of modernism to eyes that were accustomed to the dignified rhythms of Hellenistic classicism.

---

[1] For convenience the points of the compass are described throughout as if the building were exactly orientated.

[2] Now considerably restored; but the sandstone blocks of the south wall are plainly visible in pl. XXXV, *b*, taken during excavation.

There, is on the other hand, little of the studied waywardness that characterizes such extreme expressions of this tendency as the Lesser Baths at Hadrian's Villa.[1] The composition as a whole is an ingenious, and not unsuccessful, compromise between the free, illusionistic grouping of interiors and the external symmetry of classical tradition. A barrel-vaulted corridor at the north-east angle (room 1 : for the numeration of rooms see plans, pls. xlvii and xlviii) opens directly on to the Frigidarium, an oblong, barrel-vaulted hall, which runs the full width of the building with apsidal, half-domed plunge-baths projecting at either end. The plunges are sunk below the level of the floor. A third, and larger, plunge now opens off the centre of the north side; but this is not original. It replaces an earlier layout, which consisted of two identical rooms (3*a* and 4*a*), perhaps the Apodyterium and a latrine, both barrel-vaulted at right angles to the Frigidarium, and each furnished with a small rectangular window in the centre of the north wall. The half of one of these rooms and of its vault survives, incorporated into the later building as a corridor (pl. xxxvii, *a*); and the scars of the window and of the vaults of both can be seen in the structure of the outer wall of the later plunge. To the south of the Frigidarium lie two octagonal, domed rooms; and beyond these again a pair of rectangular rooms with rectangular plunges. These rectangular rooms are separated from each other by a partition wall, but are covered by a single barrel-vault parallel to that of the Frigidarium. The small Caldarium range at the south-west angle is, in its present form, a later addition; and although symmetry seems to demand some original feature at this point, there is in fact no trace surviving of any earlier structure.

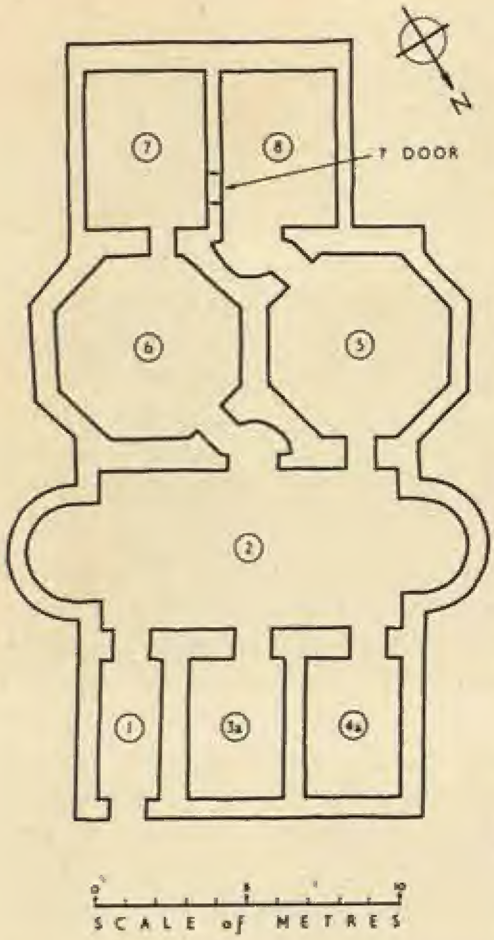


FIG. 1. Plan of building before modification.

Of this southern range of rooms, room 5 was the Tepidarium, with the remains of a mosaic floor raised on a hypocaust, but otherwise unheated. Rooms 6–8 all have hypocaust floors and a lining of flue-tiles to the walls. Rooms 7 and 8 were heated by furnaces from behind the raised plunge-baths; and a small, semicircular recess in the south-east face of room 6 was perhaps in its earlier form a supplementary furnace, stoked from the semi-subterranean service-corridor which connects it with the main service-corridor to the south of the central block;[2] alternatively, it may have been a urinal. In its later form room 8 can only be reached by passing successively through rooms 5, 6, and 7. But there are clear indications that this was not the original arrangement. A door, now blocked, led from room 5 into the semicircular recess off room 8; and there are indications not only that a similar door led from room 6 into the corresponding recess off the centre of the south side of room 2, but also that the doorway between the two octagonal rooms, 5 and 6, was an afterthought. The doorway between rooms 7 and 8 may also be secondary. The earlier arrangement was, it seems therefore, either a circuit, or two parallel and identical suites, consisting each of a single tepidarium and caldarium opening off a common frigidarium. Only later was this replaced by the closed, one-way layout of the surviving structures.

---

[1] *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, iii, 1919, pl. 77. D. Krencker and E. Krüger, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen*, Augsburg, 1929, pp. 260–2, fig. 391*a*.

[2] The sockets for the wooden roofing of the service-corridor can be seen in pl. xxxv, *a*, bottom left.

The water-supply and heating arrangements of the baths can more usefully be discussed in connexion with the later layout of the building, to which the majority of the surviving remains certainly belong (below, pp. 173–7). Among the few surviving features which can certainly be ascribed to the earlier building are two rectangular recesses, high up in the outer south face of rooms 7 and 8, to be connected perhaps with the water-supply of the plunges within; and the vent-holes which pierce the vaults of the Caldaria and of the Tepidarium to carry the fumes from the furnaces to the exterior (pl. XXXVII, *d*, and plan, pl. XLVIII). These consist of terra-cotta piping incorporated into the body of the concrete vault, and may be compared with the well-preserved examples in the great Caldarium of the Hadrianic Baths at Lepcis. The water-tanks to the east and to the west of the Frigidarium are also early.

A distinctive feature of the building is that most of the windows are pierced in the curved section of the vault, in one case (room 1) and possibly in another (room 3) in the actual crown of the vault. The only exceptions are the two early rooms at the north end, 3*a* and 4*a*, the two end walls of the main Caldaria (rooms 7 and 8), and the small caldarium range which was inserted later at the south-west angle. The original allotment of windows was evidently found to be too generous. Almost without exception they were later reduced in size; and the two pairs on the north side of the barrel-vaults of the Frigidarium and of the Caldaria respectively were completely suppressed. The windows of the hot rooms at any rate must have been framed; but of the detail of the framing there is now no trace.

(*c*) *Modifications to the Early Bath-building*

With the passage of time the original building underwent a number of modifications, which considerably altered its detailed functioning as a bath-house. Architecturally the most striking of these was the suppression of the whole of the one, and of part of the second, of the two barrel-vaulted rooms (3*a* and 4*a*), which formed the original north-west angle of the building, in favour of a large square plunge, placed symmetrically on the major axis. The remaining part of room 4*a* survived as a corridor, roofed by the surviving half of the original barrel-vault, which still stands, rigid, and only in part supported, a monument to the quality of the concrete of which it is composed (pl. XXXVII, *a*). The plunge was found by the excavators completely unroofed (pl. XXXVI, *c* and *d*), but it has almost certainly been rightly restored with an intersecting barrel-vault. The correctness of the restored lunette windows (pl. XXXVI, *a*) is more dubious. These represent orthodox classical practice. It is far more probable, however, that in this, as in almost every other detail that we can check, the Hunting Baths adopted the same expedients as a smaller, but even better preserved, bath-building, partially excavated near the House of the Orpheus Mosaic (pl. XXXVI, *e*), and that the lighting came from four small rectangular windows pierced in the crown of each barrel-vault about half-way out from the centre of the room. The vault has been so shown in Mr. Fraser's restored drawings (pls. XLVIII, XLIX, and LI). The doorway at the south-east angle of the Frigidarium is another late insertion.

It was probably on the same occasion that the internal circuit was completely altered by the suppression of the two oblique doors, between rooms 2 and 6 and rooms 5 and 8, and by the opening of a new door between the two octagonal rooms, perhaps also between rooms 7 and 8. At the same time the internal heating arrangements were extensively remodelled. The present hypocaust floor of the niche off room 8 was laid when the door from room 5 had already been blocked; the marble veneer which once covered the walls of room 7, over the flue-tiles, was, as the impressions show, re-used material (pl. XXXIX, *a*); the earlier furnace(?) in the south-east wall of room 6 was replaced by an ornamental niche, with a small basin and stucco shell-head above (pl. XLV, *e*); and in general terms the pattern of the flues conforms to the later rather than to the earlier arrangements of the doors.

A more radical innovation was the insertion of a miniature Caldarium range at the south-west angle. It consists of three tiny rooms, the northernmost heated only by a hypocaust and the other two by hypocaust and wall-flues, with a raised plunge at the south end, directly over the furnace. The intermediate room has a shallow cross-vault; while the southernmost has a remarkable vault, consisting of a shallow, elongated saucer dome carried at the angles on squinches (fig. 2). The squinches, which appear externally also (pl. XXXVII, *e*), are in no sense structural, for the supporting factor of the vault is the strength of the concrete, quite irrespective of its shape. But they plainly indicate acquaintance, if only in a garbled form, with the principle of the squinch, and they afford evidence of the use of this device in Roman architecture at a date considerably earlier than is often admitted.[1] The relation of this south-west range to the earlier building is clearly marked. Externally the south wall of room 11 is butted against, and clasps, the south-west angle of room 8; while the west wall is roughly grouted into the pre-existing angle of room 5 (pl. XXXVII, *c*). Within, the door from room 5 can be seen to be a secondary insertion. The later work is further distinguished by the form of its windows, which incorporate a roughly built, flat relieving arch above the square opening (pl. XXXVII, *c*). These windows were at first larger, and only later were they reduced to their present minute dimensions.

The construction of a rectangular plunge opening off the Tepidarium (room 5) is probably, though not certainly, an alteration to the original design. The only indication of its relative date is its position in relation to the general plan. It seems unlikely that a feature so markedly asymmetrical should have formed part of the original building. It incorporates, however, the masonry of a far earlier building, of massive sandstone blocks; and like the other external rooms on this side of the central block, it may well have served for a while as a cistern, before it was incorporated into the Baths in its present form. The door at the north-west angle of the Tepidarium is another late feature, contemporary with the incorporation into the main building of room 20, which had also previously been a cistern. The small piscina in the south-west wall is presumably contemporary with its more elaborate counterpart in room 6.

---

[1] J. B. Ward Perkins, 'The Italian Element in Late Roman and Early Medieval Architecture', from *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxiii, 1947–8, pp. 17–18 and footnote 54. For a bibliography of the literature up to 1939, see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, ii, Oxford, 1940, p. 101.

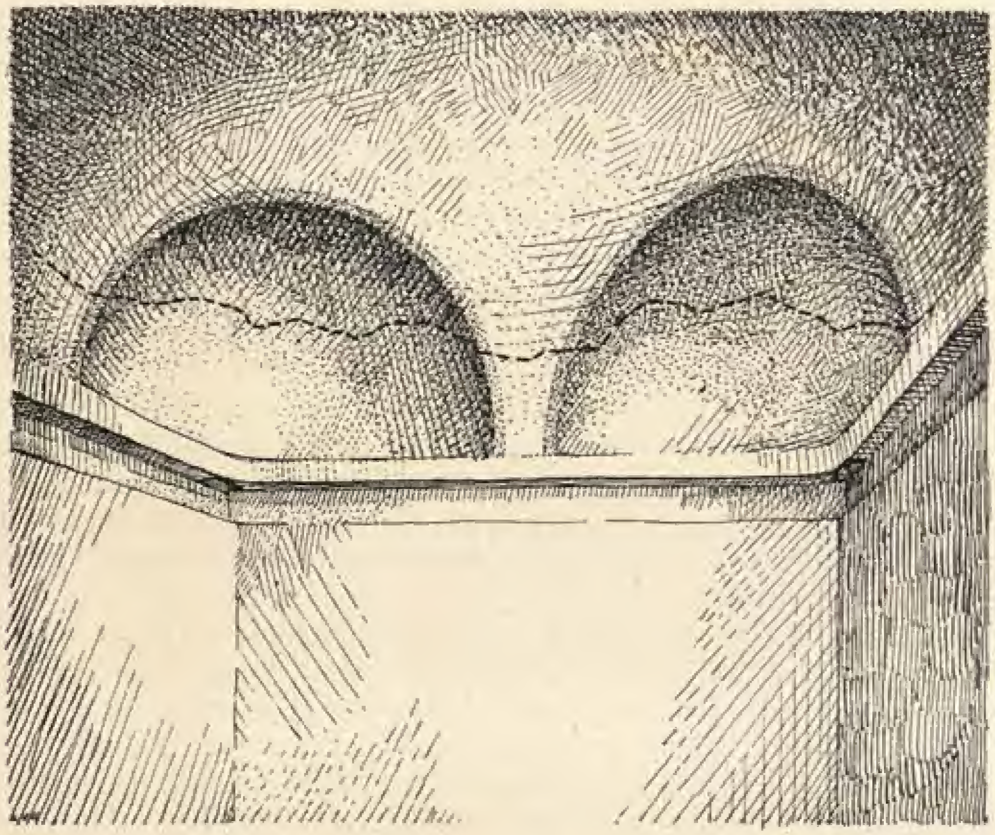


FIG. 2. Vault of room 10 (after a measured sketch by Prof. R. E. M. Wheeler).

The water-supply and heating arrangements of the remodelled bath-building are described below (pp. 173–7).

(*d*) *Additions to the original nucleus*

Concurrently with the modification of the early bath-building, a number of out-buildings were added to it, which must have altered considerably, not only its external appearance, but the manner in which it was used. Indeed they suggest that the social purpose of the Baths was, in its later stages, decidedly different from that envisaged by its original builders.

The most striking extension was to the north and east, where a whole fresh range of rooms was added. In contrast to the vaulted rubble-concrete masonry of the bath-building proper, these were timber-roofed; and the walls are built throughout in an orthostat-and-rubble-concrete technique, which in a variety of related forms is characteristic of the architecture of Lepcis over a long period. It is sufficient to quote in this context large parts of the Hadrianic Baths[1] and, nearer at hand, the houses at the south end of the insula immediately to the west of the Hunting Baths. An interesting variant, with mud-brick in place of rubble concrete, can be seen behind the Chalcidicum, near the Theatre.

Apart from subsequent minor alterations the new range was evidently planned as a whole, with a single perimeter wall to the south and east, and a monumental portico running the full width of the north façade to give unity to the diversity behind it. The portico (pl. XXXVI, *d*) consists of seven squared limestone piers, which carried presumably a simple pent roof; and within it steps lead up to two doors, the one opening into a large colonnaded hall, the Apodyterium, which precedes the bath-building proper; the other into a plain rectangular room, which was formerly elaborately painted with hunting trophies (p. 190).

The Apodyterium (room 12) is a rectangular hall, 25·5 by 7 metres, divided longitudinally by a single row of six squared limestone orthostats. The architectural form is obscured in plan by the later addition of benches along the walls and between the piers, but it is clear from the surviving borders of the mosaic floor that the latter were originally free-standing. The walls are unfortunately nowhere preserved to roof-height; nor are any of the trapezoidal blocks, which formerly crowned the piers in place of capitals, still in position. The most natural, and probably the correct, hypothesis is that short timbers, laid transversely across the two aisles, carried a pitched roof. It should be noted, however, that the orthostats of the outer wall do not, as one might have expected, correspond to the piers, so that the outer ends of the beams must, in that case, have been socketed into the intervening rubble-concrete. A small annexe on the south side (room 13) leads into room 1 of the bath-building, and there are doors out of the main hall also into rooms 1 and 4. There was at first a side-entry from the street into the Apodyterium, in the middle of the west wall; but this was suppressed when the benches were inserted. An oblique interruption to the pattern of the mosaic floor marks the passage of a small, surface drain.

The structural relation of the colonnaded hall and of its annexe to the early bath-building is decisively attested by the straight joints which mark the points of junction between the two. It is particularly clear at the north-west angle of the former, where the remains of the original external rendering can still be seen in the thickness of the joint (pl. XXXVII, *a*).

Two doors open off the colonnaded hall near the main entrance. The first door, at the south-east angle, leads into a pair of rooms which evidently constituted the subsidiary offices of the Apodyterium. The one (room 16) stands at a rather higher level and is entered up steps. It is now featureless, save for the remains of a door leading up into the courtyard behind; the other (room 15, pl. XL, *d*) is a gaily decorated latrine of the conventional type, flushed by a drain which enters near the south-west angle from the direction of the bath-building and runs towards the sea. Of the actual latrine-benches all that now remains is a line of supporting brackets in the outer wall. The other door opens off the Apodyterium into the east wing, which is, by contrast, curiously isolated. The main entrance is that from the outer portico, and there is only the single side door into the bath-complex. Structurally the two rooms are featureless; but from the elaborate painted ornament of room 17 (see pp. 189–90), it is clear that they were intended to play an important part in the life of the building as a whole.

---

[1] R. Bartoccini, *Le Terme di Lepcis*, Bergamo, 1929, fig. 65.

Concurrently with the addition of the new wings to the north and east, two small rooms (19 and 20) on the west of the early block were now incorporated within the bath-building. These had both, it seems, previously been cisterns, built in part out of the remains of yet earlier buildings (see above, p. 167). Considerable traces survive of waterproof rendering, and there is a vertical duct in the north-east angle of room 20 for the collection of rain-water from the roof (pl. XXXVII, *b*, bottom right). To incorporate these two rooms into the main complex, doors were now cut from rooms 4 and 5, and the previous wooden roofs were replaced by concrete vaults. That of room 19 was a barrel-vault, the spring of which can be seen in pl. XXXVII, *a* (top right), resting in the outer angle of the earlier vault of room 4. That of room 20 also consists of a barrel-vault, following the outer curve of the apse and extending precariously outwards to embrace the projecting south-west angle of the room. To lighten the load, the vault was built very largely out of the same long, tubular drain-pipes (75 cm. in length, with a maximum diameter of 13·5 cm.) as had been used in the preceding period for the rain-water duct in the same room (pl. XXXVII, *e*).

III. WATER-SUPPLY AND HEATING

While certain individual features go back to the original building (p. 169), it is evident that the later alterations and additions were accompanied by a thorough remodelling of the arrangements for the supply of water and of heat. This is an aspect of the classical bath-building that is all too often represented by tantalizing fragments only. In the Hunting Baths there are a number of points of detail that remain doubtful; and with a few fragmentary exceptions all the metal fittings and accessories have vanished. Enough remains, however, to indicate the main lines of the water and heating systems and even, in several details, to supplement the picture conveyed by the standard text-book examples of Roman bath-architecture.

The early bath-building depended, in part at any rate, on rain-water catchment from the roof. Room 20 originally served as a cistern, and supplied the west plunge of the Frigidarium in the simplest possible manner, by means of a pipe passing directly through the thickness of the apse wall. This plunge was drained through an outlet which, from its direction, may be presumed to have led into the same drain as collected the waste water from the Caldarium plunges (p. 175). The east plunge of the Frigidarium was similarly fed from a tank built against the outer wall of the apse, and it was drained through an outlet in the north-west angle. This led into a larger drain, the course of which can be traced by the ornamental stone inlets recessed into the floor in the north-east angle of the Frigidarium and at the north end of room 1. With this drain may probably also be connected the superficial drainage-channel, which crosses the Apodyterium on an oblique line and disappears below floor-level against the north wall, a short distance to the west of the entrance from the north portico. The two tanks to the east and west of the Frigidarium were fed from the roof. Throughout the building the wall-head consists of a broad, shallow gutter, bordering the rise of the vault; and these gutters are so arranged that, with the exception of the southern face of the south barrel, the whole roof could have been drained towards these two tanks. At the west end the vertical duct survives in the north-east corner of room 20 (p. 173, and pl. XXXVII, *b*).

The first of these two tanks was suppressed when room 20 was incorporated into the main bath-building. In this later phase the west plunge was presumably fed through metal piping from the main water-supply to the south of the building; but of this no trace now survives. The east tank on the other hand continued in use, although, in view of the increased demands upon it, it too may be presumed to have been connected with the main water-supply. It now served, not only the east Frigidarium plunge, but the large new plunge to the north also (room 3). A section of the lead feed-pipe survives in the thickness of the south wall of room 13, whence it passed under the mosaic pavement of rooms 1 and 13. Its passage is marked by a patch in the pavement, a fact which at first sight suggests that it was inserted after the floor was laid. On close inspection, however, it seems more probable that this is the modern repair of the scar left by the removal, in antiquity, of the lead piping, and that plumbing and pavement in fact represent two stages of the same building operation. The north plunge is drained through an outlet at the base of the north wall, which must join the main drain beneath the floor of the Apodyterium.

The Tepidarium plunge (room 5) has an inlet from the south and an outlet towards the west, neither of which is now visible on the outside. It was fed presumably from the same pipe as the west Frigidarium plunge, and emptied into the same main drain.

The main water-supply of the building in its later stages was concentrated at the south end. Here, beyond the Caldarium furnaces, are a group of four rectangular cisterns, of which one only, the northernmost, has been completely excavated. It is 2·70 m. in depth from bottom to lip and it was covered, if at all, by a wooden roof. A door at the west end of the north side leads across a narrow ledge to the south-west angle, where a projecting stone bracket carried a pulley, or similar device, for raising the water, which then flowed away down a gently sloping channel against the south face and out through a pipe into the next tank to the east. The two tanks to the south have only been partially cleared. Each has an overflow into its neighbour to the north. The fourth tank, to the north-east, is unexcavated, and its character is somewhat problematic. There are signs that the courtyard extended above it; and yet, although there are no traces visible of any underlying vault, it is quite clear that the water from the other tanks passed into this space and emerged from it at a higher level. In default of excavation, the problem can only be stated. If we assume a depth for all four tanks equivalent to that of the first, the total capacity would have been about 30,000 gallons, and it seems reasonable to suppose that they were, in part at any rate, fed from the main municipal supply.

From the north-easternmost tank a duct, incorporated in the thickness of the vault of the service-corridor beneath, led westwards, then turned north across an arch at the south-west angle of room 11, and finally east along the southern face of the main block, whence it was fed into each in turn of the plunges of the Caldaria. This duct, where it is preserved in the thickness of the wall, consists of interlocking sections of tubular, terra-cotta piping; but it seems probable that this was a housing only, and that the water actually flowed in lead pipes, which were removed in late antiquity. The slope of the duct across the south face of rooms 11, 8, and 7 is slightly uphill, suggesting that the water flowed under pressure; and the relation of the duct to the inlet-holes into the Caldarium-plunges points to the same conclusion. From the position of the duct in relation to the added south-west Caldarium-range and to the secondary masonry of the main Caldarium furnaces, it is certain that it belongs to the developed phase of the building's structural history.

After passing through the plunges, the water from the two main Caldaria (rooms 7 and 8) was fed through terra-cotta piping into a common drain (pl. XXXVIII, *e*), which leads down the service-corridor and out, in a north-westerly direction, towards the street. This drain was dug when more than 40 cm. of ash and burnt material had already accumulated in the service-corridor, and it too therefore belongs to the developed building and not to the original structure. There is indeed very little in connexion with the water-supply for the Caldaria that can be ascribed with certainty to the early building, with the exception of the two large rectangular recesses visible directly above the furnaces outside rooms 7 and 8. These belong to the original structure, and perhaps contained cold-water storage tanks.

Of the original heating arrangements it is equally hard to speak with any certainty. The furnaces of the two main Caldaria (rooms 7 and 8) have been patched and modified many times, the most obvious alteration being the successive raising of the floor in the throat of the furnace. The earliest of the floors antedates the accumulation of ash and cinder in the service-corridor, which is in turn sealed by the outlet-drain of the reorganized water-system, and it is certain therefore that both furnaces belong to the original bath-building. The third furnace (room 11) belongs, of course, to the later building-phase, when the south-west range was added. It is possible that, following a not-uncommon practice, there was originally a small secondary furnace in room 6, which was later remodelled as an ornamental piscina. Alternatively this feature may at first have been a urinal. That it was originally functional is shown by the makeshift character of the masonry which now blocks it; and it was serviced from the narrow, half-subterranean corridor, which skirts the south-east angle of the building and ends just beyond. A drain at the far end of this corridor served probably to flush the latrine. Normal practice placed this where it could be flushed by the outflow from one or more of the plunges. One can only presume, however, that in this case, when the latrine was added in the second period, the resultant economy in water was held to be insufficient to justify the diversion of the established drainage system of the early building.

The form of the individual furnaces and stokeholes is illustrated in Mr. Fraser's plans and sections (pls. XLVII and XLIX), and in the photographs reproduced on pl. XXXVIII. The planking visible in several of the photographs marks the back wall of the plunge, the raised floor of which can be seen in section over the drifted dune-sand which fills the hypocaust. The periodical modifications which all three furnaces underwent are

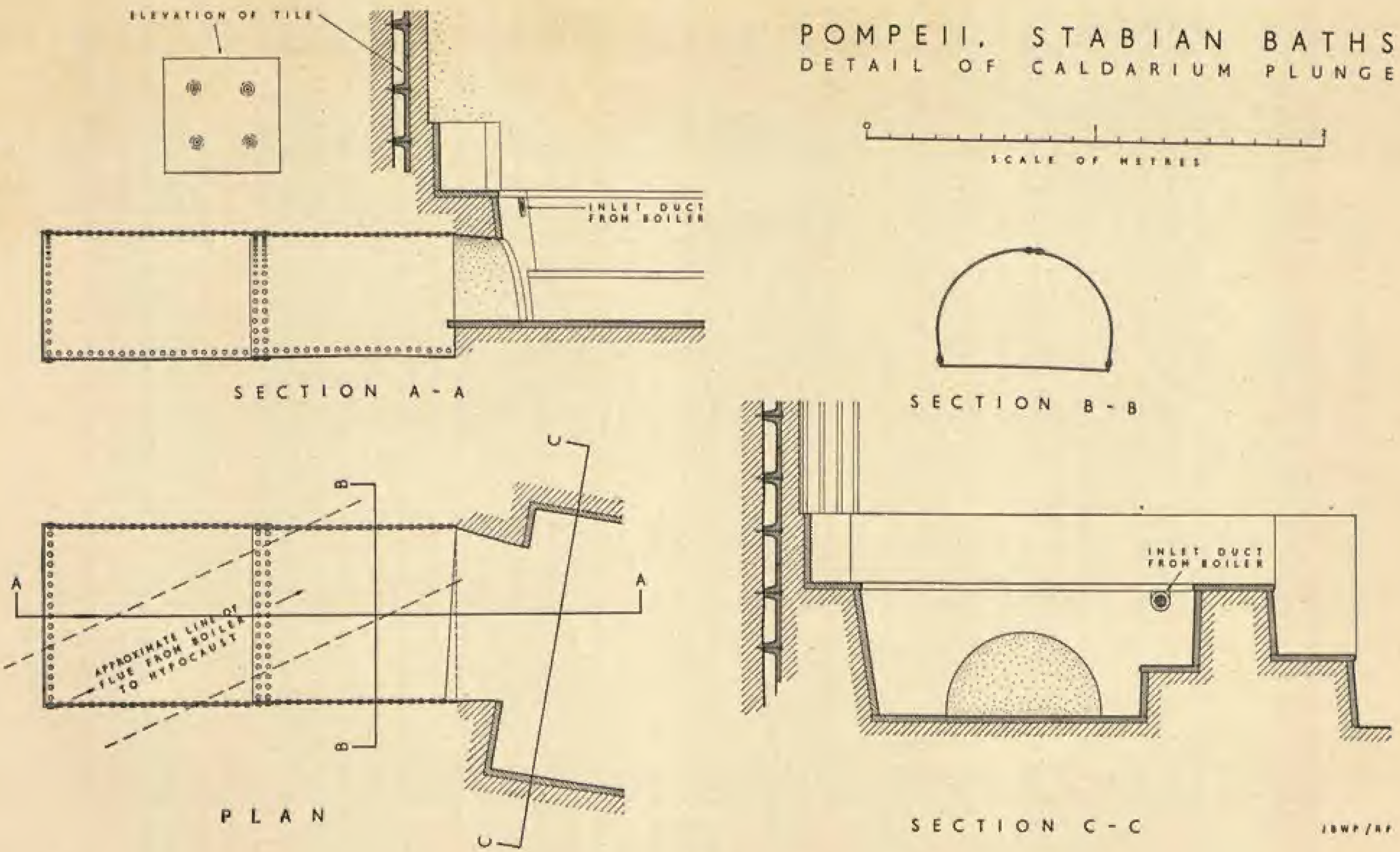

POMPEII, STABIAN BATHS
DETAIL OF CALDARIUM PLUNGE
0
1
2
SCALE OF METRES
ELEVATION OF TILE
INLET DUCT FROM BOILER
SECTION A - A
SECTION B - B
A
A
B
B
C
C
APPROXIMATE LINE OF FLUE FROM BOILER TO HYPOCAUST
PLAN
INLET DUCT FROM BOILER
SECTION C - C
JBWP/RF

FIG. 3.

well illustrated in pl. xxxviii, *d*. The bricks on which the 20-cm. scale rests are an evident insertion; and immediately to the left of the scale can be seen a late floor resting on an accumulation of ash. In pl. xxxviii, *b* this has been excavated down to the original tiles. A feature common to all three is the inner arched recess, over the throat of the furnace, which housed the *testudo*.[1] The furnace arch has perished in each case; but above it in two instances (rooms 7 and 8) can be seen the remains of the housing for a metal boiler. That outside 7 is the better preserved, and consists of an arch about 1·50 m. across and 1·25 m. high (pl. xxxviii, *a* and *c*). The boiler for room 8 on the other hand was a vertical cylinder. Room 11 had no boiler, only a stoke-hole opening beneath a blocked tympanum, behind which was the *testudo*.

Assembling these elements, we see that while room 11, being small, relied for its general heating on the passage of hot air beneath the floor and through the lining of the walls, and for the heating of the plunge on the *testudo*, the other two Caldaria had supplementary boilers, by means of which the plunges could be directly filled with hot water. Traces of a second pipe on the masonry shelf between the two boilers suggest that in addition to the cold-water duct, the boilers were themselves interconnected. Once the plunges had been filled with hot water, it was the function of the *testudo* to maintain the temperature. This device consisted of a semi-cylindrical metal container, closed at one end and open at the other. The latter opened directly off the plunge, so that the water could circulate freely within, while the underside was in direct contact with the fire. By this means the water could be kept far hotter than would have been possible through the thickness of the concrete floor over the hypocaust; and the level of the *testudo* in relation to the floor and to the surface of the plunge was such as to ensure a constant circulation. The actual metal container seems to have been preserved only at Pompeii, where there is a fine example in bronze on the women's side of the Stabian Baths (fig. 3). These baths were damaged in the earthquake of 63, and were still being refitted at the time of the eruption. The vertical, cylindrical boilers had not yet been installed; but the *testudo*, consisting of seven sheets of bronze, rivetted together to form a single container, was already in position, built into the thickness of the wall and sealed into place by the marble surfacing of the Caldarium plunge. Directly beneath it, at an oblique angle, runs the duct, by which the hot air from the furnace was carried to the Caldarium hypocaust; and it was the position of this duct relative to the plunge which determined the unusual length of the *testudo* above it.

A similar *testudo* was found in the Villa at Boscoreale; it is evident, however, from the remains of the arched recesses which housed it, that the *testudo* was a standard feature of bath-equipment. Examples can be seen at Lepcis in the Hadrianic Baths, and at Sabratha in the Office Baths, and in the Theatre Baths.[2]

---

[1] Vitruvius, v. 10, *testudines alveolorum*. The functioning of this device is described in the next paragraph.

[2] For permission to reproduce the *testudo* in the Stabian Baths, and for help in clearance and measurement, thanks are due to the Superintendent of Antiquities for Campania, Professor Maiuri, and to Dr. Olga Elia, Director of Excavations at Pompeii. For earlier schematic reproductions of this, and of the similar fittings at Boscoreale, see Daremberg–Saglio, s.v. Thermae, fig. 6877; A. Mau, *Pompeii in Leben und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1908, figs. 97 and 204; G. Fusch, *Hypokausten-Heizungen*, Hannover, 1910, figs. 64 and 65. D. Krencker and E. Krüger, in *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen*, Augsburg, 1929, pp. 209–12, figs. 285–9, discuss and illustrate the caldarium fittings of the Camp Baths at Lambaesis, which offer a close parallel to the Hunting Baths.

IV. THE INTERIOR ORNAMENT

The interest of the Baths from the structural and architectural standpoint is matched by that of their interior decoration. Indeed, the substantial remains of stucco mouldings, marble floor- and wall-veneering, floor- and wall-mosaics, and wall- and vault-paintings which have survived, enable us to reconstruct an exceptionally clear picture of the appearance, at successive periods, of the greater part of some of the rooms and of not inconsiderable portions of others. The following notes provide an account of this varied ornamentation, room by room, taking each in the order of its number on the general plan (pls. XLVII, XLVIII).

Room 1 (Entrance Corridor)

On the vaulted ceiling three layers of decoration, all executed in paint, are visible to-day (pl. XL, *a*). (*a*) The first scheme resembles coffering and consists of a series of square panels, each separated from the other by a narrow red border and each containing a broad inner frame of buff round a large rosette, shaded in buff and white and outlined in red on a white ground. The general effect is that of imitation stucco-work. (*b*) Upon this was superimposed a delicate all-over polychrome design on a buff ground. Sprigs of bright green leaves, meeting in small orange rosettes, form diamond-shaped and hexagonal fields, in the centre of each of which is either a larger red rosette or a red wreath. (*c*) Above this again is a continuous lattice-work of knotted ribbons, painted in red on buff, with a dainty red basket, brimming with red flowers, suspended by cords from the upper corner of each compartment of the lattice. This pattern spreads from the ceiling into the lunette above the doorway 1/2, where, however, there is no trace of any underlying layers corresponding to (*a*) and (*b*). On the roof of this doorway, on the other hand, three periods of decoration, corresponding to those of the ceiling of the room, are clearly visible: (*a*) a buff and grey acanthus-scroll, (*b*) red, straight-sided lozenges enclosed in broad red borders, and (*c*) some orange lines. At the other end of the room, in the lunette above the doorway 1/12, is another buff and grey acanthus-scroll, this time surrounded by a red border, very similar in style to period (*a*) of the ceiling and of the roof of the doorway 1/2. Yet here it is not the earliest visible layer, since a pale-green wash underlies it.

The walls of the room show four superimposed schemes: (*a*) a wash of blue (= ceiling (*a*)), (*b*) a layer of concrete water-proofing (= ceiling (*b*)?), (*c*) a wash of red (= ceiling (*c*)), and (*d*) a layer of imitation cipollino marble veneering, to which there is no corresponding ceiling-period.

A geometric mosaic pavement (average size of tesserae, 1 cm.) covers the floor of the room and of the doorway 1/13. Its pattern, which is surrounded by a dull mauve line, consists of interlaced circles outlined in dull mauve on a white ground. Some of the lozenge-shaped spaces formed by the crossing of the circles are left white; others are filled with mixed tesserae of pale colours—green, blue, buff, and yellow. Similarly coloured tesserae fill the border between the walls of the room and the main design and the floor of the doorway 1/2. A patch on the line of the water-pipe leading to room 3 is perhaps modern (p. 174). The doorway 1/12 is floored with slabs of pinkish-mauve streaky marble and with some patches of grey marble and yellow limestone.

Room 2 (The Frigidarium)

The Frigidarium (pl. XXXIX, *b*, XLI–XLIII), the largest and most imposing apartment in the Baths, shows the remains of three successive periods of ornamentation, of which period (*a*), with its figured vault-mosaics, and period (*c*), with its large-scale painted friezes, provide two of the most significant monuments of Roman decorative art in Tripolitania so far known.

Period (*a*). The first scheme, which corresponds to period (*a*) in room 1 (see above) and in rooms 3 and 4 (see below), seems to have been carried out in mosaic and stucco-work. Mosaics adorned the semi-dome above each of the apsidal plunges and the lunette round the head of the arch at the entrance to each apse, while simple designs in moulded stucco covered the barrel-vaulted ceiling of the main room and the upper part at least of the walls of the main room and of the plunges. This stucco-work may have extended originally over the whole surface of the walls but, if so, all trace has since been overlaid. The surviving ornament of the small apsidal niche in the centre of the south wall also belongs entirely to a later phase, after the suppression of the doorway leading to room 6.

Traces of stucco mouldings can be seen below the left-hand end of the figured mosaic in the semi-dome of the east plunge and in the bottom left-hand corner of the lunette round the head of its arch, above the doorway 1/2, and again below the fragments of mosaic in the semi-dome of the west plunge. On the vaulted ceiling of the main room are the remains of stucco coffering. Borders, represented now by the criss-cross scratches which once served to hold raised mouldings, divide the surface into square panels, within each of which are the faint remnants of a pale-blue or buff wash and the scar of a central stucco rosette.

Of the mosaic in the west semi-dome only a few tesserae survive. But in its eastern counterpart are preserved substantial fragments of the lower part of one of the most varied and extensive pre-Christian figured vault-mosaics which have yet been discovered anywhere in the Roman world.[1] To judge from these fragments, the subjects portrayed were of a somewhat heterogeneous character. Passing from left to right, we see first the right arm and most of the nude body of a nymph (or Maenad (?), or female Satyr (?)—the head is unfortunately lost), delicately modelled in pale flesh-tones, who is suckling a kid rendered in deep brown and dark red, with deep-cream high-lights (pl. XLI, *a*). Next door to this Dionysiac scene,[2] and on a far larger scale, is a *Meerthiasos* motif, the shoulders, the upper part of the chest, and part of the uptilted head of a huge Triton, shaded in grey, green, and brown, with straggling hair and beard and a dark brown rudder by his side: he is presumably emerging from the sea (pl. XLI, *a*). At the extreme left of this fragment can be seen the feet of the seated figure of the first scene. Just beyond the Triton, to the right, are the grey-green snout and long, pointed ears of a sea-hound, partly outlined in red and turned towards the left: within his open jaws a red tongue and white teeth are revealed.

---

[1] No other figured vault- or wall-mosaics have, as yet, come to light in Roman Tripolitania. The fragments of wall-mosaic from the Hadrianic Baths at Lepcis (R. Bartoccini, *Le Terme di Lepcis*, 1929, figs. 90, 91) and those from the small Baths, near the House of the Orpheus Mosaic (unpublished) show only floral and other purely decorative motifs.

[2] Cf., for example, the female Satyr suckling a fawn in the great frieze in the *triclinium* of the Villa dei Misteri, Pompeii (A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, pl. 5).

Continuing to the right past the small rectangular window, which cuts into the mosaic at this point and is perhaps therefore a later insertion, we find ourselves transported into a Nilotic scene.[1] One fragment shows dark water-plants, the foot of an animal in darkish flesh-colour, and the black, brown, and white tail-feathers of a bird (pl. XLI, *b*). Finally, on the extreme right of the semi-dome, are the head, neck, and right shoulder of a crocodile seen in profile to the right. Its skin is rendered in subdued shades—grey, green, white, and pinkish-mauve: it has a black crest and a white eye; and shining white teeth glint against the black interior of its open mouth. Above the crocodile's head are the long spindle-legs of a crane (?) and a lotus-cup of grey, cream, and red: below it is an overturned water-pot, shaded in yellow, from the mouth of which spread blue, green, and amber-coloured horizontal streaks, representing water (pls. XXXIV, XLI, *c*). The tesserae range, on the average, from five to seven in every 5 cm., and they include, besides pieces of coloured limestone and marble, abundant cubes of paste and glass—clear, dark, and bottle green, Prussian and turquoise blue, brown, and red. In the left-hand bottom corner of the lunette round the head of the arch is part of an elegant acanthus-scroll, in grey and green tesserae on white; and a coloured bead-and-reel border masks the junction of this wall-space with the main barrel-vault of the room.

Period (*b*). At a later date, contemporary, it would seem, with the opening of the large square piscina to the north (room 3) and the suppression of the door leading into room 6, the vault-mosaic of the two semi-domes, the stucco-work on the barrel-vaulted ceiling of the main hall of the Frigidarium, and the mosaics in the two lunettes above the openings into the apsidal plunges, were all covered with a coat of painted stucco. Scanty traces of this remain in the east semi-dome[2] and on the lower part of the ceiling of the main hall, underlying the fragments of the large-scale painted frieze of period(*c*) on the north side of the room (see below). To the same period belongs probably the lower coat of painted decoration in the apsidal recess in the centre of the south wall. This is represented by a red and buff wash in the semi-dome and by a pale green wash, with red horizontal lines, on the jambs and underside of the arch at the entrance to the niche. Whether the walls of the Frigidarium and of the apsidal plunges were painted at this time, or were already covered with the marble veneering to be described below, we cannot tell.

Period (*c*). At some later date again, all of the surfaces painted during period (*b*) received a second coat of painted ornament; and either at this time or in period (*b*) the walls of the main room and of the three apses were faced with marble veneering.

On the walls of the main room and of the plunges this veneering consisted (passing from bottom to top) of (i) a horizontal kicking-strip mostly of grey-flecked, Phrygian marble, (ii) a narrow line of beading, (iii) a dado of vertical panels, (iv) a second line of beading, (v) a second horizontal strip, and (vi) a moulded cornice. Most of the dado and the upper horizontal strip were executed in a heavily veined green marble resembling cipollino, but with darker patches. Flanking the entrances to the two apsidal plunges are fluted pilasters, mainly of Phrygian and of darker-flecked grey marble and including some re-used fragments. On the right-hand side of the entrance to the south apsidal niche is a plain pilaster composed of pale grey, cream, and buff marble fragments. Fragments of Phrygian marble make up the pilaster on the right-hand side of the arch leading into room 3. On the walls of the apsidal plunges the marks only left by the veneering survive. The wall of the south apsidal niche was marbled with a pinkish-yellow kicking-strip, a dado of pale grey and white, and an upper horizontal strip of yellow breccia.

---

[1] For the popularity of such scenes in Tripolitania cf. (i) room 3, below; (ii) the well-known polychrome mosaic from the Villa del Nilo at Lepcis (*Africa Italiana*, v, 1933, p. 6, fig. 3), now in the Lepcis Museum; (iii) the predominantly black-and-white mosaic from Fonduk Naggaza (*Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, ser. 3, vi, 1930, p. 93, fig. 4), also in the Lepcis Museum; and (iv) two panels in the Four Seasons mosaic from the Villa di Dar Buc Amméra, near Zliten (S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, 1926, figs. 63, 71–4), at present stored in the Sabratha Museum.

[2] The account of the discovery contained in the Weekly Report of 8th January 1933 refers to a thick coat of painted plaster found overlying the mosaics at the time of their discovery.

The two great friezes with hunting-scenes, *c.* 1·60 m. high, which run the whole length of the room on the north and south sides, just above the marble cornice at the spring of the main vault, can claim to be the most impressive examples of monumental painting known to us in Roman Tripolitania. Of the scene on the north side, a lion-hunt, but scanty traces remain, enough, however, to indicate its scale and general character. Above the doorway 1/2 are three tawny legs of a large lion crouched at bay, with a whip lying on the ground beside it: farther to the left we can discern the head, one leg, and parts of the spear of a hunter; and to the left of the arch giving access to room 3 the legs of another hunter are visible and, above them, the name NVBER and the letters ELENC (?) belonging to another name. Opposite, on the south side, the pendant picture, a leopard-hunt, is almost completely preserved (pls. XLII, XLIII). Ten hunters, four of whom have their names inscribed beside them—NVBER, V?]INCINVS, L?]IBENTIVS, and BICTOR, are engaging six leopards, the names of three of which, RAPIDVS, FVLGENTIVS, and GABATIVS (?), are likewise extant. On the whole, the hunters have the situation well in hand. But two are down, and Victor is about to collapse: his auspicious name, written twice beside him, has not saved him from disaster. All the men are dark-haired and swarthy. Most of them wear short, long-sleeved tunics of pink and mauve, or blue, green, and red, or red, or green, while Victor is naked, save for a white loin-cloth. The hunter who is dispatching Rapidus is wreathed with flowers. The leopards' skins, skilfully shaded and showing orange, brown, mauve, and grey spots on a buff ground, are realistically rendered, as are the beasts' varying expressions of rage, grim determination, or pain. The background shows no landscape or architectural features: but a deep cream-to-sandy wash represents the arena in which the episode takes place and throws the figures into strong relief. The picture as a whole, if somewhat impressionistically painted, is full of life and vigorous movement, and the artist has grasped the principle of perspectival diminution for the background figures. Above both friezes are the remains of a border of unusual geometric motifs—a recurring series of 'dumb-bells' alternating with elongated hexagons and small squares, brightly coloured in red, dark blue, green, and white. For the painted decoration of the rest of the vault no evidence survives. The lunette round the head of the arch at the entrance to each plunge is adorned with a continuous wreath of dark green leaves starred with white flowers, seen against a ground of dull yellow on its inner, and of pale blue on its outer, side. Flanking this wreath are two false twisted-ribbon borders painted in rainbow colours—green, pink, blue, and white, one masking the angle between the wall and the vault, the other hugging the edge of the opening of the arch.

In the vault of the south apsidal niche a splendid eagle, with wings outspread and legs astride, is painted boldly in shades of pink and buff against a pale blue sky, on which are splashes of deep pink suggesting sunlit clouds (pl. XLV, *a*). With the eagle goes a second coat of pale green, with dark blue vertical streaks, on each door-jamb of the arch at the entrance to the niche, while a broad red band outlines the head and jambs of the arch on its inner side.

The floor of the main room was paved with large marble slabs, partly re-used, of which some fragments, of grey-flecked Phrygian, cream, and white marble, grey breccia, and cipollino are still *in situ*. The two steps leading into the two apsidal plunges are still cased in white and in grey-flecked Phrygian marble; and it seems likely that the step leading into room 3 was once similarly adorned. The geometric pattern of the mosaic floor of the south niche is identical with that of room 13 (see below).

Room 3 (The North Plunge of the Frigidarium)

Of the three successive periods of ornament visible in this room to-day, the earliest is prior, the other two subsequent, to the structural alterations already described (see above, p. 169).

Period (*a*). The decoration of the walls and barrel-vaulted ceiling of the original room 3 (and of the original room 4, with which it was seemingly identical) was carried out in stucco and paint. In the lowest layer on the north and east walls, the only portions of this phase of the room which survive, are the remains of the bottom course of a series of rectangular panels framed by fine white stucco mouldings in low relief. Some of the panels still retain, inside their frames, a wash of blue paint, and each is outlined by two painted red lines, the one just inside, the other just outside, the mouldings; while another red line runs round the walls a short distance below the panels, terminating the design. On the north wall the panels measure *c.* 80 × 43 cm., including their frames, and have their long sides parallel to the floor: on the east side the panels appear to have their long sides at right angles to the floor and to measure *c.* 80 × 51 cm. In each of the spaces between the panels, on both walls, is painted a delicate spray of red buds and green leaves on a brown stem. This scheme corresponds to period (*a*) in rooms 1 and 2, and in room 4.

Period (*b*). After room 3 (and part of room 4) had been transformed into a square piscina communicating with the main hall of the Frigidarium through a wide arch in its south wall, the decoration of period (*a*) was suppressed and a small rectangular niche was let into the north and east walls and into the new west wall. The upper part of all four walls was painted, this layer being represented to-day by traces of light blue and mauve washes on the west wall, of a light blue wash on the east wall, and of dark red and dark blue washes on the right hand side of the archway in the south wall. This painting would appear to correspond to that of period (*b*) in room 2. The head of each niche was covered with a mosaic design consisting of interlocking scrolls of deep blue glass cubes on a white ground, the average size of the tesserae being 1 cm. To the same period may belong the very fragmentary mosaic on the underside of the archway leading into the Frigidarium; of this nothing can now be made out beyond a series of curves and a strip of black-on-white dentils along the edge on the Frigidarium side.

The marble veneering with which most of the rest of the room was adorned, and which may belong either to period (*b*) or to period (*c*), will be described, as was its counterpart in room 2, under period (*c*).

Period (*c*). The lower part of the north, west, and east walls of the reconditioned room 3, below the painted area, was faced with marble veneering, up to a height of 1·80 m. from the level of the projecting ledge which runs round the room above the piscina proper. This ornament has now been restored as a patchwork of fragments of various marbles—onyx, grey-flecked Phrygian, and dark-flecked grey. But marks traceable on the walls indicate that it originally consisted of a series of alternately broad and narrow vertical panels, topped by a narrow white marble cornice. The projecting ledge, mentioned above, was cased in white marble, and below this the sides of the actual plunge received a marble veneering, 1·50 m. deep, similar to that on the main walls of the room. The walls of the three niches were veneered in the same style and their floors cased with white marble.

On the south side of the room, on the lower part of the two short stretches of wall flanking the archway into room 2, there was no such marble veneering. Its place was taken by a coat of paint, imitating pinkish orange and white mottled marble, contemporary with the second layer of decoration, superimposed upon the painted layer of period (*b*), on the upper part of the walls. As in room 2, so in room 3, this second period of painting is represented by elaborate figure-scenes, but here more delicately executed and on a comparatively minute scale (pl. XLIV, *a*, *b*). The main frieze, just above the marble cornice, contains a Nilotic landscape, peopled with human beings, birds, and animals. The colours are somewhat faded, but their original quality may still be gauged from the brighter patches, depicting blue water and golden sand. The best-preserved portion is on the east wall, which presents a picture divided into three tiers. In the foreground men and women are strolling along the sandy river-bank, in a setting of palm-trees and of birds and beasts typical of the locality. In the middle distance flows the river, with boats, manned by rowers, and ducks afloat upon it and a hippopotamus standing in the water among reeds. On the farther bank is a large country-house, with red-tiled roofs and an arcaded portico, flanked by fishermen bearing baskets and mounted huntsmen. A similar three-tiered scene was carried round the south wall on either side of the archway (pl. XLIV, *a*). This Nilotic zone is topped by a strip of architectural motifs—a line of dentils, painted in white, grey, and black in false perspective, to counterfeit relief, and above it a band of quasi-meander pattern of repeating large and small squares, rendered in the flat in bright red, pale blue, and pale green. Above this again is a zone of birds on a larger scale. Some scanty traces of the same scheme of composition survive on the west wall; but on the north wall the paintings have completely disappeared.

In period (*c*) the mosaic-work at the heads of the three niches was overlaid with paint. The head of the east niche shows an orange and green floral (?) design on the underside of its arch, and green and blue imitation marble on its back and sides. The heads of the west and north niches have orange and white imitation marbling on the undersides of their arches.

Room 4

This room, which retained, after its reconditioning, a large part of the original barrel-vaulted ceiling, as well as the original west wall, has preserved a particularly full record of the four successive stages of its ornamentation (pl. XL, *b*).

Period (*a*). The original, barrel-vaulted ceiling of the room was coffered, with square buff panels enclosed within white stucco frames of which the outlines, keyed with criss-cross incisions to hold the raised mouldings, are clearly visible, while in the centre of each panel is the scar of a white stucco rosette. At the north end of the room are remains of stucco panelling of precisely the same type as that already described in room 3. The correspondence of this stucco scheme with that of period (*a*) in rooms 2 and 3, and with the painted imitation stucco coffering on the vault of room 1, is obvious.

Period (*b*). Subsequently to the structural alterations in this area of the Baths, the ceiling was painted over with a repeating polychrome pattern on a white ground. Enough of this layer is left to give us the main features of the design. A wreath of leaves, encircling a flower or rosette, is framed in a square, the sides of which are composed of leafy green sprays. At each corner of the square is a small red rosette with a yellow filling, from which radiate four red flowers resembling lilies, while the centre of each side of the square is occupied by a bright red straight-sided lozenge outlined in yellow. With this ceiling-decoration goes a coat of imitation marble wall-painting, discernible as the lowest layer on the new east wall, which consists of irregular red zigzags and grey vertical lines on a pale green ground and, in the top south-east corner of the room, traces of an architectural cornice (?) rendered in green and red on white. We may associate this phase of room 4 with period (*b*) in rooms 1, 2, and 3.

Period (*c*). Much more remains of the exquisite ceiling-decoration of the third phase, another all-over repeating design painted in delicate shades on a white ground (pl. XL, *c*). Pale blue and mauve rosettes, large and complicated, and faintly recalling Passion-flowers, alternate with smaller and simpler rosettes to occupy each the centre of a circle of green leaves set with occasional red flowers. Each circle is, in its turn, framed by an irregular octagon, and each octagon is linked with its neighbours by four small diamonds set flush with one of each of its short alternate sides. The sides of both octagons and diamonds consist of broad bands of pinkish mauve, on which are superimposed sprays of green leaves, while a yellow rosette with a red centre occupies each corner of each diamond. In some parts of this framework only the bands remain, the sprays having faded: in others the bands have faded and the sprays remain. Nor is the pinkish mauve inner line, which followed round the sides of each octagon, always visible. Within each diamond is a mauve, or mauve and pale blue, rosette. These rosettes are of the same two types as those within the leafy circles, but on a smaller scale. The same all-over pattern is continued in the half-lunette above the doorway 2/4; but near the join between this space and the vault it is combined with boldly drawn acanthus-scrolls. The actual join is masked by a red band, which is carried horizontally along the length of the room at the point at which the vault and west wall meet, cutting across some of the leafy circles of the vault-design. In places in which the painting itself has faded, the incised, compass-traced lines, by which the design was set out, can still be seen.

To this layer of ceiling-decoration belongs the third layer on the walls, which portrays slabs of orange, blue, pink, and red, in bright paint, suggestive of imitation marbling. We may also assign to period (*c*) the mock cipollino layer on the roof of the doorway 2/4, divided by red bands from the similar coating on the walls of the doorway.

Period (*d*). On the ceiling, this stage is represented by fragments of stucco, now showing no traces of paint, superimposed on (*c*); and on the walls by a mock cipollino layer cut by a red horizontal band about 30 cm. above the level of the floor.

The floor of room 4 is paved with slabs of fossiliferous stone, mainly mottled pink and greyish mauve, polished to resemble marble. The doorway 4/19 was once paved with mosaic, of which a few white, black, and yellow tesserae alone survive.

Room 5 (*The Tepidarium*)

The decoration of seven of the walls and of the octagonal vault of this room is very simple. The whole surface is, to-day at any rate, plain white, with a vertical red line marking each corner of the room and continuing up each angle of the vault. Another red line runs horizontally round the walls at a point about 1·95 m. above the present floor-level. At the spring of the vault is a delicately moulded stucco cornice, including a row of miniature dentils, with a red line running just above it. Traces of stucco mouldings and of plain white panels with red borders can be seen above the doorway into the south-west Caldarium range.

Of the floor-mosaic, which once rested on the *pilae* of the hypocaust, and of which the tesserae are of an average size of just over 1 cm., a few fragments are left. The main design, it would appear, consisted of continuous rows of half-scales, or half-feathers, rendered in black and buff on a white ground. So far as we can judge, these rows formed series of triads, in each of which two adjacent rows of buff half-scales, or half-feathers, were followed by one of black. This design was framed by a broad inner border of black-and-white multiple zigzags and by a narrow outer border of black-on-white dentils. The average size of the tesserae is just over 1 cm. In front of the west plunge a white-on-black mosaic scroll border, with tesserae of an average size of 1 cm., can be seen *in situ*.

The walls of the rectangular plunge, which opens off the west side of the octagon, show two periods of simple painting. The ground of both layers consists of a wash of plain, brightish green, with the addition, in the upper layer, of some red horizontal bands. The vault of the miniature apsidal *piscina* in the south-west wall is covered with a wash of grey-green paint.

The doorway from the Frigidarium (room 2) bears traces of green paint on its roof and jambs. The tesserae of its floor-mosaic are of an average size of 1 cm., and the main motif is a star, outlined in black and filled with mauve and buff, with a pelta, outlined in mauve and filled with buff, springing from each of its four points. Two complete star-and-four-peltae groups are shown in the centre, linked together by two more peltae of a similar type, while portions of two more such groups are seen on either side. The step leading up from this doorway into the Frigidarium is cased in white marble.

Room 6 (*The First Caldarium*)

The floor-mosaic of this room, of which the greater part is preserved, shows an all-over scheme of interlacing circles on a white ground. The circles are outlined in black, the lozenge-shaped spaces formed by their crossings are filled in with buff, and in the centre of each circle is a buff star. Round the edge of this design runs a broad border containing an ivy-scroll in white on a buff ground. The average size of the tesserae is 1 cm.

A small apsidal *lavabo* let into the south wall of the room shows, at the head of its vault, a scallop-shell executed in stucco relief and painted orange with a red outline (pl. XLV, *b*). This is a feature secondary to the original plan (see p. 170). The vaulted ceiling of the octagon is covered with white stucco, while red vertical lines mask the angles. The walls are encased in flue-tiles, and any surface decoration which they may have carried has entirely vanished These flue-tiles override the blocking of the door from the Frigidarium and are therefore themselves, in part at any rate, secondary. The low dais which occupies the north-east side of the room was originally cased in marble.

The doorway between the two octagonal rooms is apparently a secondary insertion (p. 170). The south-west jamb is painted over with streaky orange lines on a cream ground, suggestive of mock marbling, this surface being topped with a band, 21 cm. wide, of orange and yellow imitation mottled marble, closely resembling that on the south-west wall of room 3 (see above), and finished above with a red line. A series of half-circles, laid sideways and outlined in red on a white ground, runs in a band, between two red lines, along this side of the roof of the doorway. On the opposite jamb is more mock marbling, rendered in green and yellowish pink, with mauve vertical lines.

Room 7 (*The Second Caldarium*)

The lower part of the walls of this room, certainly above the plunge on the east side, and probably also elsewhere, was panelled with a dado of re-used marble slabs, of which fragments of some and the impression of others survive (pl. XXXIX, *b*). A band of red paint ran along above this dado, but we have no evidence as to how the upper portions of the walls were decorated. In the centre of the vaulted ceiling is a large floral rosette of white stucco in high relief, framed by two concentric circles of orange paint on a white ground.[1]

---

[1] Cf. the very similar stucco floral rosette, framed in a concave stucco medallion, from the vaulted ceiling of the frigidarium of the Theatre Baths, Sabratha (unpublished).

The floor of room 7 is paved with what is undoubtedly the most arresting of all the mosaic pavements in the Baths (pl. XLVI, *c*). It shows a somewhat irregular, but extremely elaborate and ingenious, system of interlacing circles, so devised that the lozenge-shaped areas produced by the crossings form quatrefoils, of which one pair of opposite leaves is shaded black-white-black, the other pair buff-white-buff. The surrounding border consists of a single running ivy-scroll, rendered in white on a buff ground, on the east and south sides, and of a double interlacing ivy-scroll, also in white on buff, along the other two sides. The tesserae are of an average size of 1 cm.

The mosaic in the doorway 6/7 shows a large circle outlined in black on a white ground. In it is contained a quatrefoil of buff leaves surrounded by four circles alternating with four oval leaves, all outlined in black and filled with buff. Here again the average size of the tesserae is 1 cm.

Room 8 (*The Third Caldarium*)

Apart from a red-painted line enclosing part of its vaulted ceiling and another inside the arch of its apsidal niche, the only extant decoration of room 8 is its floor-mosaic. This shows yet another scheme of interlacing circles, also somewhat irregular, particularly in the neighbourhood of the doorway 7/8. The lozenge-shaped spaces in the interlacings are white, and in the centre of each of the black stars enclosed by them is a small white star, set point to side. The average size of the tesserae is 1 cm.

In the mosaic floor of the doorway 7/8 is a species of chalice, very naïvely drawn in black outline on a white ground and contained within a narrow black frame (pl. XLV, *d*). It has a narrow mouth, huge ungainly handles, a clumsy foot, and a bulbous body, on which a stylized honeysuckle-flower is rendered in black on buff. The average size of the tesserae is again 1 cm. On the roof of the doorway (which may be secondary, see p. 170) mock marbling is painted in orange on yellow and pale green within a large diamond outlined in grey on a red ground.

Rooms 9, 10, and 11 (*The South-west Caldarium Range*)

The wall-decoration in each of these three small rooms is very similar and extremely simple. The walls of room 9 are covered with a deep pink wash up to a height of 1·60 m. above the floor-level. Above this wash, and separated from it by a narrow white band, runs a darker red line, which passes across the top of the door leading into room 10 and also outlines either end of the vaulted ceiling. In room 10 the walls are washed over with dark red to a height of 1·57 m. above the level of the floor. This wash is carried round the jambs of the doorway 10/11 and also round the walls of room 11, to the same height above floor-level. In both room 10 and room 11 a dark-red line runs round the head of the connecting doorway, and in both rooms again are traces of a later coat of stucco, from which all decoration has now vanished, covering the red wash. The four rudimentary squinches in the vaulted ceiling of room 11 are outlined in red.

Room 12 (*The Apodyterium*)

The walls of this large forehall show two periods of painting. In period (*a*), which seems to correspond to the period (*a*) wall-painting in room 17 (see below), they were adorned with a somewhat irregular scheme, the remains of which can best be studied on the west and north sides. Broad panels of dark blue, varying in width from 1·40 m. to 1·80 m., alternate with narrower red panels, about 30 cm. wide, each panel being separated from its neighbour by a yellow strip with white edges and of a width varying from 15 to 20 cm. In period (*b*) a layer of imitation cipollino was superimposed.

The floor-mosaic, the tesserae of which are of an average size of 1·5 cm., comprises an all-over pattern of hexagons alternating with diamonds on a white ground. The diamonds are outlined in deep mauve, the remaining two sides of each hexagon, on which the diamonds do not abut, in black. Within each outlined hexagon is an inner hexagon, not outlined, but rendered in tesserae of pale 'heather-mixture' colours, giving a prevailing effect of buff. This design is finished off with a narrow border of one line of black, and one of mauve, tesserae. In front of each of the doorways leading into rooms 1 and 4 is a panel with a running scroll in white on buff, and near the entrance to room 13 the floor is patched with fragments of coloured marbles. At the east end of the room a curiously ragged, white-on-buff scroll border of varying width marks the position of a transverse drainage runnel.

Room 13 (*Annexe to the Apodyterium*)

The walls of this room received three successive layers of paint, first a red wash and then two coats of imitation cipollino. The mosaic pavement (pl. XLV, *c*), the tesserae of which are of an average size of 1·5 cm., has a pattern of interlacing circles very similar to that on the floor of room 1. The ground is white and the lozenge-shaped spaces in the interlacings have deep blue-black outlines and buff fillings. This mosaic does not cover the whole floor, the eastern area of which is paved with heterogeneous marble slabs.

Room 14 (*Corridor*)

No ornament survives.

Room 15 (*The Latrine*)

The floor of room 15, the latrine, is laid with odd fragments of re-used marble. Its walls show one layer of very gaily painted decoration (pl. XL, *d*). The scheme is composed of a series of oblong vertical panels, each contained within a larger panel of similar shape, alternating with narrow vertical strips. These strips counterfeit cipollino pilasters, while the fields of the outer oblong panels are filled with a striking variant of a marbling motif, carried out in orange and ochre, with crimson streaks, on a yellow ground.[1] The fillings of the inner oblong panels vary. Some consist of a solid wash of dark crimson framed by a narrow red line, others of a plain wash of green, others of imitation cipollino, and others again show mock marbling with yellow streaks on a cream ground and a frame of three yellow-brown lines. On the east wall a red line, 2 cm. wide, running below the panels, terminates the design.

---

[1] For a similar treatment of this 'fried-egg' motif in mosaic see the background of the Diana *emblema* from the Oceanus Baths, Sabratha (unpublished, early third-century?), now in the Sabratha Museum, the floor of room 5 in the Office Baths, Sabratha (unpublished), and the central *emblema* of one of the mosaic pavements in a coastal villa, *c.* 2 miles east of Sabratha, which was partially excavated in the summer of 1948 (unpublished).

Room 16

No ornament survives.

Room 17

Two periods of painted wall-decoration can be distinguished.

Period (*a*). The earlier scheme is predominantly architectural in character, and, although it is decidedly more elaborate, it recalls the paintings of period (*a*) in room 12 (see above). The main surface of the wall is occupied by a dado with a deep blue background, on which is arranged a series of alternately large square, and narrow oblong, panels. The former begin at the top of the dado and terminate a short distance above the floor-level: they have a ground of plain red (fig. 4, C) and a white border. The latter, which have curved tops, start a little way below the upper edge of the dado and reach to the floor-level. Their ground is Naples yellow, and within each is a dainty floral design (pl. XLVI, *b*). At the top three fir-cones, showing crimson, criss-cross markings on a pale blue ground, and four sprays of pine-needles are combined with a green rinceau, some of the tendrils of which appear above the cones, while others, bearing green leaves and rosette-like flowers, once pink (?), but now faded to buff, trail gracefully below them: above and below these trailing tendrils are vertical wreaths of close-set leaves. The same motifs are repeated in the lower half of the panel. The interior arrangement of the square panels, separated from the oblong panels by narrow strips of blue background, which also passes below the square and above the oblong panels (fig. 4, B), is more complicated. A smaller rectangular panel, with a Naples yellow and a white border, also starting at the top of the dado, is inset into the square panel in such a way that strips of the latter's red ground are left on either side of it and below it, while a narrow vertical strip of the same red cuts up into it, to a point at about a third of its height, from the centre of its lower side. Across the top of this

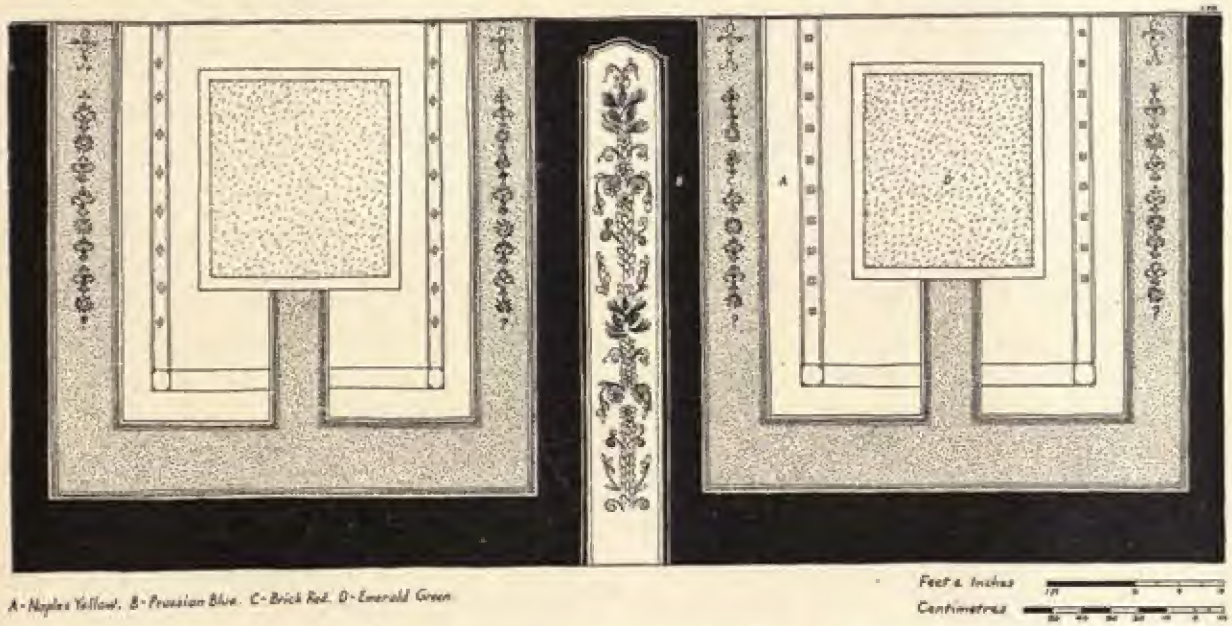

A
B
A-Naples Yellow. B-Prussian Blue. C-Brick Red. D-Emerald Green
Feet & Inches
Centimetres

FIG. 4. Room 17. Painted wall-decoration of Period (*a*). (From a drawing by L. E. Gallagher.)

vertical red strip rests yet another inner panel, roughly square in shape, painted blue or green (fig. 4, D), with a green and white border, and reaching up to a short distance below the top of the dado. On either side of, and below, this square is a narrow L-shaped border painted in reddish-brown lines on the orange field of the inner rectangular panel and enclosing a series of little squares or diamonds, red and white in some cases, pale blue, green, and white in others. Finally, at the top of the two vertical strips of the red background of the outer square panel there dangles a miniature white ornament, composed of two wreaths with ribbon-ends fluttering below them: beneath this ornament is a vertical chain of leaves and flowers. The wall-spaces above this complicated architectural dado have been largely destroyed: but here and there are traces of a green band, with dark blue horizontal lines below it, running along the upper edge of the dado and of a blue wash still higher up. High up on the wall, in the south-east corner of the room, just to the left of the doorway 17/18, is a fragment of decoration which does not seem to tally with the general wall-scheme just described. This is the upper left-hand corner of a blue panel with a triple frame—first, on the inside, a blue border between white lines, secondly a yellow border, and thirdly, on the outside, a pinkish-orange border dotted with white diamonds. Above the fragment are remnants of the green band which tops the dado elsewhere.

Period (*b*). At a later date the architectural design of period (*a*) was overlaid with a bolder and more ambitious figured scheme (pl. XLVI, *a*). The lower portion of the walls was divided into alternating broad and narrow panels, about 128 cm. and 66 cm. wide, respectively, and both about 160 cm. high. Between each panel is a green border some 7 cm. wide. The paintings of this period, which can best be studied on the east wall of the room, were already much defaced when first discovered and are now still further faded. But enough remains to show that the broad panels each contained the skin of a wild beast, while in each of the narrow panels was the standing figure of a man, presumably a hunter, executed in a vigorous impressionistic style, which recalls that of the hunting friezes in the Frigidarium. On the east wall seven panels containing beast-skins and six containing hunters remain. In one of the former the tawny, rope-like tail of some powerful feline can be clearly discerned; while in one of the latter the legs and toes of a hunter are notably well preserved. The panels are finished off below with a narrow red border. The shallow wall-space intervening between the border and the floor is decorated with broad diagonal bands of red, yellow, and green on a neutral ground.

The floor-mosaic recalls that of room 12 in showing an all-over design of hexagons and diamonds. Again the diamonds are outlined in deep mauve, the remaining two sides of each hexagon in black. But here the diamonds are filled with a deep buff 'heather-mixture', while in the centre of the white ground of each hexagon is a tiny black cross. A narrow band of mauve and black surrounds the whole, and round the edges of the room are the traces of a white-on-buff scroll border. The average size of the tesserae is 1·5 cm.

Room 18

No ornament survives.

Room 19

Portions of a buried mosaic can be detected on the floor. The walls show four superimposed coats of painted stucco: (*a*) a white dado topped by a red horizontal line at about 1·50 m. above the present floor-level; (*b*) a pink dado on a layer of water-proofing, reaching up to just below the level of (*a*); (*c*) a dado of imitation cipollino, reaching up to the same level as (*b*) and topped by a border of an indeterminate orange pattern on a yellow ground with red edging; (*d*) a second layer of imitation cipollino obscuring the border of (*c*).

Room 20

All that remains of the floor-mosaic are scattered tesserae and marble fragments. The walls show two layers of paint: (*a*) a pale green wash on a layer of water-proofing, topped by a red band at a point about 1·80 m. above the present floor-level; (*b*) white stucco covering the whole surface, with a narrow horizontal red band painted across it at a height of about 2·45 m. above floor-level. Red lines run above the doorway 5/20 and across the top of its jambs. A red line masks the south-east angle of the room and follows the curved junctions of its south and east walls with its one-time vault.

V. DATE, CHARACTER, AND PURPOSE

It is evident from the study both of the building and of its ornament that the Baths were in use for a considerable period of time. During this time their structure was once radically modified, and underwent a number of lesser alterations; and to these changes correspond a number of changes in the manner of its decoration. The correspondence is not in all cases exact. But it is, broadly speaking, possible to establish three major decorative phases, which are applicable throughout the northern, the better-preserved, half of the main building (rooms 1–4, periods (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*), see pp. 178–85, above); and to establish the identity of the first of these with the building in its earlier form, and of the two that succeed it with the second main structural phase, after the remodelling of the Frigidarium. To this later phase belongs also the construction of the Apodyterium and of the north-east wing, both of which themselves underwent at least one major redecoration. In general terms it will be noted that the use of moulded stucco ornament on walls and vaults appears to be limited to the earliest phase; that vault-mosaic and wall-mosaic give place to paint; and that painted imitation marbling, though not perhaps unknown earlier, is particularly common in the later phases. These generalizations seem to apply consistently throughout the Hunting Baths. It does not necessarily follow that they are capable of any wider application.

The archaeological evidence, summarized at the beginning of this article, indicates that the Baths can hardly have been built before the latter part of the second century, at earliest; and that they were probably abandoned before the end of the fourth, perhaps on the occasion of the disastrous incursion of A.D. 363. These conclusions find confirmation both from the architectural character of the building and from its decoration.

Architecturally, the Hunting Baths belong to a cadet branch of the same imperial Roman family as the great concrete-vaulted Baths of the capital. The centre of interest and experiment in this peculiarly Roman style of architecture was Rome itself; and outside the somewhat specialized conventions of the great imperial Baths, we can mark its genesis and development in such imperially inspired monuments as the Domus Aurea, Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, and Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.[1] It is the last-named which saw the final, triumphal liberation of this novel architecture of freely moving interior space from the restraints imposed by the conventional classical exterior; and in so far as it was the product of deliberate, imaginative experiment under direct imperial patronage, its arrival at maturity in the capital under Hadrian affords an unusually clear *terminus post quem* for its use in the provinces. A comparison between the Hunting Baths and the Lesser Baths of Hadrian's Villa in fact suggests that the former is quite considerably later. There is no suggestion that the Hunting Baths had any official character; and so strikingly novel a fashion must have taken some little time to filter down into common provincial use. Moreover the Hunting Baths reveal a considerable advance in architectural design. The deliberate anarchy of the initial experiment has given place to a sobriety, that betrays its parentage in such features only as the use of polygonal rooms, the deliberate avoidance of axial symmetry, and the siting of doors obliquely to the rooms which they serve. At the same time the exterior has discarded the last remnants of traditional classicism: here is functionalism, undisguised and unadorned. It is not easy to assess in exact terms the time required for such a development. But, taking all the known factors into account, it is hard to believe that the Hunting Baths can have been built much, if at all, before the end of the second century.

Of the ornament it is possible to speak only in the most general terms. The dating of imperial-age paintings and mosaics on stylistic grounds alone is notoriously precarious. In particular it would be premature to speculate upon the precise chronology of the vault-mosaics, fragmentary as they are and lacking the background of any general study of pre-Christian wall- and vault-mosaics in the Roman world. All that we can say is that they would seem to harmonize with the general artistic background of the late second, or early third, century A.D. Again, we need to have assembled much more material for the study of monumental painting in North Africa than we at present possess before we can attempt to assign a precise date to the hunting friezes and to the Nilotic scenes, which appear to be contemporary with them. But it may at least be noted that the combination of vigorous naturalism and impressionism mentioned above savours of the third century; and that there is a certain kinship between the treatment of the faces of the leopard-hunters and that of the faces of Septimius Severus and his family in the famous painted medallion in Berlin.[2] The floor-mosaics unquestionably belong to the later stages of the Tripolitanian series. The large size of the tesserae, the extensive use of marble, the absence of *emblemata* or figured panels, the employment of very simple, repeating designs, all of these are late features. The pavements of the Apodyterium and of room 17, in particular, may be compared with those of a house at Sabratha (Regio II, insula 10, house G), which have recently been examined stratigraphically and shown to belong certainly to the fourth century. These results then, such as they are, accord well enough with the other evidence. If anything, they tend to assign the successive stages of the building to a somewhat earlier date within the possible limits than might seem probable upon purely architectural considerations. It cannot be too strongly stressed, however, how precarious the present state of our knowledge of most forms of provincial art must render any attributions upon purely stylistic grounds. Before we can speculate more precisely, we need a far larger body of independently dated material.

---

[1] For a recent discussion of these buildings, with bibliography, see J. B. Ward Perkins, 'The Italian Element in Late Roman and Early Medieval Architecture', in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxiii, 1947–8.

[2] *Die Antike*, 1936, pls. 10, 11.

It is, however, permissible to inquire whether this building, with its extraordinary profile of domes and barrel-vaults, is a random freak, or whether it possesses a wider significance for the history of Roman provincial architecture. The answer to this question, at any rate, is clear. By the accident of their preservation, the Hunting Baths serve to represent a class of architecture that had a wide currency under the later Roman Empire. In terms of the familiar classicism of the Hellenistic tradition, it was an 'unclassical' architecture; and without the graphic documentation of some such surviving example as the Hunting Baths, it might well seem rash to restore, on such unconventional lines, buildings elsewhere that are known only from their ground-plans, or at best from the scanty remains of the walls and vaults. And yet it is quite clear that bath-buildings of this sort had a considerable currency in the Mediterranean world. At Lepcis itself there are two other examples: the small baths near the House of the Orpheus mosaic (pl. XXXVI, *e*); and a second, less well preserved and still unexcavated, among the dunes about mid-way between the Theatre, the Severan Arch, and the West Gate. Other examples from North Africa are the City Baths at Djemila,[1] the Caldarium wing of the Lesser Baths (the so-called 'Bains-des-Chasseurs') at Lambaesis;[2] and, particularly striking, the Baths at Thenae (Henscir-Thina, in Tunisia) and the Forum Baths at Khamissa, in Algeria.[3] In the east, side by side with such orthodox structures as the Baths at Bâbiskâ,[4] more or less well-preserved examples of the Lepcis type can be seen in those districts of northern and southern Syria where vaulting was commonly practised. An outstanding example on a monumental scale is the bath-building at Shehbâ, Philippopolis, in the Haurân.[5] Others can be seen at Bosra, the South Baths, and at Sha'ârah;[6] and in northern Syria at Brâd.[7] The tradition lasted on into Arab times in such monuments of the Umayyad period as Qusayr 'Amra and Hammâm as-Sarakh.[8] Even in districts where timber roofing was the normal practice, the influence of this type of bath-building can be discerned in buildings such as Bath C at Antioch.[1] The extent to which the same influence can be traced in the architecture of the European provinces is a subject which lies outside the scope of the present article. The examples already cited are sufficient to demonstrate that the Hunting Baths are representative of a class of building which was in widespread use under the later Roman Empire, and, it may be added, was of no small importance for the later history of architecture in the Mediterranean world.

---

[1] *Bull. Arch.* 1919, pl. XX; D. Krencker and E. Krüger, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen*, Augsburg, 1929, fig. 264.

[2] Krencker and Krüger, *op. cit.*, fig. 300, emending previous plans.

[3] *Thenae*: Krencker and Krüger, *op. cit.*, fig. 317. *Khamissa*: *Bull. Arch.*, 1919, p. 59; Krencker and Krüger, *op. cit.*, fig. 276.

[4] *Bâbiskâ*: H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria* (Princeton Expedition to Syria, 1904–5, part II, Leyden, 1907–20), section B, pp. 170–6. *Serdjillâ*: H. C. Butler, *Architecture and other Arts* (American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, 1899–1900, part II), New York, 1903, p. 165.

[5] Butler, *Architecture and other Arts*, pp. 384–90.

[6] Butler, *Ancient Architecture*, section A, pp. 260–5 (Bosra), and pp. 439–40 (Sha'ârah).

[7] Butler, *Ancient Architecture*, section B, pp. 300–3.

[8] K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 253–72 (Qusayr 'Amra) and 273–6 (Hammâm as-Sarakh).

In conclusion it is tempting to inquire whether the character of the building and its archaeological setting throw any light on the class of person for whom it was built. This is not a subject upon which we are always well informed. Large public baths and the small baths annexed to private houses tell their own story. But there is a class of urban bath-building, well represented in Tripolitania, which seems to belong to neither category. It is larger than was felt to be necessary even for so opulent a town-house as the seaside mansion at Sabratha, of which the 'Oceanus' Baths are the pendant; and unlike the domestic bath-buildings, which are always found in close association with the house which they served, these rather larger structures seem usually to be self-contained, and open directly off the street.[2] Such, at any rate in its later phase, was the Hunting Baths. It is bounded on three sides by a perimeter wall, with access from a fore-court opening off the street; and the incorporation within the structure of a separate wing (rooms 17 and 18), which has its own entrance from the fore-court and is only incidentally connected with the bath-building proper, strongly suggests that it served some public, or quasi-public, purpose.

What this purpose may have been, we can only guess. The subjects of two of the major decorative schemes do, however, suggest that it may have been in some way connected with the hunting of wild beasts, and that these Baths perhaps belonged at one stage to an association of hunters. The epigraphy of Tripolitania is curiously silent on the subject of *collegia*. But there must have been trade-associations in some form or other; and of these one of the most important for the economy of the province would have been the association of merchant-hunters. In classical times, as later, ivory, skins, and ostrich-feathers were an important item of the trans-Saharan luxury-trade, which constituted one of the chief forms of wealth for Lepcis and for its neighbours. It is no accident that the badge of Sabratha in the Building of the Corporations at Ostia was an elephant;[3] or that a large marble elephant should have stood in, or near, the Market at Lepcis.[4] Dedications of tusks of ivory to Liber Pater are recorded in two separate Tripolitanian inscriptions, the one from Lepcis, the other from Oea.[5] Equally important was the trade in live beasts for the amphitheatre. A chariot-base in the Market records one Porfyrius who, in the late third century, *civibus suis feras dentatas*

---

[1] C. S. Fisher, 'Bath C', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. i, *Excavations of 1932*, Princeton, 1934, pp. 19–31, plan, pl. v; reproduced by C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, 1938, p. 12.

[2] Well-preserved examples can be seen at Sabratha, notably the Office Baths and the Theatre Baths, and perhaps also the Museum Baths.

[3] G. Calza, 'Il piazzale delle Corporazioni e la funzione commerciale di Ostia', *Bull. Arch. Com.*, 1915, pp. 178 ff.; P. Romanelli, 'Ricordi di tripolitani a Roma e in Italia', *ibid.*, 1928, pp. 71 ff.

[4] S. Aurigemma, 'L'elefante di Leptis Magna', *Africa Italiana*, vii, 1940, pp. 67–86, citing also the literary evidence for the ivory-trade.

[5] S. Aurigemma, *loc. cit.*

quattuor vivas donavit;[1] and a fourth-century inscription in the Severan Forum honours Titus Flavius Vibianus, a leading citizen, *ob diversarum voluptatum exhibitionem et libycarum ferarum decem*.[2] Epigraphy has selected for record the munificence of two citizens who exhibited wild beasts locally. It cannot be doubted, however, that such local displays were the by-product of a far more profitable traffic with the capital; and that the persons engaged in furnishing *ferae libycae* for such a market were prosperous and valued members of the community. It may be that the decoration of the Baths is without significance; but it must equally be admitted that the hunting trophies of room 17 and the scenes from the arena portrayed in the Frigidarium would have been particularly appropriate to the meeting-place of an association of merchant-hunters.[3] If it be so, the Hunting Baths take their place, not only as a monument of architectural and art-historical importance, but as a document of no little interest for the social structure of Lepcis Magna and of the Roman province of Tripolitania.

---

[1] S. Aurigemma, *loc. cit.* It has been suggested, in view of the merchant-ships portrayed on the same base, that Porfyrius was an exporter of wild-beasts (Guidi ap. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Italian ed., Firenze, 1933, pl. lxvi; followed by Aurigemma, p. 84). But the inscription patently replaces an earlier text, to which the ships belong.

[2] R. Bartoccini, *Africa Italiana*, ii, 1928, p. 48; S. Aurigemma, *loc. cit.*

[3] This suggestion was made in the first instance by Professor Giacomo Caputo.

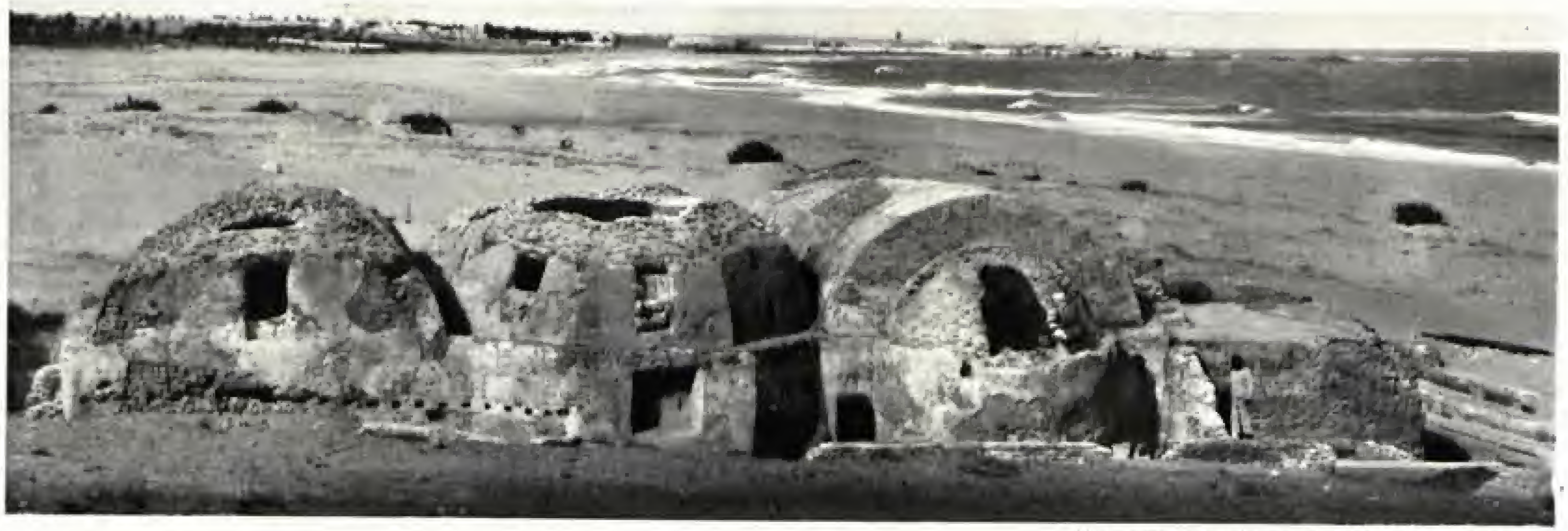


Photo: Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripolitania

a. The Hunting Baths viewed from the east, during excavation

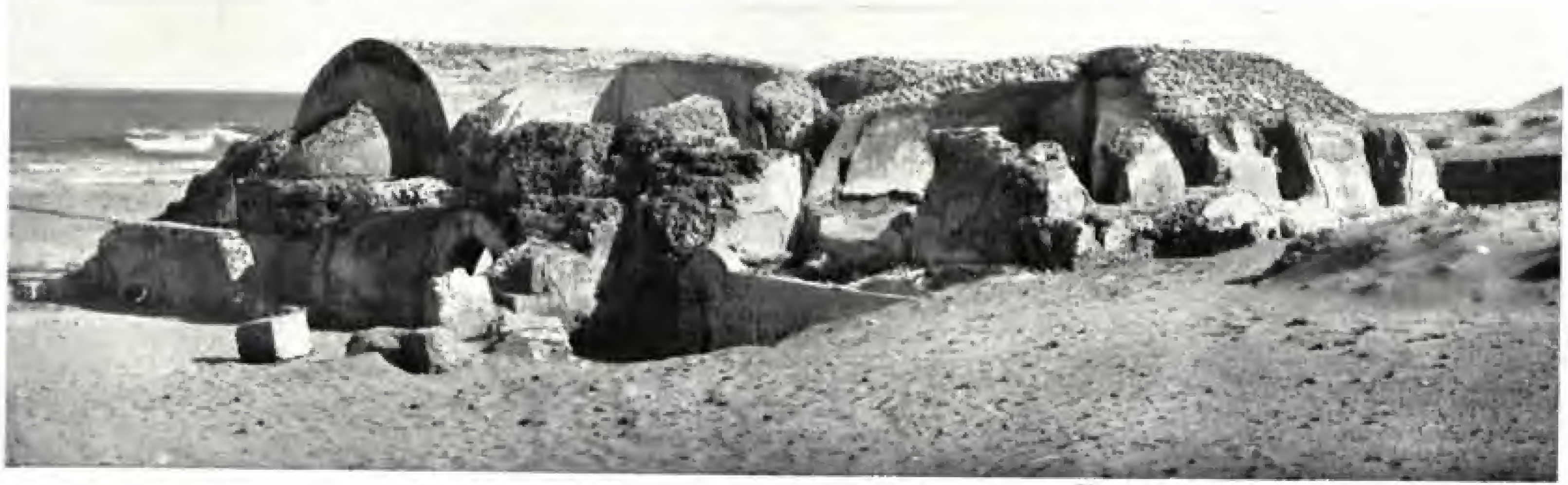
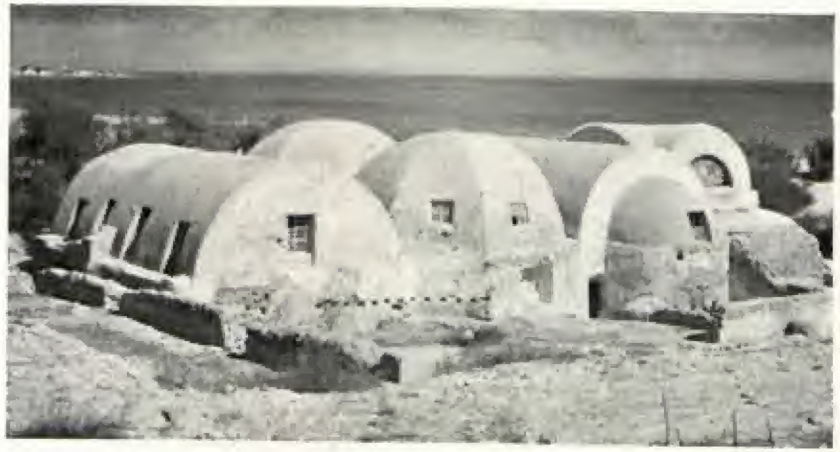


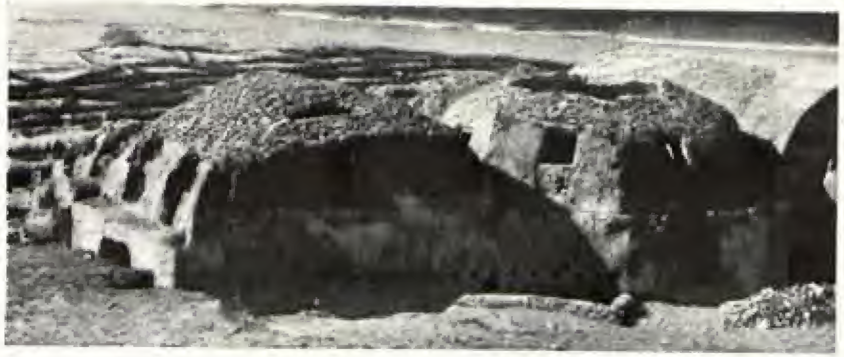
Photo: Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripolitania

b. The Hunting Baths viewed from the south-west, during excavation

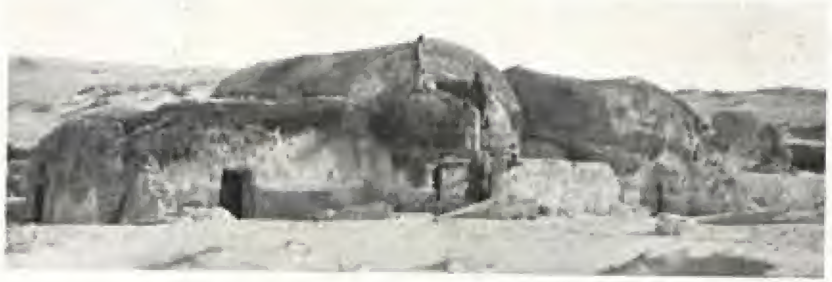
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



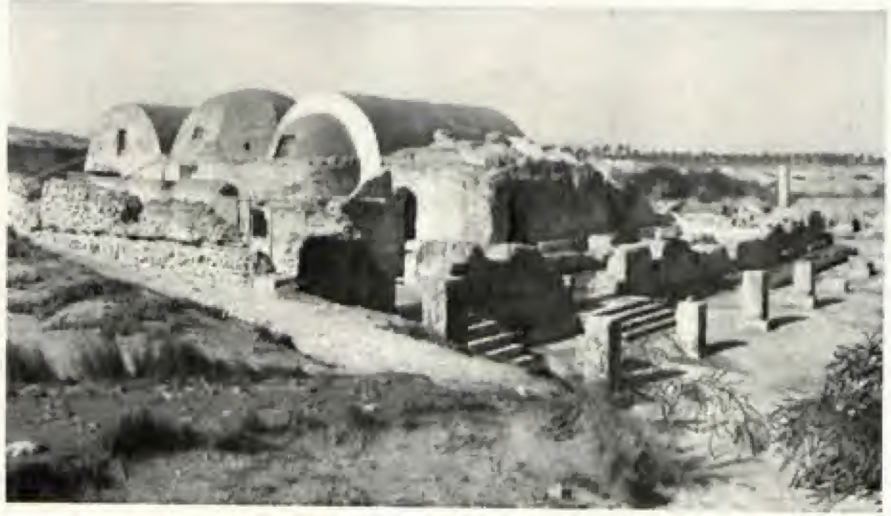
a. From the south-east, after restoration



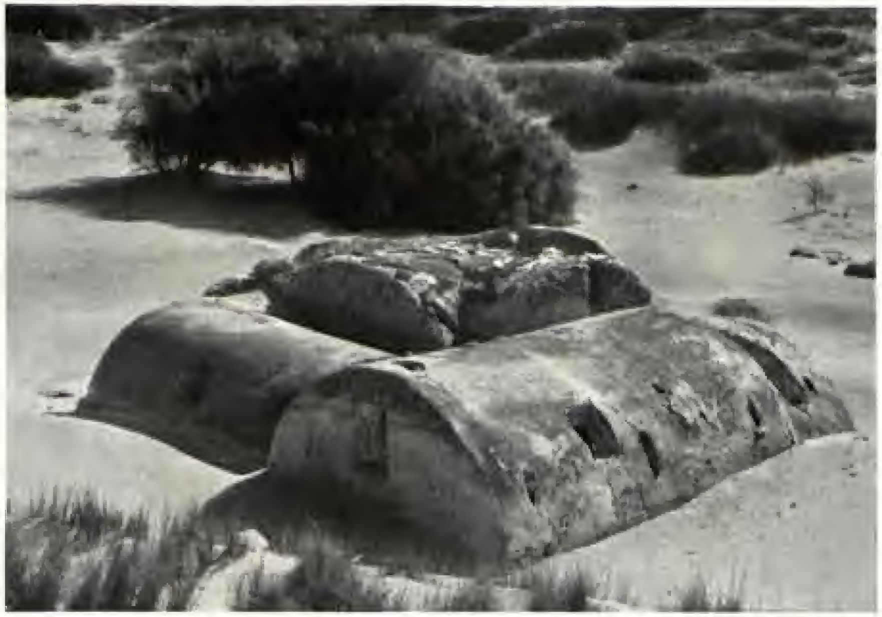
b. From the south-east, before restoration



c. From the north-west, before restoration



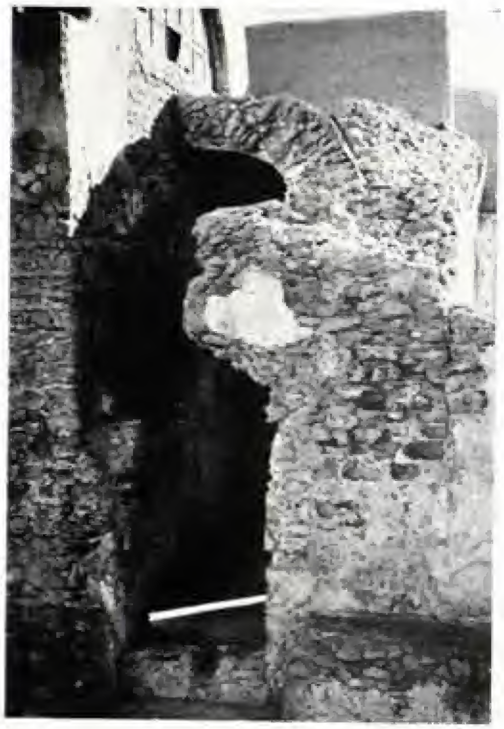
d. From the north-east, after partial restoration



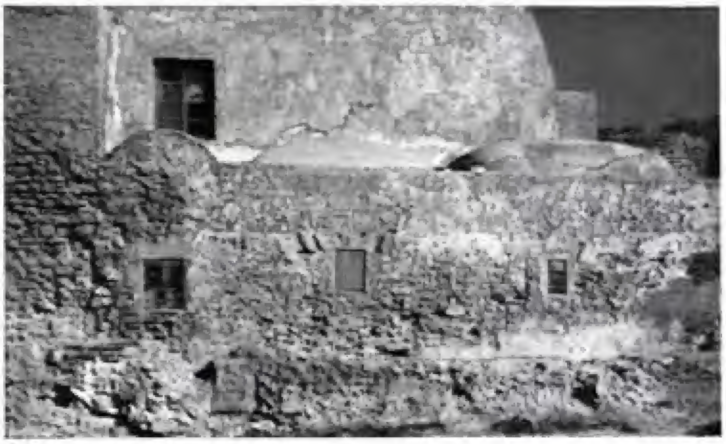
e. Bath-building, not yet excavated, near the House of the Orpheus Mosaic

Photos: a, M. B. Cookson; b–e, Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripolitania

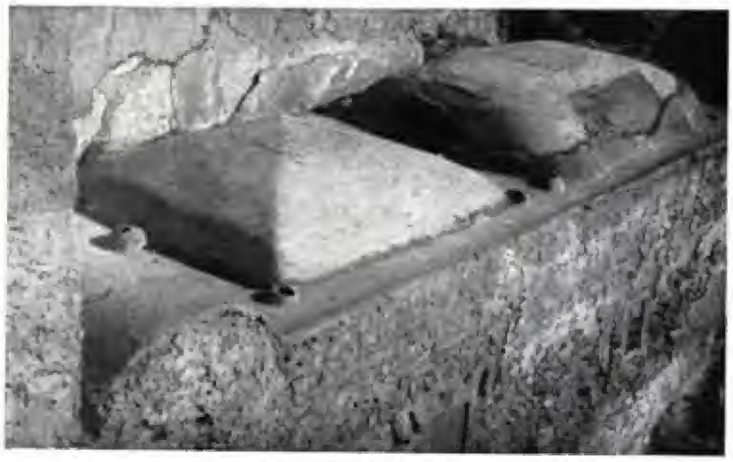
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



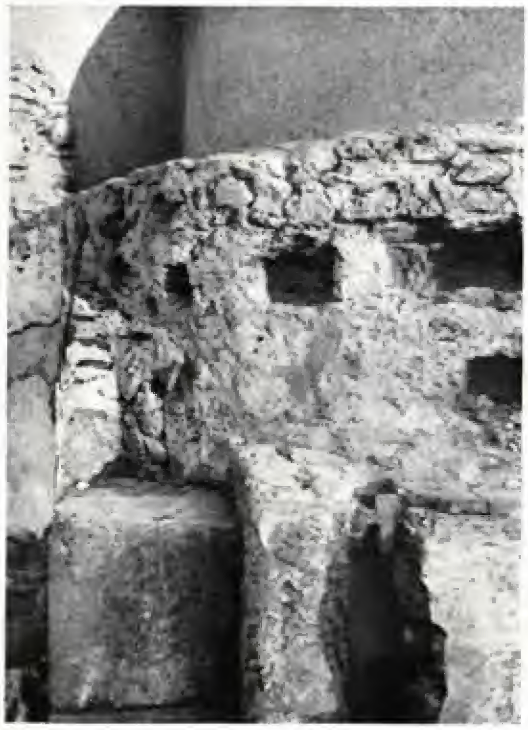
a. Room 4, showing original vault truncated by enlargement of plunge, and (right) straight joint at junction with room 19



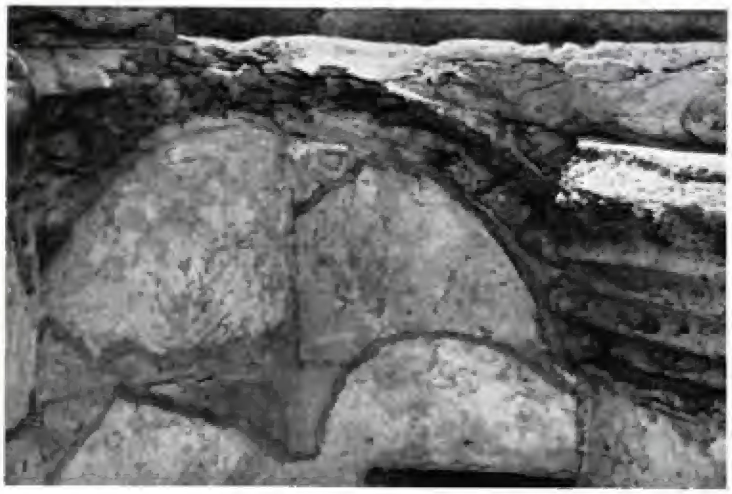
c. The south-west caldarium range



d. The south-west caldarium range, showing vaults (restored) and vent-holes



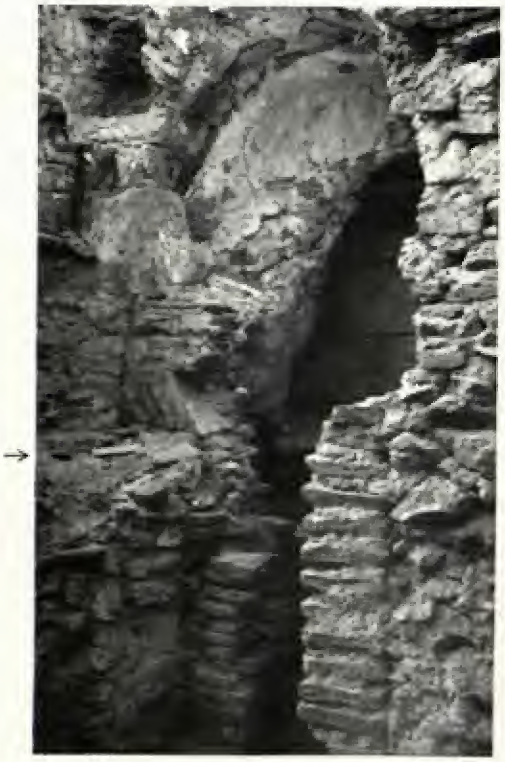
b. Exterior of west apse of Frigidarium and below (left) earlier wall and (right) rain-water duct from roof



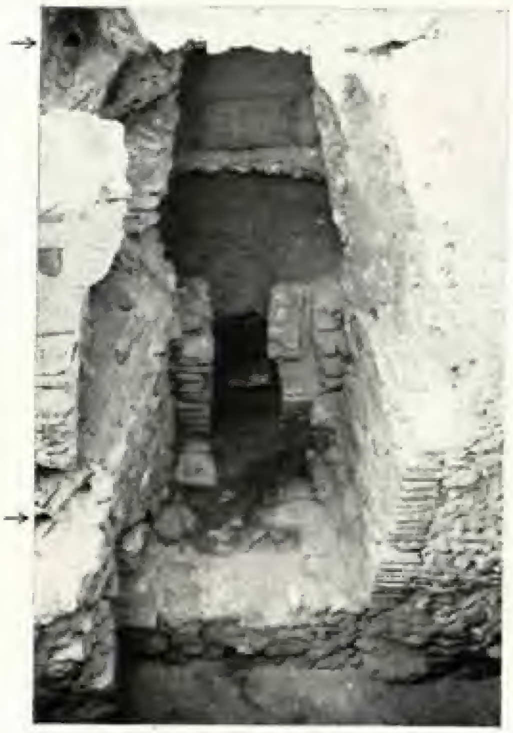
e. Room 20, the south-east angle, showing detail of vault. The horizontal ridges (right centre) are the impressions of tubular terra-cotta pipes

Photos: J. B. Ward-Perkins

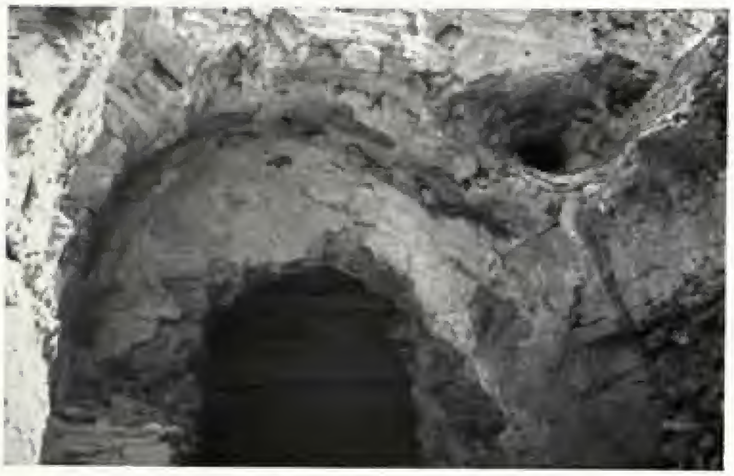
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



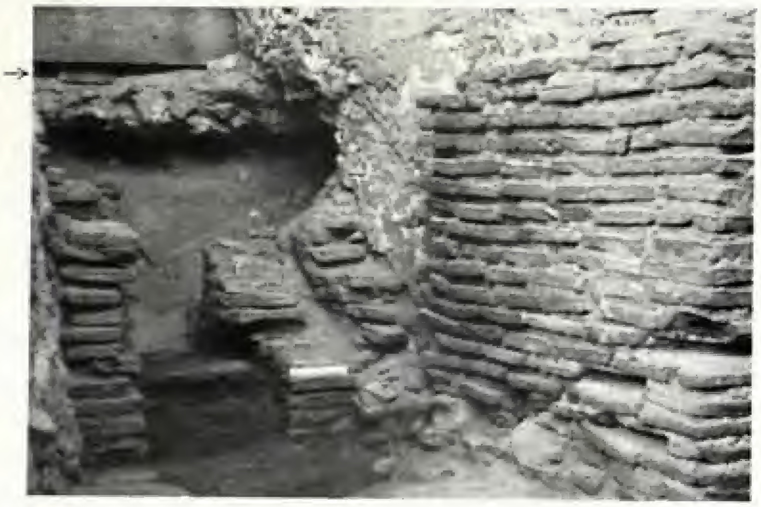
a. Furnace, room 7: arches to house boiler and *testudo*, and (marked by arrow) outlet-duct from plunge



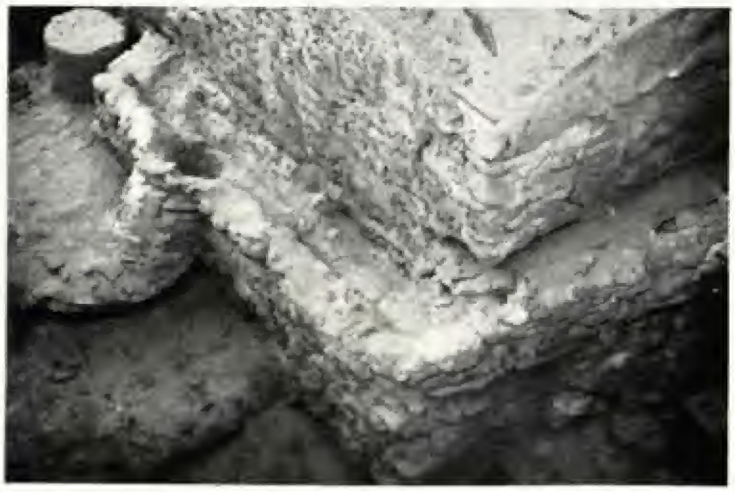
b. Furnace, room 7: housing for boiler and stokehole and (arrows) inlet- and outlet-ducts



c. Furnace, room 7: arches to house boiler and *testudo*, and (top left) water inlet-duct



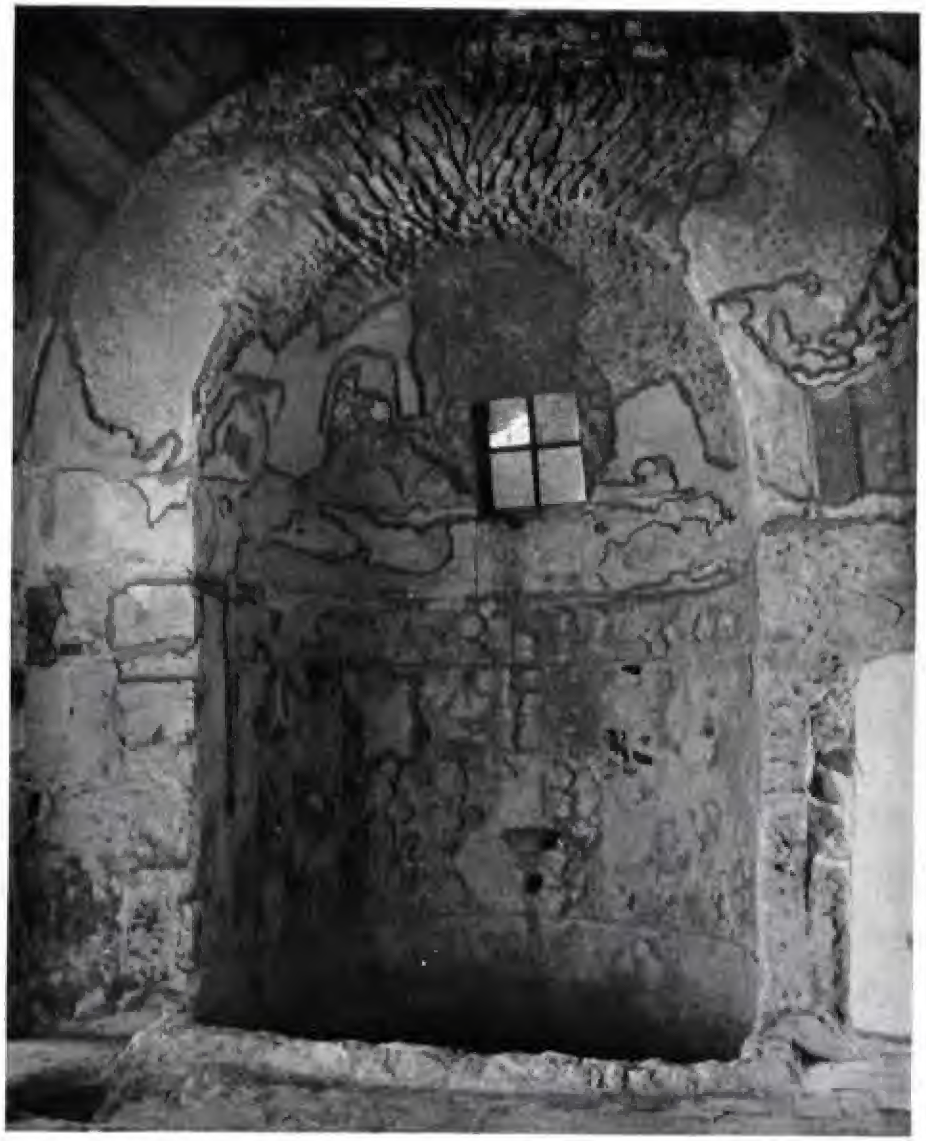
d. Furnace, room 7: the arrow marks the floor of the plunge



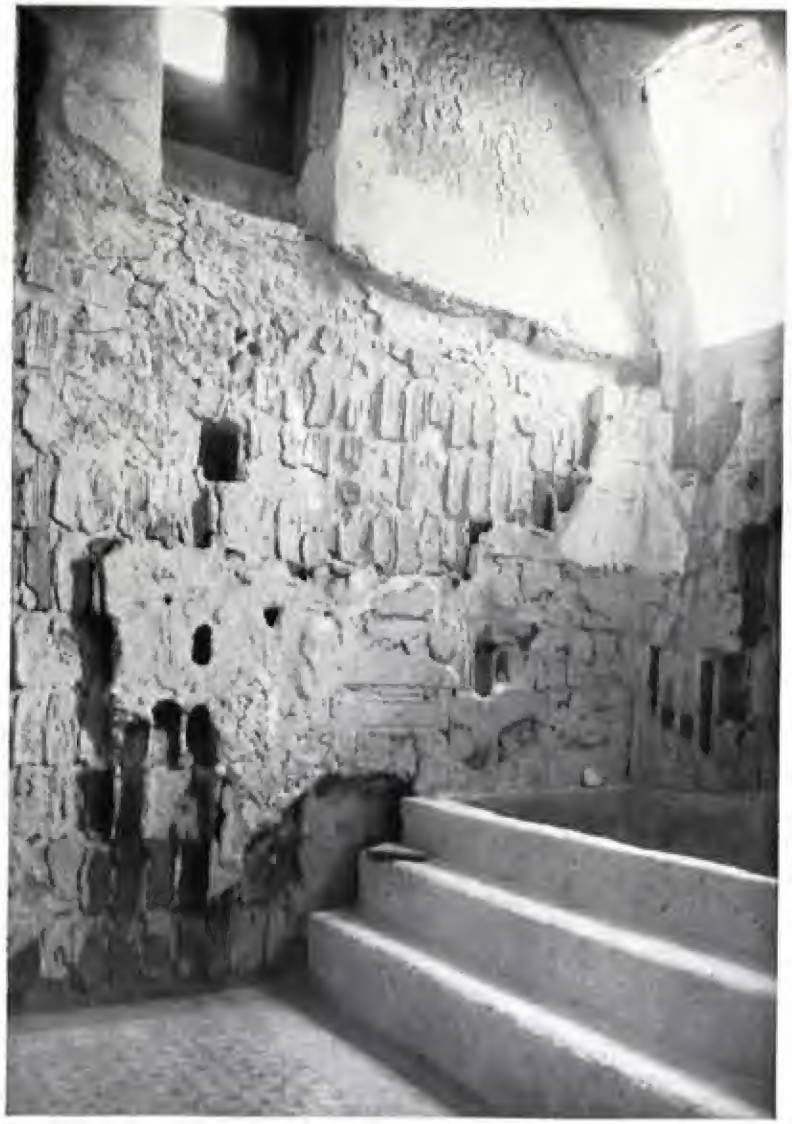
e. Outlet-ducts and drain from rooms 7 and 8

Photos: J. B. Ward-Perkins

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



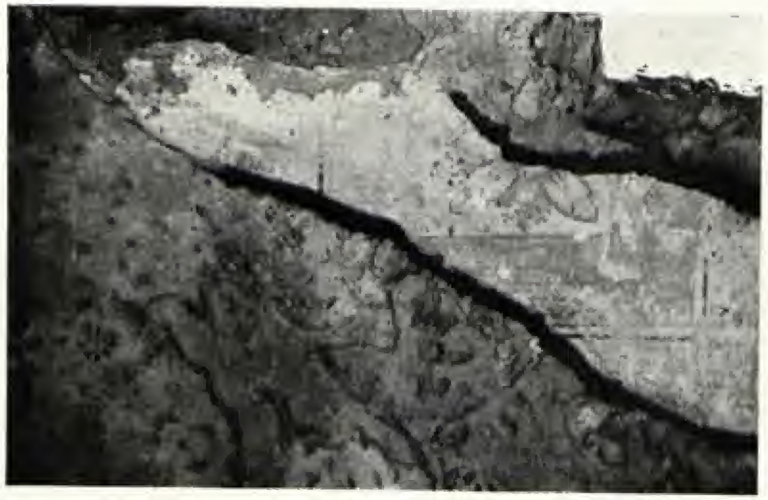
a. Room 2 (Frigidarium): east plunge



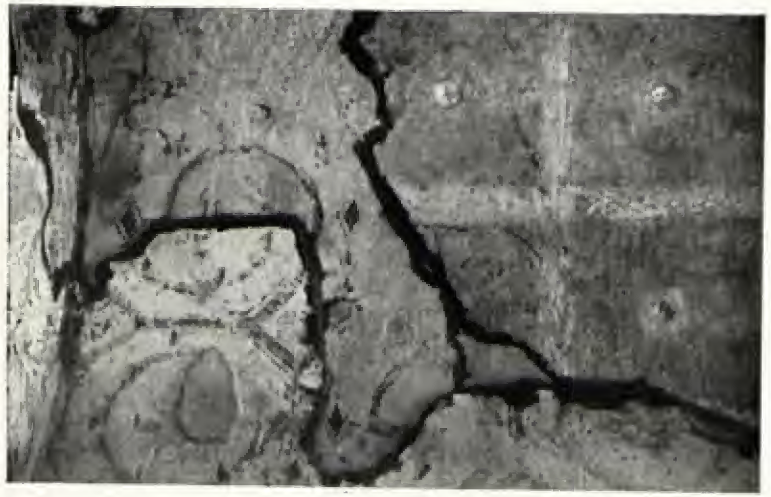
b. Room 7 (second Caldarium): east wall and plunge

Photos: M. B. Cookson

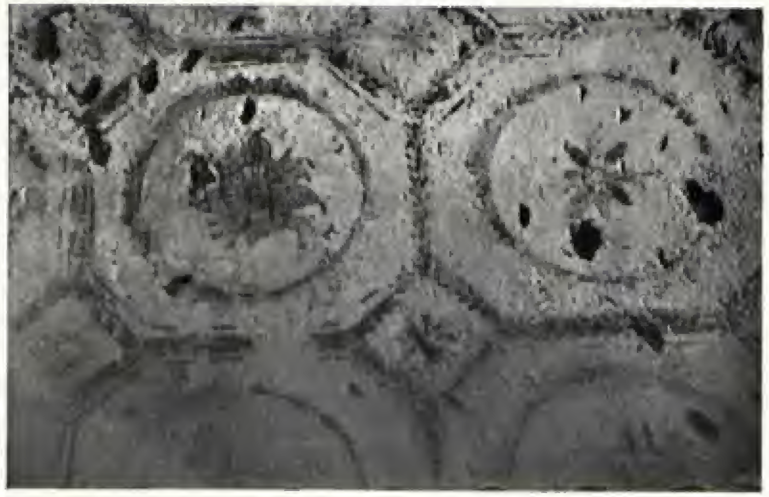
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



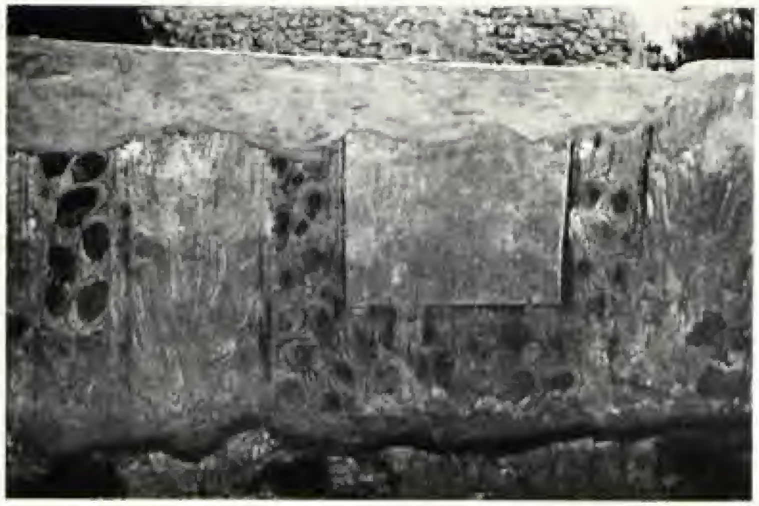
a. Vault of room 1, showing three successive periods of painted decoration



b. Vault of room 4, showing original stucco coffering, and three successive coats of plaster, two of them with remains of painted decoration



c. Vault of room 4, showing painted decorative scheme of period (c)



d. Painted imitation marble panelling of latrine

Photos: J. B. Ward-Perkins

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

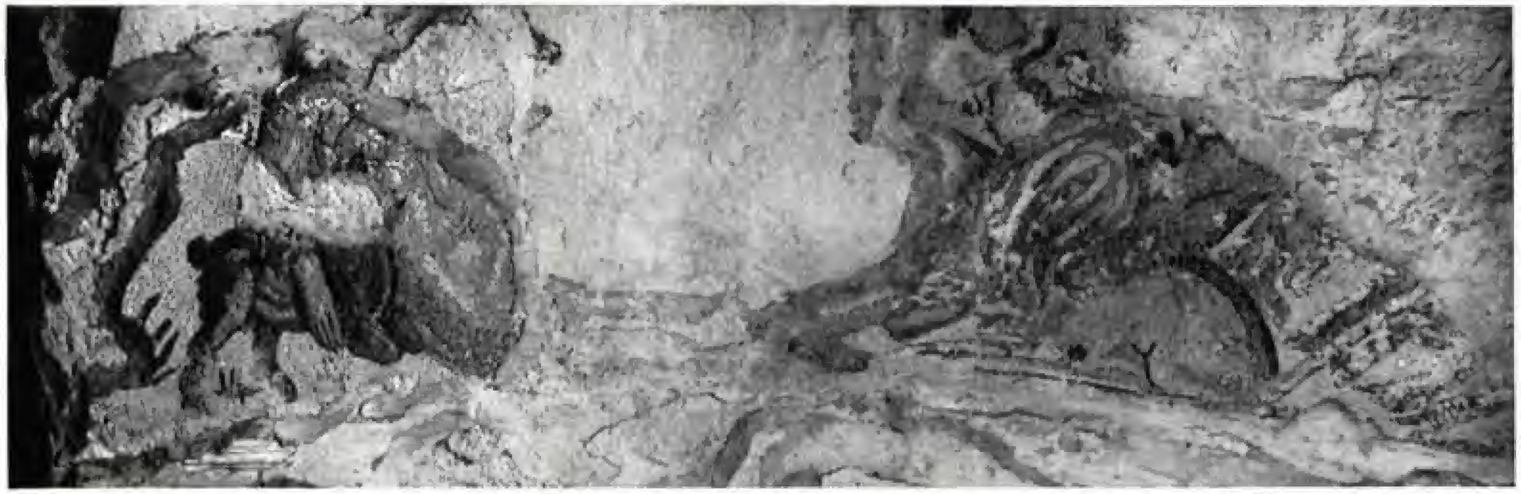


Photo: *J. B. Ward-Perkins*

a. Room 2 (Frigidarium): mosaics in semi-dome of east plunge, north side

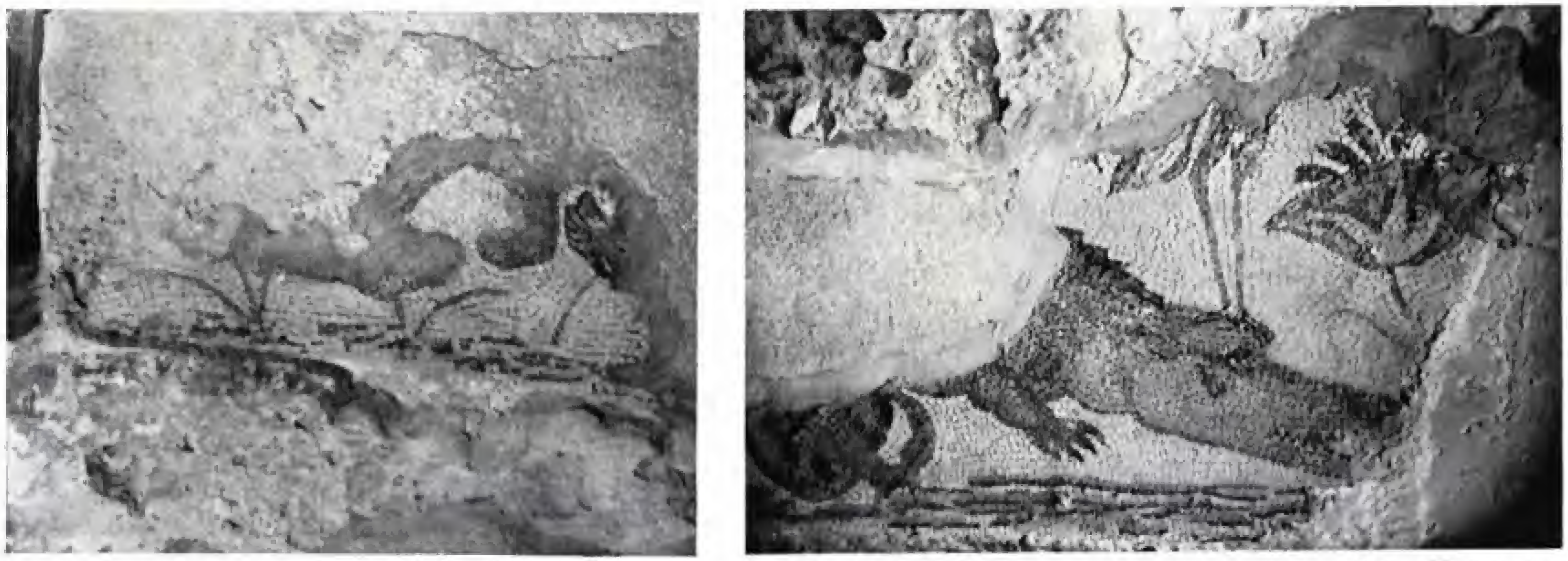


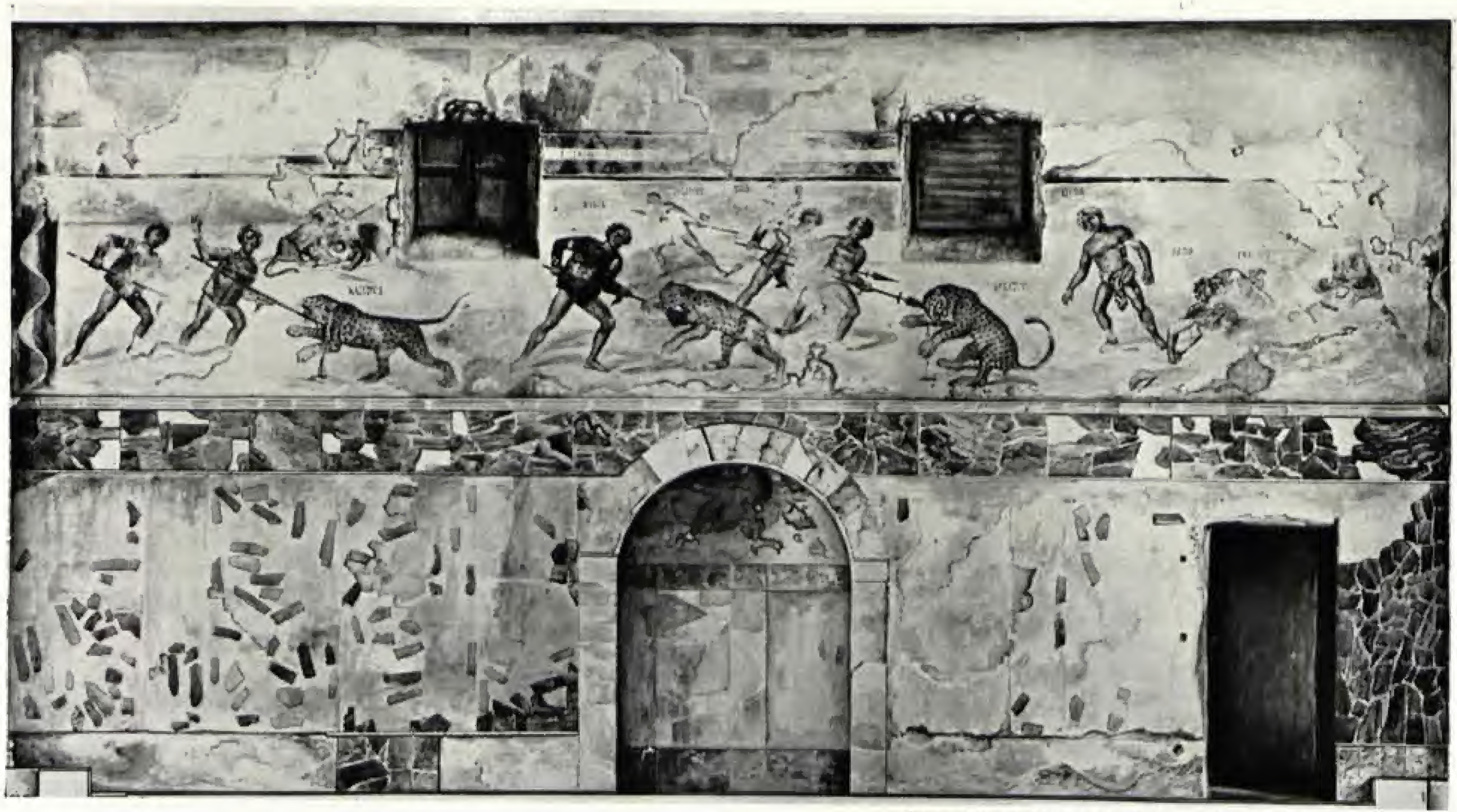
Photo: M. B. Cookson

Photo: M. B. Cookson

b, *c*. Room 2 (Frigidarium): mosaics in semi-dome of east plunge, south side

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

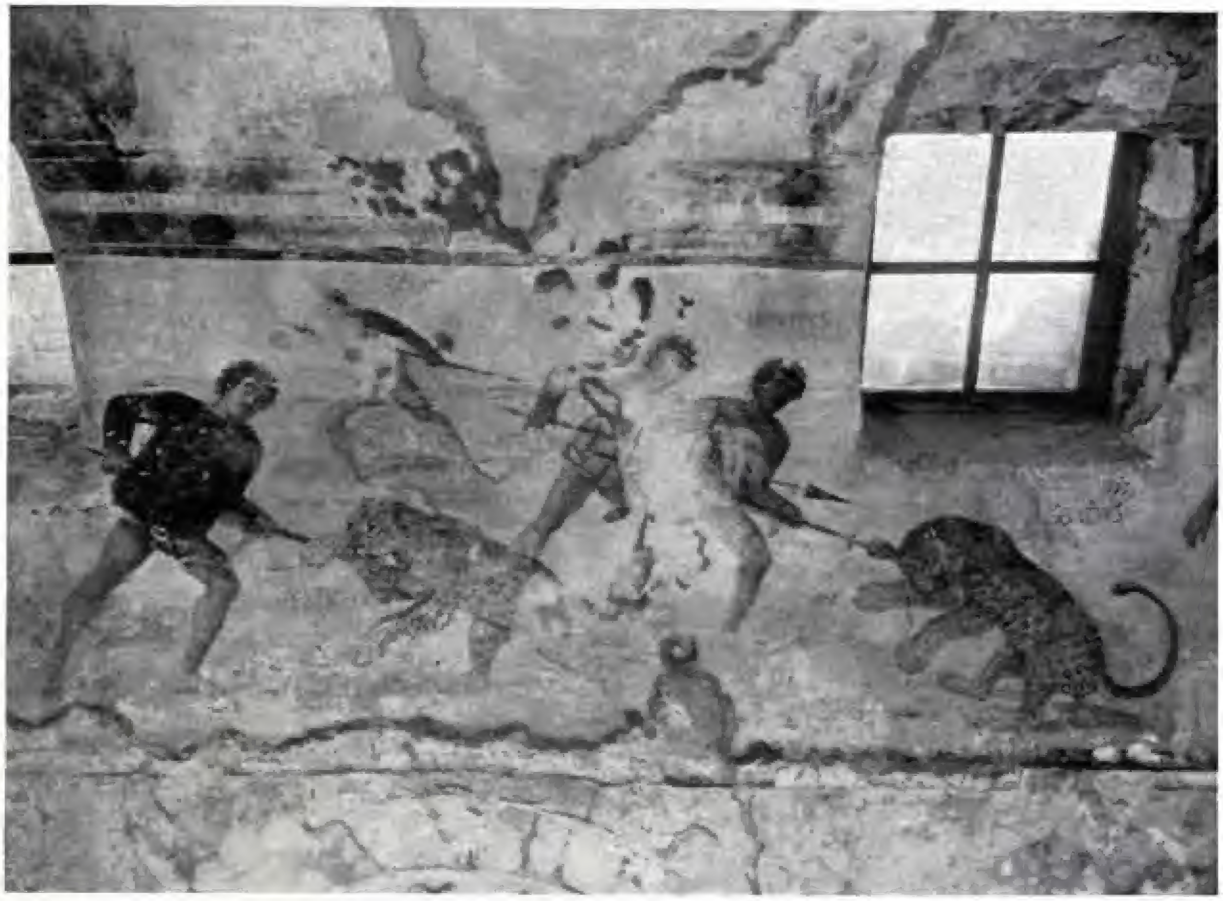
PLATE XLII



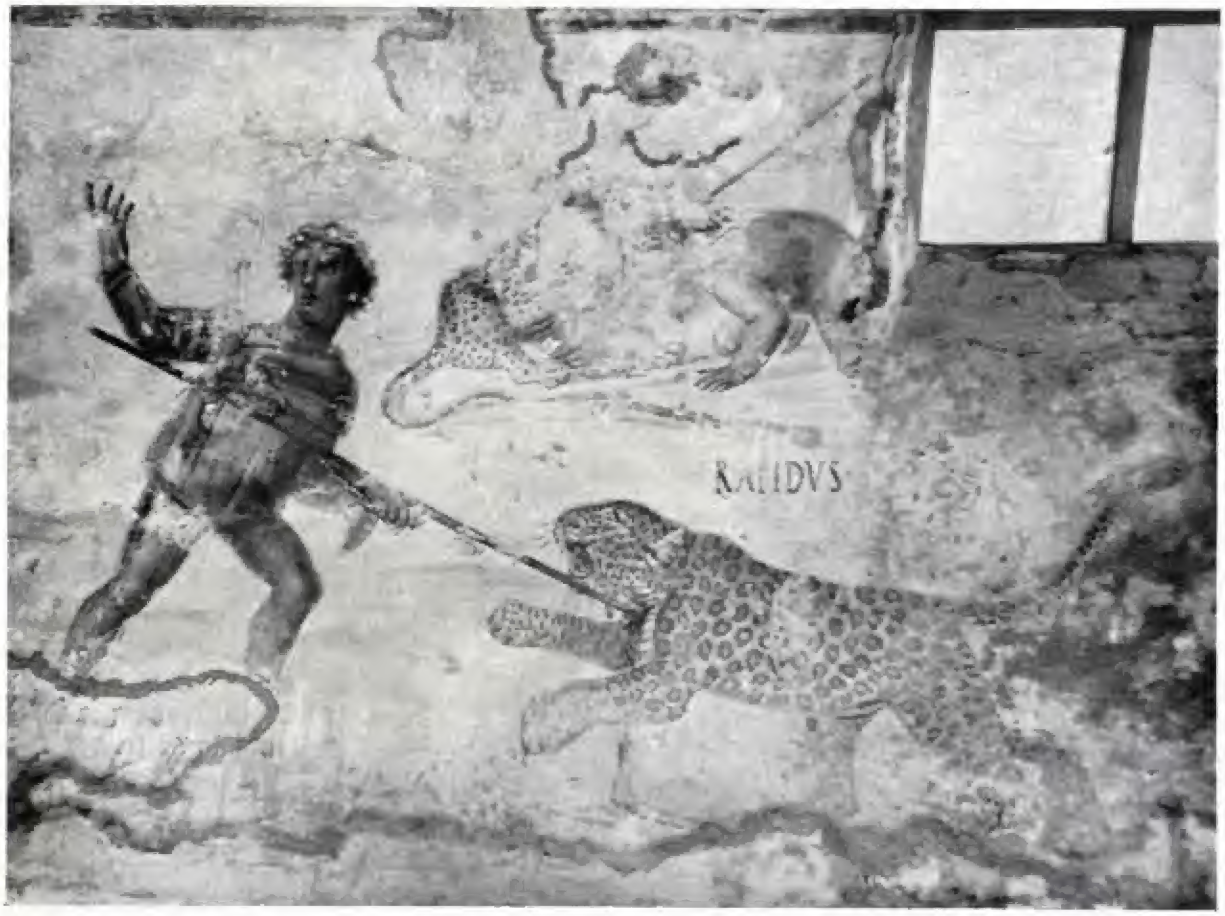
Water-colour by N. Calabrò: Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripolitania

Room 2 (Frigidarium): painting of leopard-hunt on south wall

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



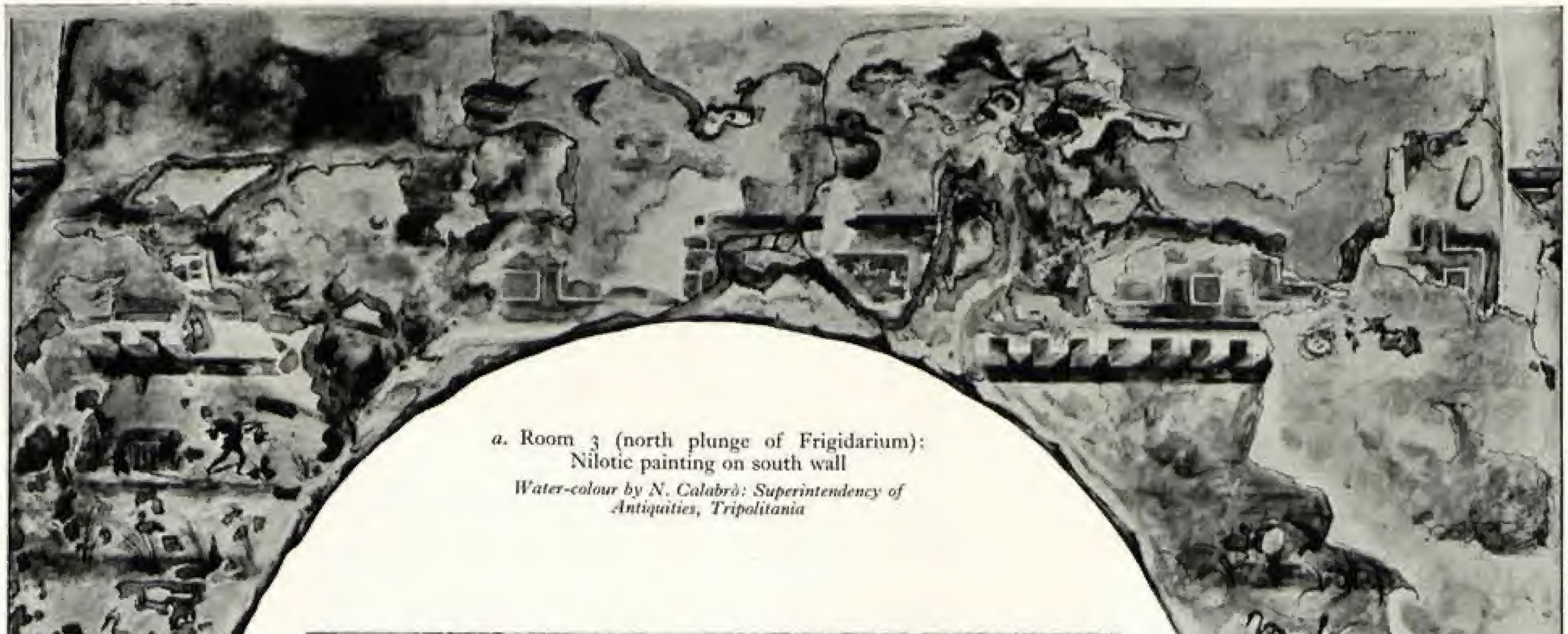
a. Room 2 (Frigidarium): detail of painting of leopard-hunt on south wall



b. Room 2 (Frigidarium): detail of painting of leopard-hunt on south wall

Photos: Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripolitania

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949



a. Room 3 (north plunge of Frigidarium): Nilotic painting on south wall

Water-colour by N. Calabrò: Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripolitania

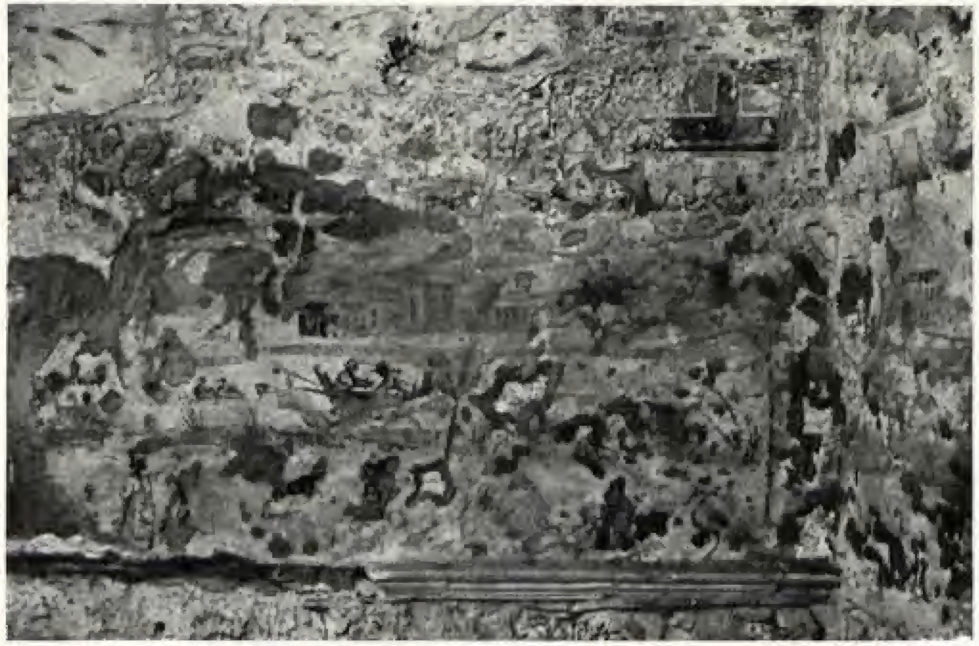


Photo: M. B. Cookson

b. Room 3 (north plunge of Frigidarium): Nilotic painting on east wall

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

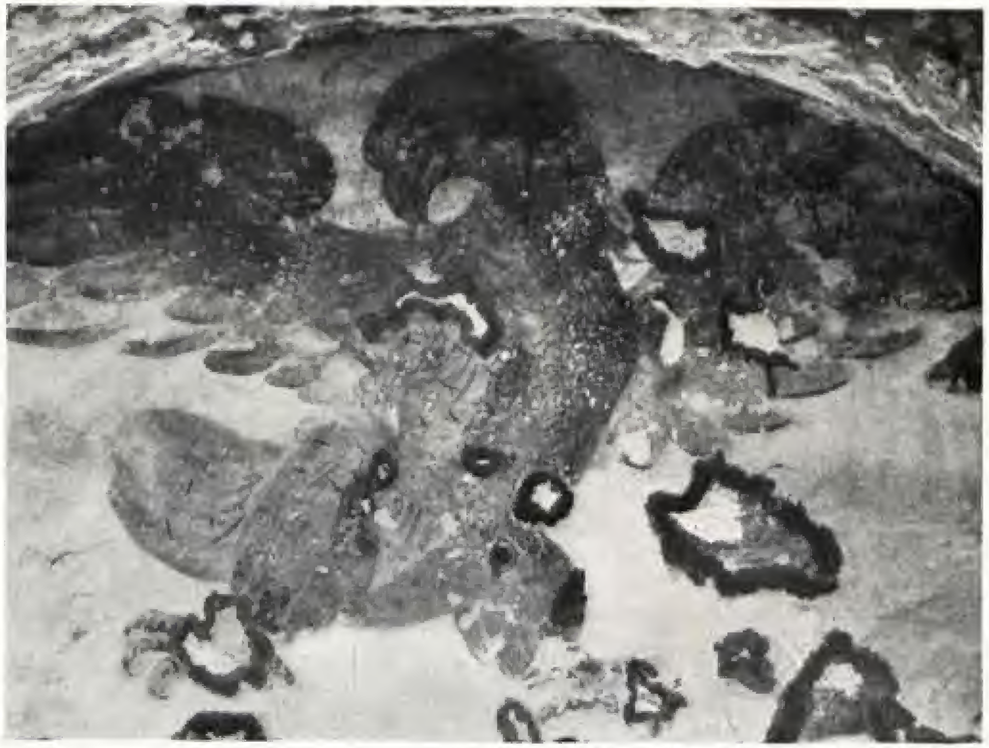


Photo: Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripolitania

a. Room 2 (Frigidarium): painting in vault of south apsidal niche

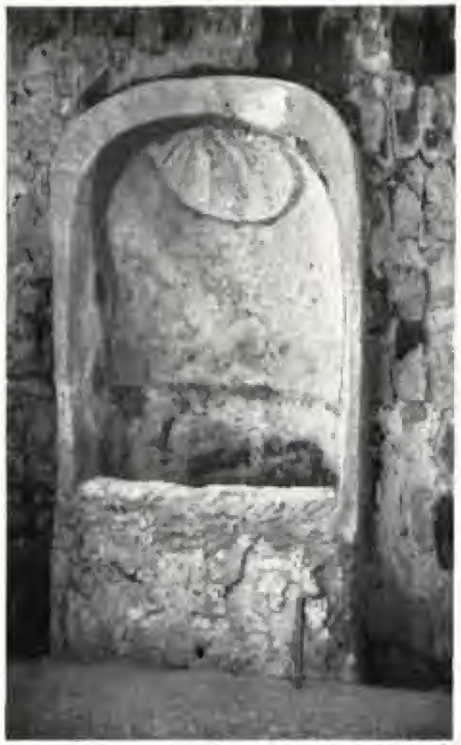


Photo: J. B. Ward-Perkins

b. Room 6 (first Caldarium): lavabo

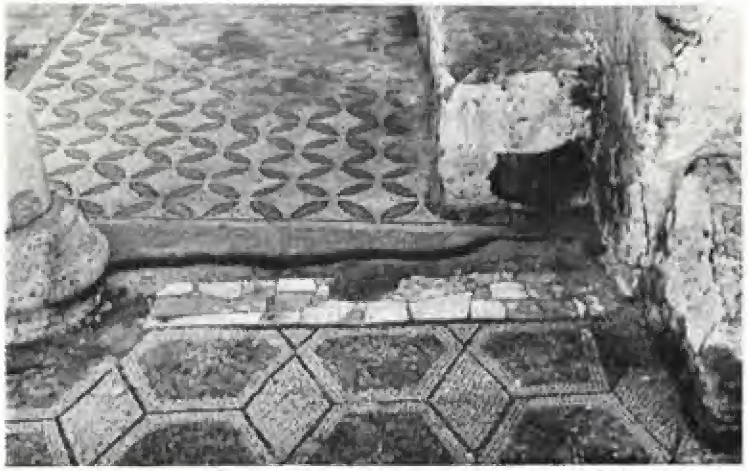


Photo: J. B. Ward-Perkins

c. Parts of floor mosaics in Room 12 (Apodyterium) in foreground, and Room 13 (Annexe to Apodyterium) in background

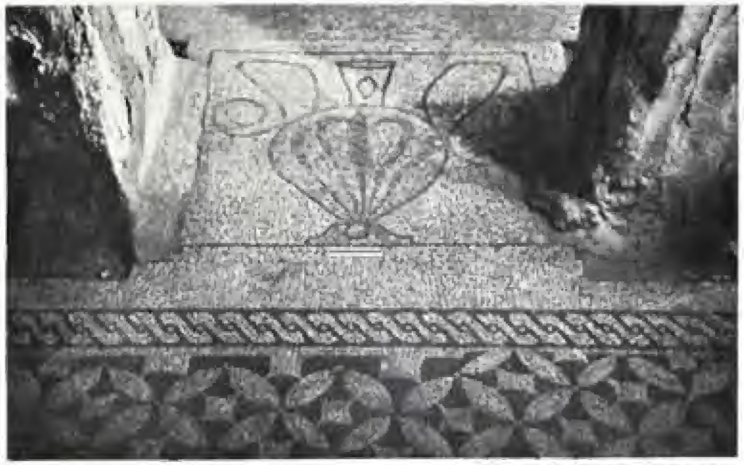


Photo: J. B. Ward-Perkins

d. Floor mosaic in doorway between Rooms 7 and 8 (second and third Caldaria) and part of floor mosaic of Room 8

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

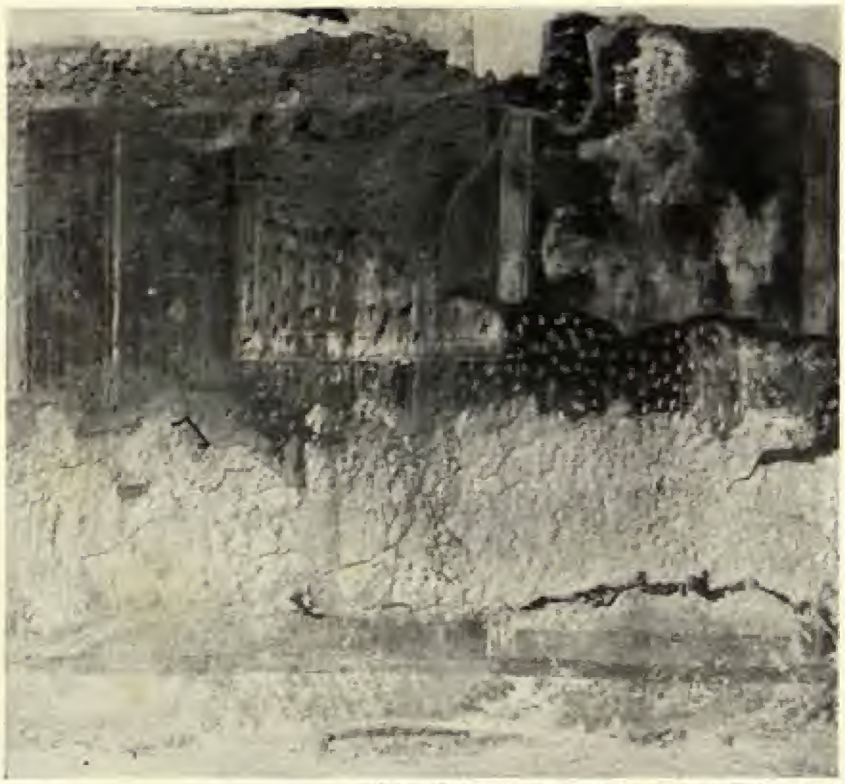


Photo: Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripolitania

a. Room 17: remains of wall-decoration of periods (*a*) and (*b*)

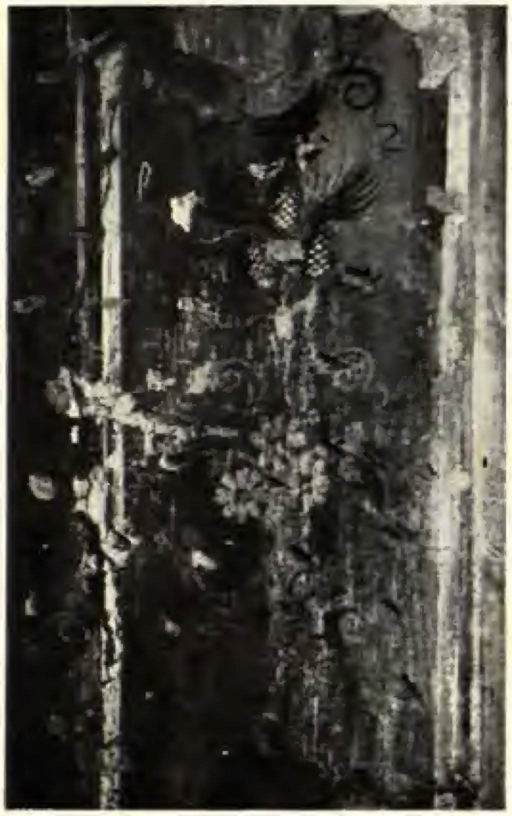


Photo: J. B. Ward-Perkins

b. Room 17: detail of floral work in wall-decoration of period (*a*)

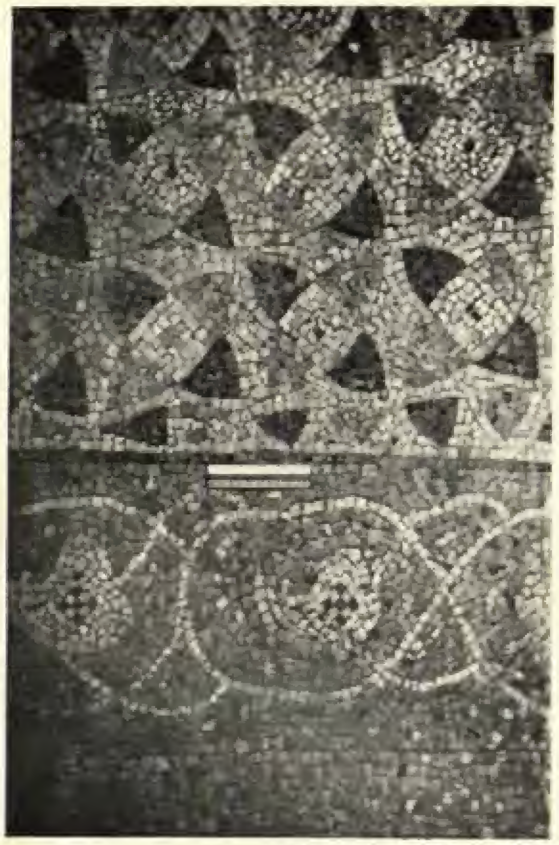


Photo: J. B. Ward-Perkins

c. Room 7 (second Caldarium): detail of floor mosaic

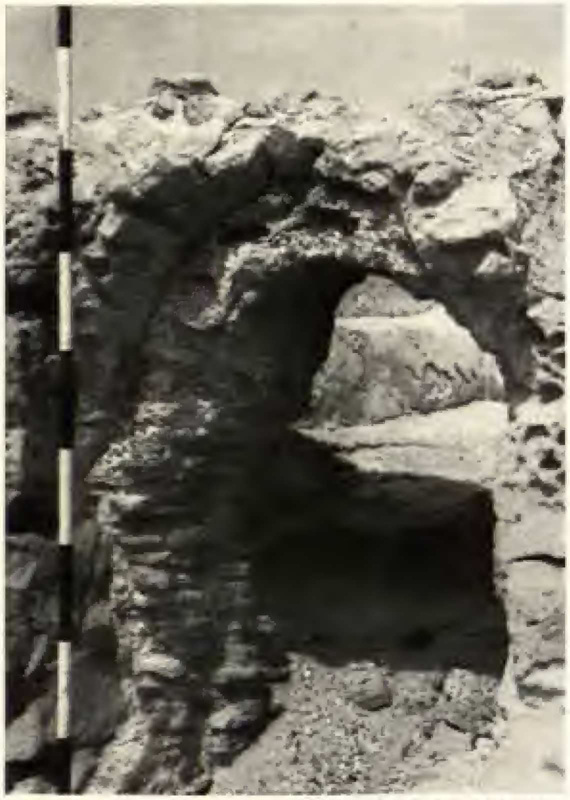


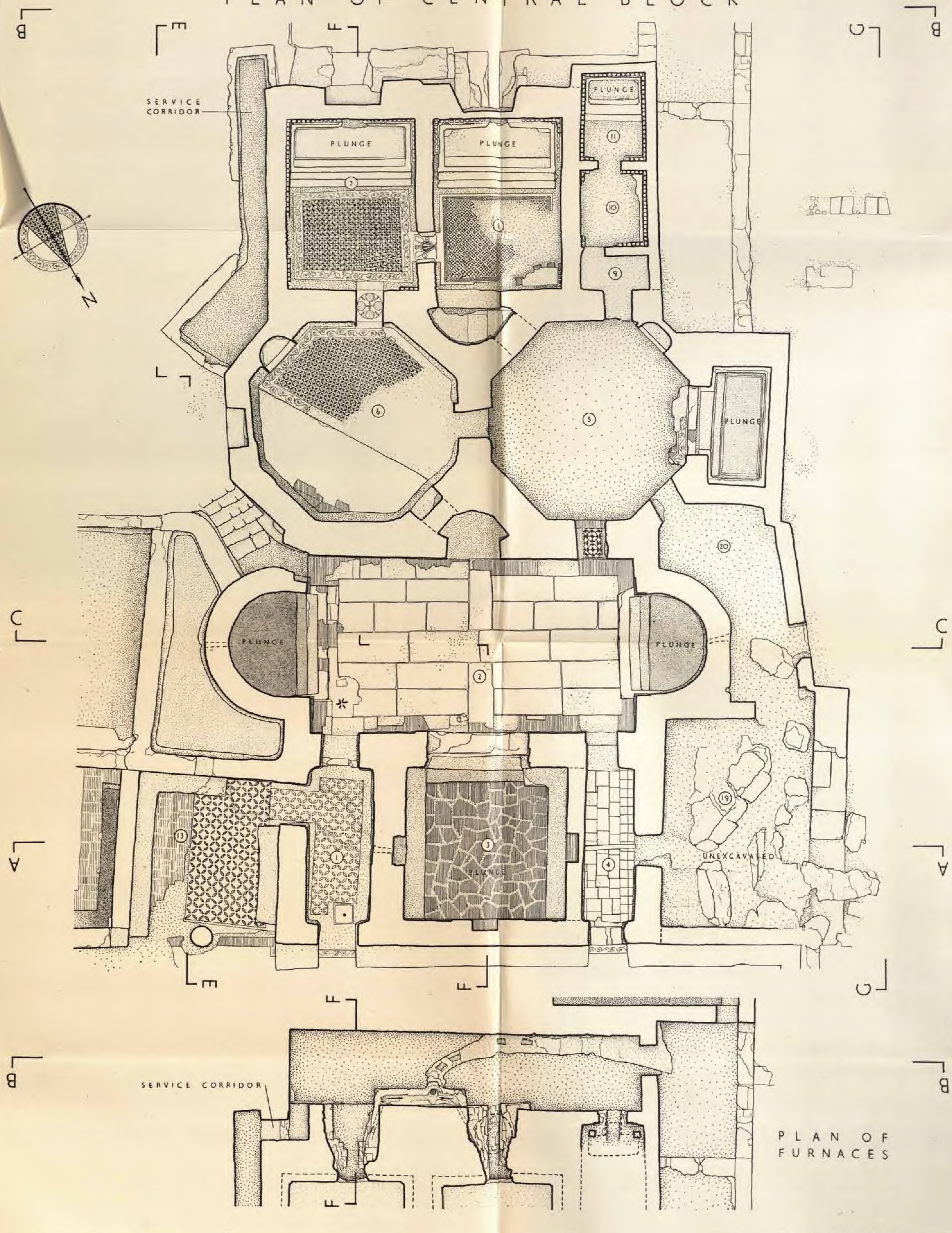
Photo: J. B. Ward-Perkins

d. Sabratha, Museum Baths. Housing for a boiler and for a *testudo*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949

LEPCIS MAGNA : THE HUNTING BATHS

PLAN OF CENTRAL BLOCK

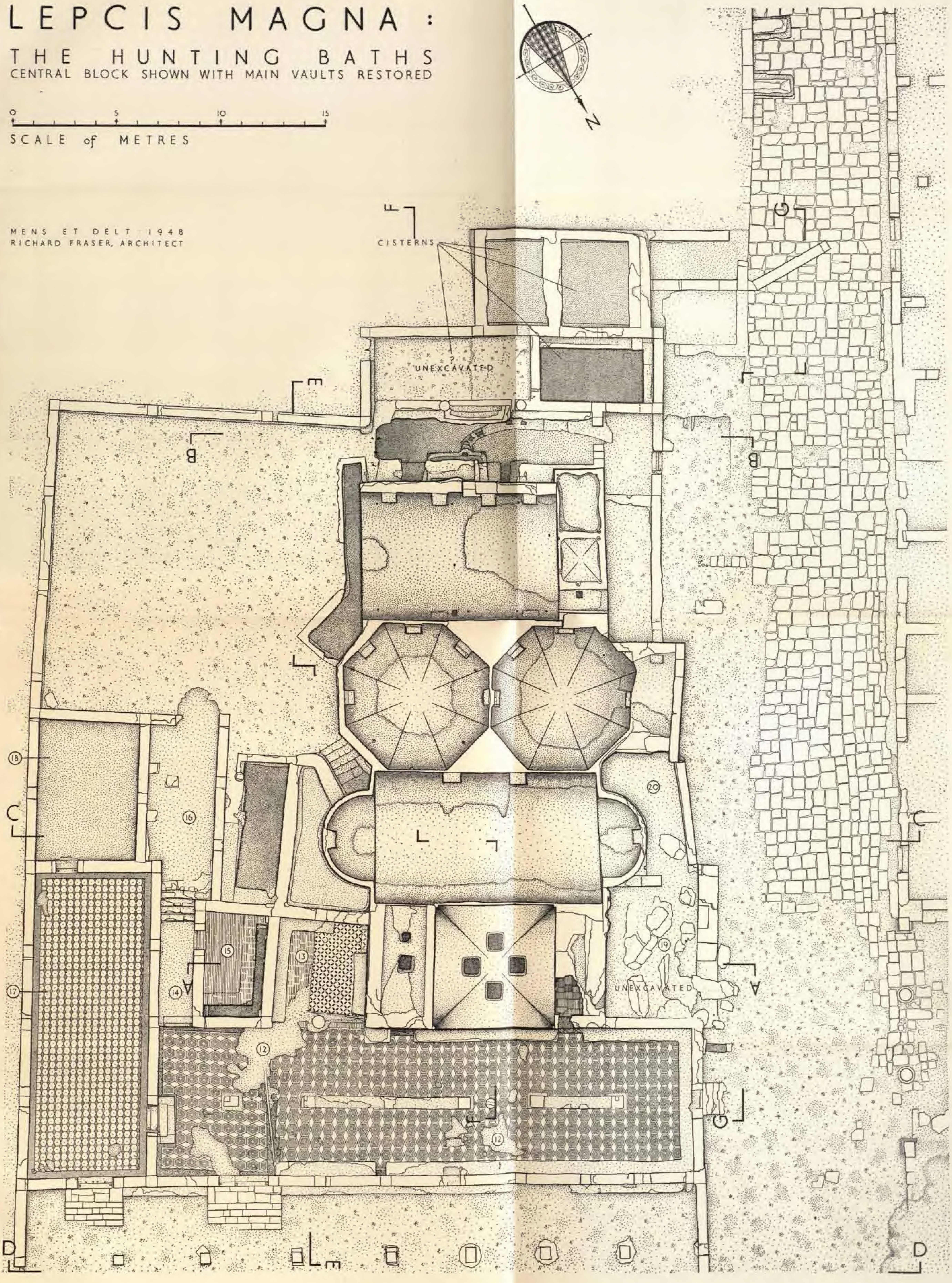

B
E
F
G
B
SERVICE CORRIDOR
PLUNGE
PLUNGE
PLUNGE
⑦
⑧
⑪
⑩
⑨
N
⑥
⑤
PLUNGE
⑳
C
PLUNGE
PLUNGE
C
②
⑬
①
③
PLUNGE
④
⑲
UNEXCAVATED
A
A
E
F
G
F
B
SERVICE CORRIDOR
B
PLAN OF FURNACES
F
SCALE of METRES
0
5
10
15

MENS ET DELT · 1948
RICHARD FRASER, ARCHITECT

LEPCIS MAGNA:

THE HUNTING BATHS

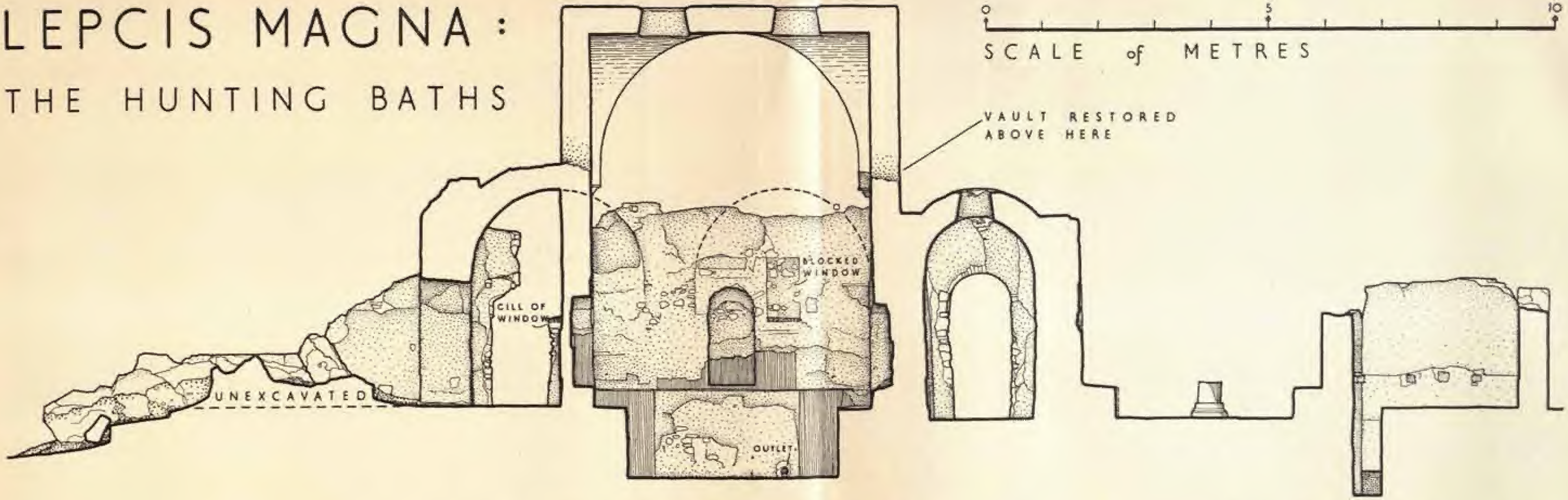
CENTRAL BLOCK SHOWN WITH MAIN VAULTS RESTORED


0
5
10
15
SCALE of METRES
N
F
CISTERNS
?
UNEXCAVATED
E
B
B
G
G
E
L
L
C
C
⑱
⑯
⑳
⑰
⑮
⑬
⑭
⑲
A
A
UNEXCAVATED
⑫
⑫
F
G
D
D
E

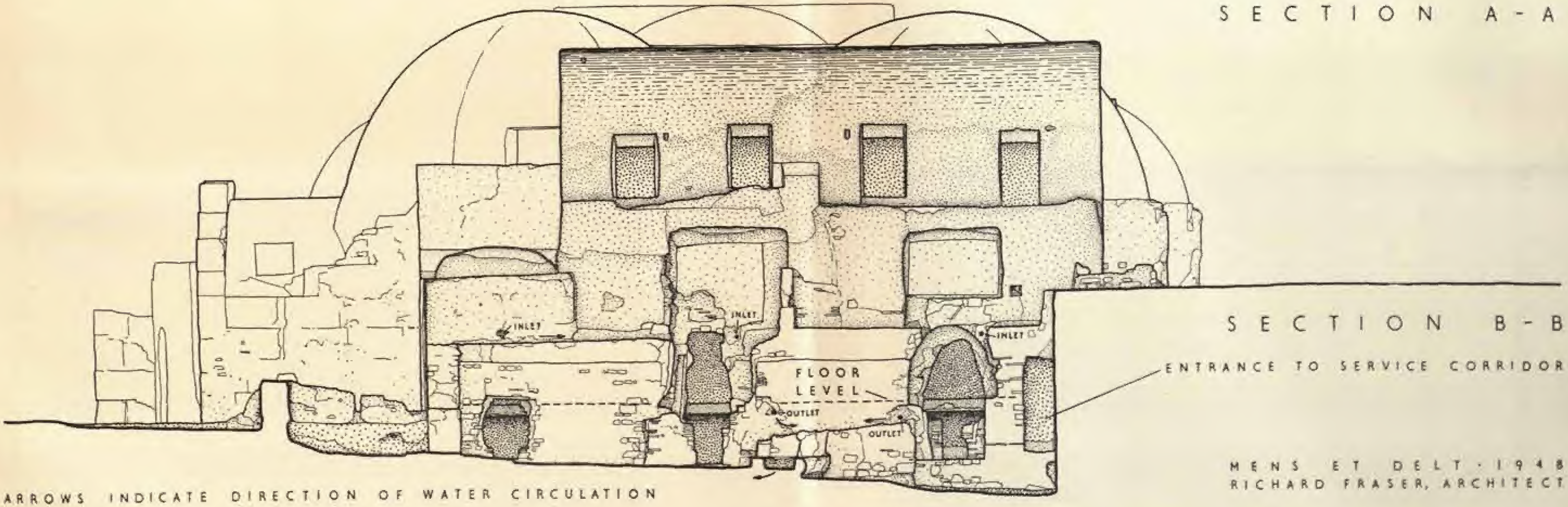
MENS ET DELT 1948
RICHARD FRASER, ARCHITECT

LEPCIS MAGNA:

THE HUNTING BATHS


0
5
10
SCALE of METRES
VAULT RESTORED ABOVE HERE
BLOCKED WINDOW
CILL OF WINDOW
UNEXCAVATED
OUTLET

SECTION A-A

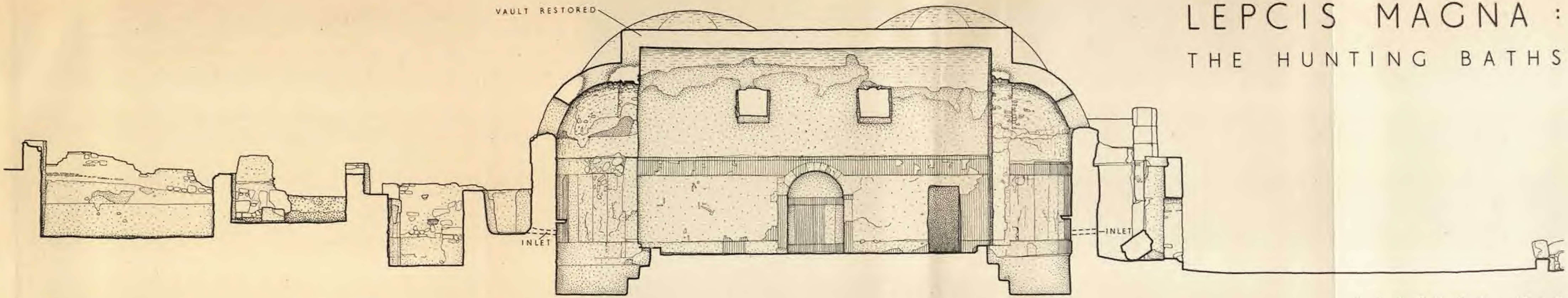

INLET
INLET
INLET
FLOOR LEVEL
OUTLET
OUTLET
ENTRANCE TO SERVICE CORRIDOR

SECTION B-B

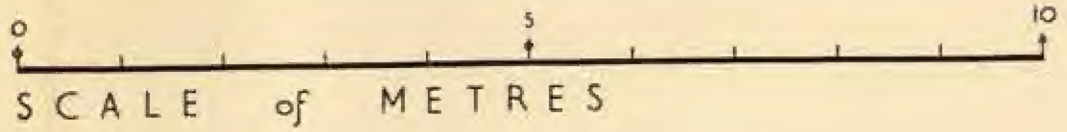
ARROWS INDICATE DIRECTION OF WATER CIRCULATION

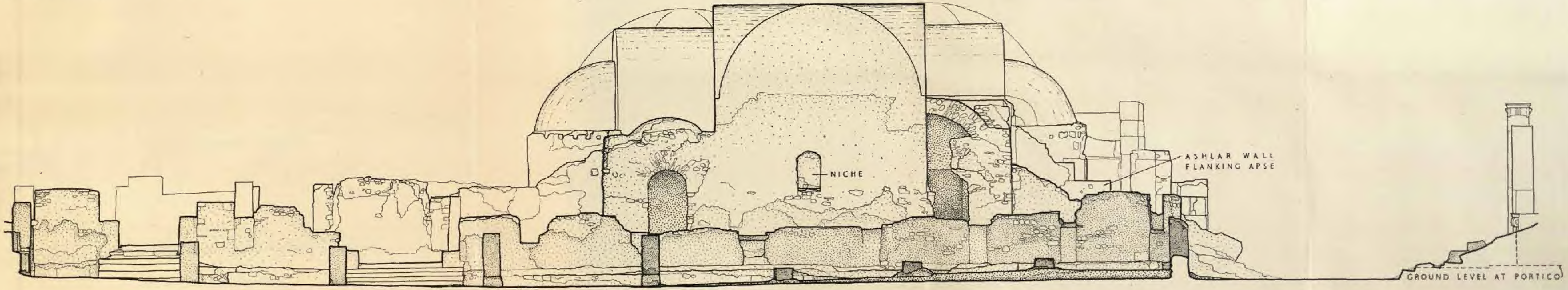
MENS ET DELT · 1948
RICHARD FRASER, ARCHITECT

LEPCIS MAGNA :
THE HUNTING BATHS


VAULT RESTORED
INLET
INLET

SECTION C-C


0
5
10
SCALE of METRES

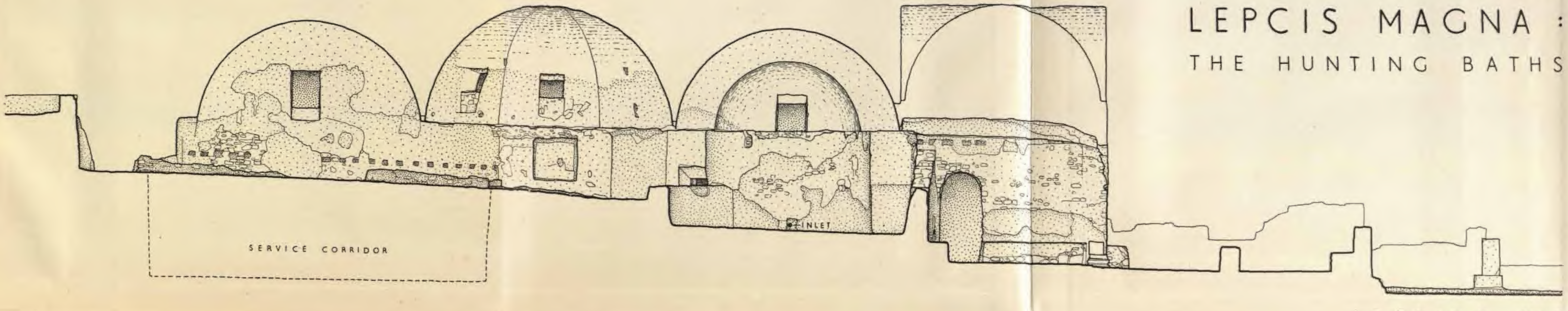

NICHE
ASHLAR WALL FLANKING APSE
GROUND LEVEL AT PORTICO

SECTION D-D

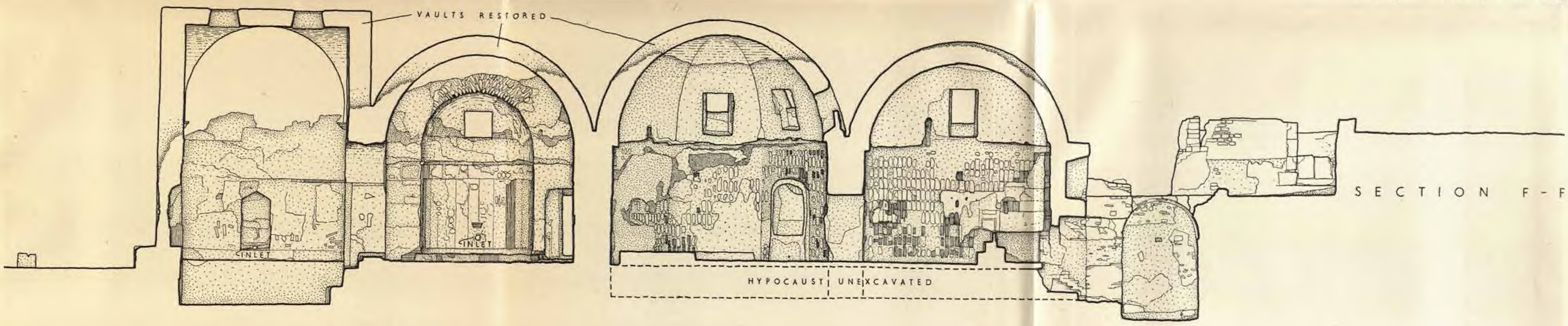
MENS ET DELT · 1948
RICHARD FRASER, ARCHITECT

PLATE LI

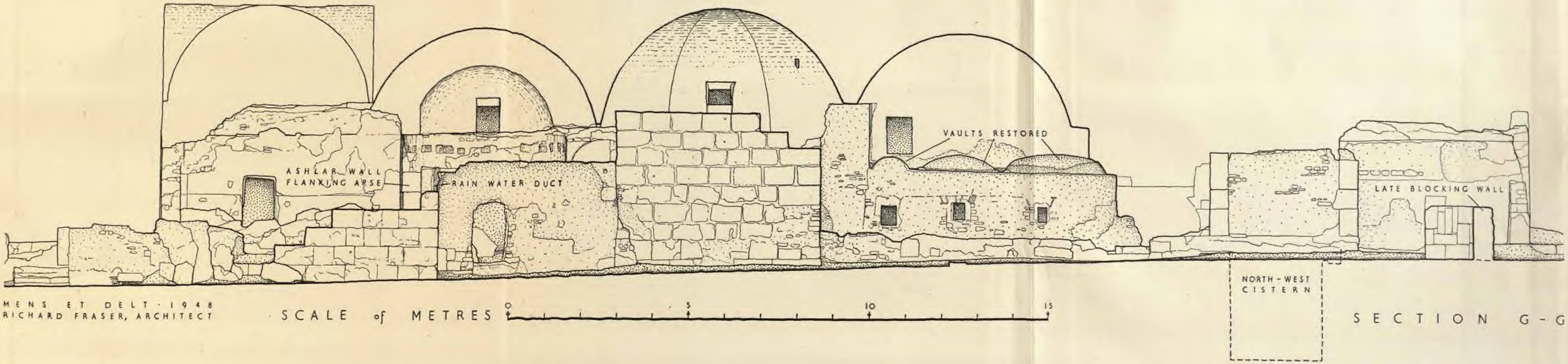
LEPCIS MAGNA :
THE HUNTING BATHS


SERVICE CORRIDOR
INLET

SECTION E-E


VAULTS RESTORED
INLET
INLET
HYPOCAUST UNEXCAVATED

SECTION F-F


VAULTS RESTORED
ASHLAR WALL FLANKING APSE
RAIN WATER DUCT
LATE BLOCKING WALL
NORTH-WEST CISTERN

SECTION G-G

MENS ET DELT · 1948
RICHARD FRASER, ARCHITECT

SCALE of METRES 0 5 10 15

INDEX TO VOLUME XCIII

Abergavenny (Mon.), Bannio in Ravenna Cosmography, 6, 24.
Abisson, unidentified place in Scottish Lowlands, 19, 21.
Abona, now the Bristol Avon, 15, 19, 21.
Academy of Armory, by Randle Holme, cited, 127 *n.*
Accedence of Armorie, by Gerard Legh, cited, 126–7.
Adalbert, Abt., relics of martyrs obtained by, 105.
Adam and Eve, alabaster carvings depicting, 53 *n.*; Creation of Eve, 80 *n.*
Adron, unidentified river in N. Britain, 20, 21.
Afferden (Holland), altarpiece at, 81 *n.*, 83, 84.
Alabaster Carvings (English), as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama, pp. 51–101; Bibliographical Key, 51 *n.*; *see* Adam and Eve; Christ, Scenes from the Life and Passion of; Harrowing of Hell; individual Saints; Jesse, Tree of.
Alabum, in N. Wales, perhaps Llanfair-ar-y-bryn, 6, 17, 21.
Alauna, references and identifications in Ravenna Cosmography, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22.
Albinumno, near Caerwent, in Ravenna Cosmography, 17, 22.
Alchester (Oxon.), perhaps Alauna, in Ravenna Cosmography, 7, 22.
Alicuna (Olicana), perhaps Ilkley, in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 18, 22.
Alitacenon, unidentified place in Southern Scotland, 19, 22.
Almondbury, near Manchester, perhaps Camulodono in Ravenna Cosmography, 27.
Aln, River (Northumberland), Alauna in Ravenna Cosmography, 22.
Alovergium, unidentified place N. of Exeter, 17, 22.
Ambleside (Westmorland), *see* Borrans Field.
Anaridus, a source of the Ravenna Cosmography, 1.
Anas, one of the Western Isles, 20, 22.
Anava, probably River Annan, Dumfriess., 15, 20, 22.
Anderelionuba, perhaps on the Ouse at Newhaven, 18, 23.
Angers (Maine-et-Loire) Museum, alabaster carving in, 53 *n.*
Anglesea (N. Wales), Mona in Ravenna Cosmography, 41.
Anicetis, near Iwerne, in Ravenna Cosmography, 17, 23.
Annan, River (Dumfriess.), probably Anava in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 22.
Anne, St., represented in alabaster carvings of Dedication of the Virgin, 70.
Antioch, Baths at, 194.
Antiquaries, Society of, alabaster carving belonging to, 73.
Antonine Itinerary: cited, 2, 3, 4, 8, 11; and throughout Commentary, 21–50.
Antrum, river in Northumberland in Ravenna Cosmography, 20, 23.
Apaunaris, near Exeter, in Ravenna Cosmography, 17, 23.
Apple-tree, stage-property of Coventry players, 75, 95.
Aranus, probably in Dorset, in Ravenna Cosmography, 17, 23.
Ardaoneon, between Winchester and Chichester, in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 17, 23.
Arduaravenatone, in Devon, in Ravenna Cosmography, 17, 23.
Argistillum, near Gloucester, in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 17, 23.
Arlon (Belgium), alabaster table in Museum, 66.
Armel, St., alabaster tables representing scenes from the Life of, 99.
Armis, between Winchester and Chichester, in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 17, 23.
Arnemeze, Aquis, now Buxton, 5, 18, 23.
Arran, probably Manna in Ravenna Cosmography, 39.
Athanaric, a source for the Ravenna Cosmography, 1.
Atina, a Western Isle in Ravenna Cosmography, 20, 23.
Augusti, *see* Londinium Augusti.
Avalava (Aballava), now Burgh-by-Sands, 13, 19, 23.
Aventio, now river Ewenni, 15, 20, 24.
Avilés (Spain), reredos in Capilla de los Alas, 68 *n.*
Avon, The Bristol, Abona in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 21.
Axe, River, Axium in Ravenna Cosmography, 24.
Axium, now River Axe, 15, 19, 24.

Bâbiskâ (Syria), Baths at, 193.
Badbury Rings (Dorset), probably Bindogladia in Ravenna Cosmography, 25.
Bâle (Switzerland), Folklore Museum, effigy from medieval religious play in, 65.
Bäli, John, relic of St. Vincent's head procured by, 110.
Balmuildy (Lanarks.), probably Velunia in Ravenna Cosmography, 48.
Bamburgh (Northumberland), St. Oswald's arms deposited at, 103, 110, 115.
Banna, now probably Bewcastle, 13, 19, 24.
Bannio (Gobannium), now Abergavenny, 5, 17, 24.
Bannovalum, probably now Caistor, 18, 24.
Barbara, St., sunken boss on 'tower' in alabaster representations of, 101.
Bardney (Lincs.), St. Oswald's body translated to, 103; St. Oswald's arms at, 114 *n.*
Bar Hill (Lanarks.), probably Begesse in Ravenna Cosmography, 24.
Bartholomew, St., alabaster tables representing scenes from the Life of, 99.
Basel (Switzerland): dedication to St. Oswald at, 121; glass panel representing St. Oswald in Historical Museum, 117.
Baths, Hunting, at Lepcis Magna, 165–95.
Bavon, St., alabaster tables representing scenes from the Life of, 99.
Bdora, river, probably now the Forth, 15, 20, 24.
Beauchamp of Binnerton, arms of, 146.
Beauvais (Oise), Museum, alabaster carving in, 53 *n.*
Begesse, probably now Bar Hill, 19, 24.
Bellenville Roll, cited, 133, 138.

Benwell (Northumberland), Condecor in Ravenna Cosmography, 29.
Bereda, now Plumpton or Old Penrith, 5, 18, 24.
Bergmans Roll, cited, 132 *n.*, 133 *n.*, 136, 137 *n.*
Bergues (Pas-de-Calais): St. Oswald's relics at St. Winnoc's monastery, 106 *n.*; 12th-century miniature at, 115 *n.*
Berthold Missal, from Weingarten, 112, 115.
Besançon (Doubs), dramatization of Annunciation at, 68.
Beverley (Yorks.), Candlemas procession, 61, 71.
Bewcastle (Cumberland), Banna in Ravenna Cosmography, 13, 24.
Bigod, arms of, in heraldic glass, 161.
Binchester (co. Durham), Vinovia in Ravenna Cosmography, 49.
Bindogladia (Vindocladia), probably now Badbury Rings, 5, 17, 25.
Birdoswald (Cumberland), Gabaglanda in Ravenna Cosmography, 13, 34.
Birila, a Western Isle in Ravenna Cosmography, 20, 25.
Blazon of Gentrie, by Sir John Ferne, cited, 127.
Blunham (Beds.), alabaster carving at, 82 *n.*
Bluntschli, Nikolaus, glass-painter, 118 *n.*
Bograndium, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 25.
Bohun:
  Humphrey de, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Elizabeth, widow of John, count of Holland and daughter of Edward I, children of, 151.
  Humphrey, son of Humphrey and Elizabeth, tomb of, 151–5.
  Mary, daughter of Humphrey and Elizabeth, tomb of, 151–5.
Boke of St. Albans, The, cited, 126.
Bolvelaunio, unidentified place in Dorset, 17, 25.
Boniface, St., alabaster tables representing, 99.
Bordeaux (Gironde), alabaster reredos in St. Michel's Church, 61 *n.*, 64.
Borrans Field, Ambleside (Westmorland), Galluvio in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 35.
Boscoreale, *testudo* in Villa at, 177.
Bosra (Syria), South Baths at, 193.
Bossewell, John, *Workes of Armorie*, by, cited, 126–7.
Botis, perhaps now Bute, 20, 25.
Bottenbroich, alabaster table at, 59 *n.*
Bouton, Victor, on umbrated charges, cited, 129, 139–40.
Bowness-on-Solway (Cumberland), Maio and Maia in Ravenna Cosmography, 10, 13, 39.
Boynton: arms of, 144.
  Sir Christopher: arms of, 144–6; marriage to Agnes Scrope, 144.
  Elizabeth, *see* Gascoyne.
  Sir Henry and Isabel (Lumley) his wife, arms on tombstone of, 146.
Braboniacum, *see* Ravonia.
Brâd (Syria), Baths at, 193.
Brandenberg, John, picture of St. Oswald attributed to, 118.
Branogenium, between Kenchester and Wroxeter, 17, 25.
Braughing (Herts.), perhaps Durcinate in Ravenna Cosmography, 32.
Brecon Gaer (Brecknockshire), perhaps Cicutio in Ravenna Cosmography, 6, 28.
Bremenium, now High Rochester, 14, 19, 25.
Bremetennacum, *see* Bresnetenaci Veteranorum.
Bremia, perhaps Llanio in S. Wales, 6, 17, 25.
Bresnetenaci Veteranorum (Bremetennacum), now Ribchester, 9, 10, 18, 25.
Bribra, probably now River Ellen, 18, 26.
Bridget of Sweden, St., 'Revelations' of, 84.
Brigomono, unidentified place, in S. Scotland, 19, 26.
Brinavis, perhaps now Woodeaton, 7, 18, 26.
British Museum, alabaster carvings in, 53 *n.*, 59 *n.*, 76, 91, 98; text of St. Oswald mystery play in, 120.
Brocara, unidentified Cumberland river, 19, 26.
Brocoliti, now Carrawburgh, 19, 26.
Brough-on-Noe (Derbys.), Navione in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 42.
Brough, East (Yorks.), Decuaria (Petuaria) in Ravenna Cosmography, 31.
Brough-under-Stainmore (Westmorland), Valteris in Ravenna Cosmography, 11, 47.
Bruno of Trier, Abp., altars at Schaffhausen dedicated by, 105.
Brussels (Belgium), Musées Royaux, alabaster carving in, 87.
Burgh-by-Sands (Cumberland), Avalava in Ravenna Cosmography, 13, 23.
Burrow Walls (Moresby) (Cumberland), perhaps Gabrocentio in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 10, 35.
Bute, perhaps Botis in Ravenna Cosmography, 25.
Buxton (Derbys.), Arnemeze in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 23.

Cactabactonion, now Thornborough, 4, 18, 26.
Cadder (Lanarks.), perhaps Volitanio in Ravenna Cosmography, 50.
Caer Flos, *see* Forden Gaer.
Caerhun (Carnarvonshire), Canubio in Ravenna Cosmography, 27.
Caerleon-upon-Usk (Mon.), Isca Augusta in Ravenna Cosmography, 35.
Caersws (Mon.), perhaps Mediomano in Ravenna Cosmography, 8, 40.
Caerwent (Mon.), Venta Slurum in Ravenna Cosmography, 48.
Caistor (Lincs.), probably Bannovalum in Ravenna Cosmography, 24.
Caistor-by-Norwich (Norfolk), Venta Cenomum in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 48.
Calcaria, *see* Pampocalia.
Caleba Arbatium (Calleva Atrebatum), now Silchester, 5, 17, 26.
Caluvio, perhaps now Overborough, 9, 18, 27.
Cambodunum, *see* Pampocalia.
Camboglanis, *see* Gabaglanda.
Cambroianna, unidentified place, in SW. Scotland, 19, 27.
Camulodono (Camulodunum), perhaps now Almondbury, 9, 18, 27.
Camulodunum Colonia, *see* Manulodulo Colonia.
Camulosessa, now Castle Greg, 19, 27; perhaps Camulosessa Praesidium, 43–4.

Cana, possibly now Canna in Western Isles, 20, 27.
Candlemas Day, candles carried at, 71.
Canterbury (Kent), Duroaverno Cantiacorum in Ravenna Cosmography, 32; arms of Scrope in Cathedral cloisters, 143, 144.
Cantiventi (Glanoventa or Glannibanta), now Ravenglass, 5, 9, 10, 18, 27.
Canubio, now Caerhun, 4, 18, 27.
Canza, river in Dorset or Devon, 17, 27.
Cappuck (Northumberland), perhaps Eburocaslum in Ravenna Cosmography, 14, 33.
Carbant[or]i[t]um, unidentified place in SW. Scotland, 14–15, 19, 27.
Carcassone (Aude), alabaster carvings in Museum, 80, 81, 89.
Carlisle (Cumberland), Lagubalium in Ravenna Cosmography, 11, 13, 36.
Carlisle, Old (Cumberland), probably Olerica in Ravenna Cosmography, 10, 42.
Carnarvon (Wales), Seguntio in Ravenna Cosmography, 45.
Carrawburgh (Northumberland), Brocoliti in Ravenna Cosmography, 26.
Carriden (Stirling.), probably Credigone in Ravenna Cosmography, 30.
Carvoran (Northumberland), Magnis in Ravenna Cosmography, 39.
Castille and Aragon, arms of, 161.
Castleford on Aire (Yorks.), Lagentium in Ravenna Cosmography, 36.
Castle Greg (Midlothian), perhaps Camulosessa in Ravenna Cosmography, 27; or Camulosessa Praesidium, 43–4.
Castlesteads (Cumberland), probably Uxelludamo in Ravenna Cosmography, 13, 47–8.
Castor (Northumberland), Durobrisin in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 33.
Castorius, a source of Ravenna Cosmography, 1.
Catherine, St., alabaster tables representing history of, 98, 99, 101; in prison, 67, 73, 90; decollation of, 100 *n.*, 101; plays of, 99.
Celle, La (Eure), alabaster reredos, 53 *n.*, 59 *n.*, 69, 70, 72, 97 *n.*, 98, 101.
Celovion, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 28.
Celunno, now Chesters, 19, 28.
Centurion, represented in scenes of the Crucifixion, 86.
Cerma, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 28.
Cermium, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 28.
Certisnassa, unidentified river in N. Britain, 20, 28.
Cesaromago, site near Chelmsford, 4, 18, 28.
Charles VIII of France, benefactor of St. Oswald's church at Zug, 109.
Châtelaudren (Côtes-du-Nord), alabaster reredos at, 66, 68 *n.*
Chellaston (Derbys.), alabaster industry at, 55.
Chelmsford (Essex), Cesaromago in Ravenna Cosmography, close to, 28.
Cherbourg (Manche), alabaster table at, 72 *n.*, 96.
Chester-on-Dee (Cheshire), Deva Victris in Ravenna Cosmography, 8, 31; *see also under* Plays, Medieval Religious.
Chesterholm (Northumberland), Vindolande in Ravenna Cosmography, 49.
Chester-le-Street (co. Durham), Coganges in Ravenna Cosmography, 11, 12, 29.
Chesters (Northumberland), Celunno in Ravenna Cosmography, 28.
Chew Green (Northumberland), perhaps Eburocaslum in Ravenna Cosmography, 14, 33.
Chichester (Sussex), Navimago Regentium in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 7, 42.
Christ, Scenes from the Life and Passion of:
  alabaster carvings: Incarnation, 63; Nativity, 53, 58–63, 66; representation of the Child in, 62–3; representation of 'Heaven', 61; Ox and Ass represented at, 58–9; representation of the Star, 61. Adoration of the Kings: 57, 58–63, 66; representation of the Star, 60–1. Presentation in the Temple, 72. Entry into Jerusalem, 73–4, 77. Washing the Disciples' Feet, 54. The Last Supper, 54. Agony in the Garden, 54, 74, 75, 96. Betrayal, 75–7. Before Caiaphas, 53 *n.*, 77–8. Buffeting, 78–9. Trial before Pilate, 80, 81. Scourging, 80–1. Crowning with Thorns, 81–2. Appearance before Herod, 79–80. Carrying of the Cross, 82–3. Nailing to the Cross, 83–4. Crucifixion, 84–7. Deposition, 87, 96. Pietà, 87. Entombment, 53, 87–8, 90. Descent into Hell (or Harrowing of Hell), 88–90. Resurrection, 90–3, 95 *n.*; stepping upon a Soldier, 57, 91. Marys at the Tomb, 54. Appearance to the Virgin, 93–4, 95 *n.* Appearance to Mary Magdalene, 54, 75, 77, 94–6. Ascension, 63–5, 96.
  Ivory: Nativity, 58. Adoration of the Kings, 58.
  Religious Plays depicting, 51–101; for parallels with alabaster carvings, *see also* individual scenes *under* alabaster *above*. Massacre of the Innocents, 61. Nativity, 56. Entry into Jerusalem, 73–4, 77. Buffeting, 78. Scourging, 80–1. Crowning with Thorns, 82. Appearance before Herod, 79–80. Carrying of the Cross, 82–3. Nailing to the Cross, 83–4. Crucifixion, 84–7. Entombment, 87–8. Descent into Hell, 88–90. Resurrection, 56, 90–3. Appearance to Mary Magdalene, 94–6. Pilgrimage to Emmaus, 95–6. Ascension, 65.
  Roof-boss: Nativity, 58 *n.*
Christopher, St., wall-painting with inscriptions in Westminster Abbey, 162–3.
Cibra, fort on Antonine Wall, 19, 28.
Cicutio, perhaps Brecon Gaer, 6, 17, 28.
Cindocellum, unidentified place in Scotland, 15, 19, 28.
Cirencester (Glos.), Cironium Dobunorum in Ravenna Cosmography, 7, 28.
Cironium Dobunorum (Corinium Dobunnorum), now Cirencester, 5, 17, 28.
Cisoing: arms of, 130, 134 *n.*; Jean de, marriage of, 130 *n.*
Clare, arms of, 161.
Clark-Maxwell, Prebendary, alabaster carving formerly belonging to, 64.
Clavinio, unidentified place in Dorset, 17, 29.
Cled, unidentified Irish river, 20, 29.
Clindum unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 29.

Cluny (Saône-et-Loire), Museum, alabaster carvings in, 53 *n.*, 78, 97.
Coantia, perhaps river Kent, 15, 20, 29.
Coccuveda, unidentified place in Northumberland, 14, 19, 29.
Cocqman, arms of, 133, 134.
Coganges (Congangium), now Chester-le-Street, 11, 19, 29.
Coguveusuron, unidentified river in Kent, 20, 29.
Coke, Thomas, 1st Earl of Leicester, Gospels and Missal from Weingarten bought by, 112.
Colanica, unidentified fort on Antonine Wall, 19, 29.
Colchester (Essex), Manulodulo Colonia in Ravenna Cosmography, 39.
Cologne, relic of St. Vincent's head procured from, 110.
Coloneas, unidentified place in Dorset, 17, 29.
Compiègne (Oise), alabaster reredos at, 78, 80, 82 *n.*
Condate, now Northwich, 9, 18, 29.
Condecor, now Benwell, 19, 29.
Corbridge (Northumberland), perhaps Corielopocarium in Ravenna Cosmography, 30.
Corda, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 29.
Corielopocarium, perhaps Corstopitum (Corbridge), 12, 19, 30.
Corinium Dobunnorum (Chelmsford), *see* Cironium Dobunorum.
Coritiotar, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 14, 19, 30.
Cornwall, Richard of, arms of, in heraldic glass, 160, 161.
Corstopitum, *see* Corielopocarium.
Corsula, a Western Isle, 20, 30.
Courtraisin, arms of, 132 *n.*, 136–7; Siger III, arms of, 136.
Coventry (War.), *see under* Plays, Medieval Religious
Coxe, Archdeacon, on his visit to Zug, cited, 103, 114, 119.
Credigone, perhaps now Carriden, 19, 30.
Crisp, F. A., alabaster carving formerly belonging to, 66.
Croucingo, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 30.
Cuinghien, arms of, 136–7.
Cunetzione, now Black Field, Mildenhall (Wilts.), 4, 5, 17, 30.
Cunia, an unidentified S. Coast river, 20, 30.
Cunis, a Western Isle, 20, 30.
Cup, symbol of St. Oswald, 114–18.
Curcinate, *see* Durcinate.

Dannoni (Damnoni), unidentified place in Lowlands of Scotland, 15, 19, 30.
Danzig, Marienkirche Triptych (reredos), 62, 64, 65 *n.*, 75, 93, 98, 100.
Daroeda, a Western Isle, 20, 31.
Decha, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 31.
Decuaria (Petuaria), now E. Brough, 18, 31.
Delgovicia, *see* Devovicia.
Demeroses[s]a, unidentified place in Scotland, 15, 19, 31.
Derbentione, now Littlechester, 9, 18, 31.
Derventione, now Papcastle, 10, 18, 31.
Derwent, River, probably Dorvantium in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 31.
Deva Victris (Victrix), now Chester-on-Dee, 8–9, 18, 31.
Deventiasteno, Statio, unidentified site in Devon, 14, 17, 31.
Devionisso, unidentified place in Devon, 17, 31.
Devoni, unidentified place in Scotland, 15, 19, 31.
Devovicia (Delgovicia), perhaps now Millington, 18, 32.
Dewsbury (Yorks.), Campodunum near, 43.
Dieppe (Seine-Inférieure), alabaster carving at, 62.
Dixiolugunduno, unidentified place probably in co. Durham, 19, 32.
Djemila, City Baths at, 193.
Dolls, used to represent infants in medieval plays, 61–3.
Dolocindo, unidentified place in Devon or Dorset, 17, 32.
Dorcades (Orcades), now the Orkney Islands, 20, 32.
Dorchester-on-Thames, ferry at, probably Tamese in Ravenna Cosmography, 7, 46.
Dorvantium, probably river Derwent, 15, 20, 31.
Douai (Nord), alabaster carving in Museum, 81.
Dover (Kent), and River Dover, Dubris and Durbis in Ravenna Cosmography, 32.
Drama, Medieval Religious, English Alabaster Carvings as Records of, 51–101; *see also* Plays, Medieval Religious.
Drayton Parslow (Bucks.), alabaster carving at, 86 *n.*
Drew, Edward, glazier, 160.
Droitwich (Worcs.), probably Salinis in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 7, 44.
Duabsissis (Dubabissis), unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 32.
Dubabissis, *see* Duabsissis.
Dubris, now Dover, 4, 18, 32.
Dunstan, St., liturgical drama of the Resurrection by, 56.
Durbis, now river Dover, 15, 20, 32.
Durcinate (? Curcinate), perhaps Braughing, 9, 18, 32.
Durham (co. Durham), St. Oswald's head buried with St. Cuthbert at, 103.
Duriarno, unidentified place in Devon, 17, 32.
Duroaverno Cantiacorum, now Canterbury, 4, 18, 32.
Durobrabis (Durobrivis), now Rochester, Kent, 4, 18, 33.
Durobrisin, now Castor (Northants.), 9, 18, 33.
Durobrivis, *see* Durobrabis.
Durocornavis, *see* Purocoronavis.
Durolavi, perhaps the river Swale, 20, 33.
Duroviguto, perhaps Godmanchester, 9, 18, 33.

Eberhard, John, journal and account-book of, 109; building and furnishing of St. Oswald's church at Zug by, 109–14; letter from abbot of Peterborough to, 111, 122; painting of, 109.
Ebio, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 33.
Eburacum (Eboracum), now York, 4, 18, 33.
Eburocaslum, now Cappuck or Chew Green, 14, 19, 33.
Écaquelon (Eure), alabaster table at, 74, 93, 94, 95.
Echternach (Luxemburg), St. Oswald's head preserved at, 103.
Edmondson, *Complete Body of Heraldry*, by, cited, 127.
Edmund, St., alabaster tables representing, 99.
Edward the Confessor, arms of, in heraldic glass, 160, 161.
Edward, Prince, afterwards Edward I, arms of, 161.
Edward IV, and Elizabeth Wydeville, drawing of arms of, for heraldic glass, 162.
Einsiedeln (Switzerland), chapel dedicated to St. Oswald at, 105.
Eirimon, a Western Isle, 20, 33.
Eiudensca, *see* Evidensca.

Elaviana, a Western Isle, 20, 33.
Elconio, unidentified place in Cornwall, 13, 17, 33.
Eldebald, a source for the Ravenna Cosmography, 1.
Eleanor of Provence, arms of, in heraldic glass, 160, 161.
Elete, a Western Isle, 20, 33.
Eligius, St., alabaster tables representing, 99; plays of, 99.
Ellen, River (Cumberland), Bribra in Ravenna Cosmography, 26.
Ellenborough (Cumberland), perhaps Alauna in Ravenna Cosmography, 10, 13.
Eltabo, unidentified place in Cornwall, 17, 33.
Eltavori, unidentified in Ravenna Cosmography, 4, 18, 33.
Empire, The, arms of, 161.
Epocessa (Ypocessa), unidentified site in Ravenna Cosmography, 17, 34.
Erasmus, St., Martyrdom of, alabaster carvings representing, 53 *n.*, 101; scenes from the life of, 99; plays of, 99.
Esica (Aesica), now Greatchesters, 13, 19, 34.
Esklebecke (Hekelbeec): arms of, 137, 138, 139; Beatrice d', arms of, 138.
Esse, a Western Isle, 20, 34.
Estuctius, *see* Iuctius.
Etheldreda, St., alabaster carving of Entombment of, 53 *n.*; scenes from the life of, 99.
Eve, *see under* Adam.
Evidensca (Eiudensca), probably now Inveresk, 14, 19, 34.
Ewenni, River, Aventio in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 24.
Exeter, Scadum Namorum (Isca Dumnoniorum) in Ravenna Cosmography, 3, 35.
Exosades, a Western Isle, 20, 34.

Fanococide, unidentified site near Bewcastle, 13, 19, 34.
Felder, Hans, architect, 113.
Ferne, Sir John, *Blazon of Gentrie*, by, cited, 127.
Filkyn, arms of, 146.
Fintan, St., King of Scotland, relics of, 112, 113; cup symbol of, 118 *n.*
Florenville or Florainville, arms of, 128, 133, 134, 140 *n.*
Foliage, medieval representations of, 73, 74, 75, 77, 94.
Forden Gaer (Caer Flos) (Salop), probably Lavobrinta in Ravenna Cosmography, 8, 37.
Forth, The, probably Bdora in Ravenna Cosmography, 24.
Fourez, M., on umbrated charges, cited, 129.
Frauenthal (Switzerland), relics of St. Oswald at, 111.

Gabaglanda (Camboglanis), now Birdoswald, 5, 13, 18, 34.
Gabrocentio (Gabrosenti), now Burrow Walls or Moresby in Cumberland, 5, 18, 35.
Gabrosenti, *see* Gabrocentio.
Gaillard, Cornelius, Flanders King of Arms, Armorial of Flanders, by, 128; cited, 136.
Galava, *see* Galluvio.
Galbreath, Dr. D. L., on umbrated charges, cited, 129.
Galluvio (Galava), now Borrans Field, Ambleside, 9, 18, 35.
Gardens, medieval representations of, 74, 75, 94, 95.
Gascoyne, Henry, and Elizabeth Boynton his wife, arms of, 145.
Geliot, Louvan, on the ombre, cited, 128.
Gelre Roll, cited, 132, 133.
Gentilis of Spoleto, Bp. of Anagni, visit to Zug by, 109.
George, St., alabaster tables representing history of, 98, 101; before Dacian, 101; Resurrection of, 100; plays of, 99.
Ghistelles: arms of Cadets, 137–40; pedigree of, 137.
Ghost or Shadow as a Charge in Heraldry, 125–49.
Giano (Glano), unidentified place in Cornwall, 17, 35.
Gillion le Courageux, apocryphal coat of arms of, 127 *n.*
Glano, *see* Giano.
Glanoventa or Glannibanta, *see* Cantiventi.
Glebon Colonia (Glevum Colonia), now Gloucester, 5, 17, 35.
Glevum Colonia, *see* Glebon Colonia.
Gloucester: Glebon Colonia in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 7, 35; St. Oswald's body translated to, 103.
Glover, Robert, lion umbrated illustrated by, 125, 146.
Gobannium, *see* Bannio.
Godmanchester (Hunts.), Duroviguto in Ravenna Cosmography, 33.
Goodman, Dean Gabriel, monument of, in Westminster Abbey, 157.
Gospels, 11th-century Anglo-Saxon, from Weingarten, 112.
Grandena, a Western Isle, 20, 35.
Gravynne, De, arms of, 136, 137.
Greatchesters (Northumberland), Esica in Ravenna Cosmography, 34.
Gretna (Dumfries.), probably Maponi in Ravenna Cosmography, 39.
Grillo Collection, *see* Saint-Lô.
Guidi, Prof. Giacomo, excavations at Lepcis Magna, 165.

Hainault and Holland (Avesnes), arms of, 130 *n.*
Halton (Northumberland), Onno in Ravenna Cosmography, 43.
Hamilton of Raploch, arms of, and later matriculations of, 148.
Hammâm as-Sarakh, Baths at, 193.
Hardknot (Cumberland), Mediobogdo in Ravenna Cosmography, 10, 40.
Harrowing of Hell, alabaster carvings depicting, 53 *n.*, 88–90.
Hawkley (Hants), alabaster carving in church, 75.
Heaven, represented in alabaster carving and on medieval stage, 61, 68.
Hell-mouth, representations of, 72–3, 98.
Hembize: arms of, 132 *n.*, 133, 135; Sir Jehan de, arms of, 131 *n.*, 133 *n.*; Segher de, seal of, 133 *n.*
Henry, St., figure representing, 113.
Henry III, arms of, in heraldic glass, 160, 161.
Henry V, Westminster Abbey recluse consulted by, 157, 159.
Henry VIII, Royal arms of time of, in heraldic glass, 161.
Henry the Sacristan, Missal of, 115.
Henry of Sax, prior of St. Gall, chapels founded by, 104.
Heraldry: Ghost or Shadow as a Charge in, 125–49; Summary, 149; treatment of Ghost or Shadow in Heraldic Treatises, 125–9; in continental treatises, 128; umbrated charges signifying temporary loss of property, 126, 135; confusion of umbrated charges

with unfinished coats, 139–40; imaginary and nameless coats, 147–8.
Heraldry, Complete Body of, by Edmondson, on umbrated charges, cited, 127.
Heralds' College, French heraldic MS. in, 128; painted armorial in, 132.
Herod, *see under* Christ *and also* Salome.
Holkham Hall (Norfolk), MSS. from Weingarten at, 112.
Holme, Randle, *Academy of Armory*, by, cited, 127, 147–8.
Holy Spirit, The Descent of, represented in alabaster carvings, 96.
Hornby Castle (Lancs.), alabaster carving from, 66.
Horsley, West (Surrey), alabaster carving in Church, 62.
Housesteads (Northumberland), Velurcion in Ravenna Cosmography, 48.
Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna, 165–95.

Iaciodulma (Lactodoro), now Towcester, 4, 18, 35.
Ibernio, probably now Iwerne in Dorset, 17, 35.
Iberran, unidentified site in Scotland, 19, 35.
Ilkley (Yorks.), perhaps Alicuna in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 22.
Insenos, unidentified island in Ravenna Cosmography, 50.
Intraum, river name in Ravenna Cosmography, 20, 35.
Inveresk (Midlothian), probably Eiudensca or Evidensca in Ravenna Cosmography, 14, 34.
Isca, now river Usk, 5, 15, 20, 35.
Isca Augusta, now Caerleon-upon-Usk, 17, 35.
Isca Dumnoniorum, now Exeter, *see* Scadum Namorum.
Itucodon, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 36.
Iuctius (Estuctius), now river Ystwyth, 15, 20, 36.
Iuliocenon, site N. of Ravenglass, 5, 18, 36.
Iupania, site near Caerwent, 17, 36.
Iwerne (Dorset), probably Ibernio in Ravenna Cosmography, 35.

James the Great, St., alabaster carvings representing scenes from the life of, 98; plays of, 99.
Jesse, Tree of, alabaster carvings of, 53 *n.*
John the Baptist, St.: alabaster tables representing history of, 98. Alabaster carvings representing scenes from the life of: Naming of, 53 *n.*; Preaching, 77 *n.*, 99; Salome dancing before Herod, 99; Decollation, 100; Salome wounding head of, 100; Entombment of, 100; Burial of head of, 75; Plays of, 99.
Jones, Evan, Welsh tractate on heraldry published by, 125.
Joseph, St., represented in 'Nativity' and 'Adoration of the Kings', 60, 61.
Josse, St., figures representing, 113, 114.
Judgement, The Last, and 'Fifteen Signs Preceding', alabaster carvings representing, 96–7.
Judith: daughter of Baldwin IV of Flanders, married to Tostig, 106; married to Welf, Duke of Bavaria, 106, 111; in possession of relics of St. Oswald, 106, 111; visit to Weingarten, 106; enrichment of monastery at, 111, 112; Gospels, Missal, and other books given by, 112; buried with Welf at Weingarten, 106; cult of St. Oswald brought to Württemberg by, 107.

Kathal (Styria), altar-piece at, 117 *n.*
Keepe, Henry, account of glass in Westminster Abbey, by, cited, 161.
Kenchester (Herefordshire), Magnis in Ravenna Cosmography, 39.
Kent, River (Westmorland), perhaps Coantia in Ravenna Cosmography, 29.
Khamissa (Algeria), Forum Baths at, 193.
Kirkby Thore (Westmorland), Ravonia in Ravenna Cosmography, 10, 44.
Knaresborough (Yorks.), St. Robert of, 151; Humphrey de Bohun, son of Humphrey and Elizabeth de Bohun, born at, 151.
Kuen, Anton, statue of St. Oswald by, 106 *n.*

Lactodoro, *see* Iaciodulma.
Lacy: arms of, 143, 144; arms of, in Westminster Abbey, 161.
Lagecium, *see* Lagentium.
Lagentium (Lagecium), now Castleford on Aire, 11, 18, 36.
Lagubalium (Luguvallo), now Carlisle, 5, 18, 36.
Lambaesis, Baths, 177 *n.*, 193.
Lambard, Brother William, probably recluse of Westminster Abbey, account of attendance at Court mask, 159–60.
Lanchester (co. Durham), Lincovigla in Ravenna Cosmography, 12, 37.
Landini, site near Silchester, 7, 18, 36.
Lano, site near Antonine Wall, 19, 36.
Lanterns, used in carvings and religious plays of the 'Betrayal', 77.
Lavaris, river name in Ravenna Cosmography, 4, 18, 36.
Lavobrinta, perhaps Forden Gaer (Caer Flos), 8, 18, 37.
Lawrence, St.: Martyrdom of: alabaster carvings representing, 53 *n.*, 100; scenes from the life of, 99; plays of, 99.
le Boucq, Noël, umbrated lion in treatise on heraldry by, 128.
Lectoceto, now Lichfield, 4, 18, 37.
Leeds (Yorks.), Philosophical Society, alabaster carving belonging to, 67.
Legh, Gerard, *Accedence of Armorie*, by, cited, 126–7.
Leicester, Ratecorion in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 44.
Leigh, S. (Oxon.), painting of St. Michael at, 67 *n.*
Lemanis, Lemana, now Lympne, 15, 18, 20, 37.
Lenda, unidentified river in E. Britain, 20, 37.
Leopard-hunt, painted frieze representing, at Lepcis Magna, 181, 192.
Lepcis Magna: *monticelli*, 166; mosaics in Museum, 180 *n.*; trade in ivory, skins, and wild beasts, 194–5.
  Hadrianic Baths, 167, 172; Caldarium, 169; *testudo* at, 177.
  Hunting Baths: acknowledgements, 165–6; pre-bath structures, 167; Early Bath-building, 167–9; modifications to Early Bath-building, 169–71; additions to the original nucleus, 171–3; interior ornament, 178–91, 192–3; Conclusion, 191–5.
   Apodyterium (Rooms 12–13), 168, 172, 173, 174, 191; ornament, 187–8, 193. Caldaria (Rooms 6–11), 168, 169, 170, 173, 174, 175, 177; ornament, 186–7. Entrance, 167. Entrance Corridor (Room 1), orna-

ment, 178. Frigidarium (Room 2), 167, 168, 169, 170, 173, 174, 191; ornament, 179–82; — mosaic figure-subjects, 179; — painted hunting-scenes, 181. Portico, 172. Room 3, ornament, 182–4. Room 4, ornament, 184–5. Room 15 (Latrine), ornament, 172, 188. Room 17, ornament, 189–90. Room 19, ornament, 191. Room 20, ornament, 191. Tepidarium (Room 5), 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 174; ornament, 185–6.

  Cisterns or tanks, 173, 174.
  Heating, 169, 170, 173–7.
  Hypocausts, 168, 170.
  Latrines, 168, 172, 175.
  Lead piping, 174.
  Marble veneering: Room 1 (Entrance), (Imitation), 178; Room 2 (Frigidarium), 180, 181; Room 3, 183.
  Mosaics, 168, 172, 174, 191, 192; figure-subjects, 179–80; Room 1 (Entrance Corridor), 178; Room 2 (Frigidarium), 179–80, 182; Room 3, 183; Room 4, 185; Room 5 (Tepidarium), 185–6; Rooms 6–11 (Caldaria), 186–7; Rooms 12–13 (Apodyterium), 188; Room 17, 190; Room 19, 191; Room 20, 191.
  Painted decoration, Room 1 (Entrance Corridor), 178; Room 2 (Frigidarium), 180, 181 (hunting scenes), 182; Room 3, 182, 183 (Nilotic scene), 184; Room 4, 184, 185; Room 5 (Tepidarium), 185; Rooms 6–11 (Caldaria), 186–7; Rooms 12–13 (Apodyterium), 187–8; Room 15 (Latrine), 188; Room 17, 189–90; Room 19, 191; Room 20, 191.
  Stucco decoration, 191; Room 2 (Frigidarium), 179, 180; Room 3, 182; Room 4, 184, 185; Room 5 (Tepidarium), 185; Rooms 6–11 (Caldaria), 186–7.
  Terra-cotta piping, 169, 175.
  Testudo alvei, 177.
  Vaulting, 168, 169, 170, 173, 193; (Squinches), 170.
  Water-supply, 169, 173–7.
  Windows, 169, 170.
 Lesser Baths at: House of Orpheus Mosaic, 193; unexcavated, 193.
Leuca, now river Loughor, 15, 20, 37.
Leucomago, unidentified place near Andover, 5, 17, 37.
Leugosena (Leucosena), a Welsh river, 15, 20, 37.
Leviodanum, unidentified site in Scotland, 19, 37.
Levioxava, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 37.
Lexhy, of Liège, arms of, 128 *n*.
Liar, river name in N. England, 20, 37.
Lichfield (Staffs.), Lectoceto in Ravenna Cosmography, 37.
Lille (Nord), alabaster carving in Museum, 91 *n*.
Lincoln (Lincs.): Lindum Colonia in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 38; representation of Hell on W. front of Cathedral, 89 *n*.
Lincovigla (Longovicio), now Lanchester, 12, 18, 37.
Lindinis, unidentified place in W. Dorset, 17, 37.
Lindisfarne (Northumberland), St. Oswald's head buried at, 103.
Lindum Colonia, now Lincoln, 9, 18, 38.
Linnonsa, a Western Isle, 20, 38.
Lion-hunt, painted frieze representing, at Lepcis Magna, 181.
Litana, fort on Antonine Wall, 19, 38.
Litinomago (Litanomago), unidentified place in Scotland, 15, 19, 38.
Littlechester (Derbys.), Derbentione in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 31.
Liverpool (Lancs.), Museum, alabaster carving in, 68.
Llanfair-ar-y-bryn (N. Wales), perhaps Alabum in Ravenna Cosmography, 6, 22.
Llanio (Wales), Bremia in Ravenna Cosmography, 6, 25.
Locatreve, unidentified place in SW. Scotland, 14, 19, 38.
Lodone, unidentified place in N. Scotland, 19, 38.
Londinium Augusti, now London, 4, 18, 38.
London, Brother John, Westminster Abbey recluse, 157.
London, Londinium Augusti in Ravenna Cosmography, 38.
Longinus, represented in scenes of the Crucifixion, 85–6.
Longis, a Western Isle, 20, 38.
Longovicio, *see* Lincovigla.
Lorch (Germany), relic of St. Oswald at, 115 *n*.
Loughor, River (S. Wales), Leuca in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 37.
Loutfut, Adam, Kintyre Pursuivant, heraldic treatises copied by, 126.
Loxa, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 38.
Lucerne (Switzerland), St. Oswald play at, 120.
Lucotion, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 38.
Luguvallo, *see* Lagubalium.
Lutudaron (Lutudarum), unknown site probably in Derbyshire, 9, 18, 38.
Lydiate (Lancs.), alabaster table in chapel at, 100 *n*.
Lympne (Kent), (place and river), Lemanis, Lemana, in Ravenna Cosmography, 37.

Macatonion, unidentified place near Gloucester, 17, 39.
Macedonia, King of, arms attributed to, 148.
Madrid (Spain), Museum, alabaster carvings in, 69, 70.
Magancia (Magantia), a Western Isle, 20, 39.
Magnis, now (*a*) Kenchester, 5, 17, 39; and (*b*) Carvoran, 5, 13, 18, 39.
Mahler, John, priest and dramatist of Zug, 120.
Maio and Maia, now Bowness-on-Solway, 13, 18, 19, 39.
Maiona, a Western Isle, 20, 39.
Malaca, now Mull, 50.
Malchus, represented in alabaster carvings and in medieval religious plays, 75–6, 77.
Mâle, Émile, on medieval religious plays, cited, 51.
Manavi, unidentified place in Scotland, 15, 19, 39.
Manchester (Lancs.), Mautio in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 9, 10, 40.
Manna, a Western Isle, probably Arran, 20, 39.
Manulodulo Colonia (Camulodunum Colonia), now Colchester, 4, 18, 39.
Maponi, probably Gretna, 15, 19, 39.
Maporiton, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 40.
Marcomir the Goth, source of Ravenna Cosmography, 1.
Marcotaxon, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 40.
Maromago, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 14, 19, 40.
Marseilles (Bouche-du-Rhône), alabaster carving in Museum, 62.
Martin, St., alabaster tables representing history of, 98; plays of, 99; associated with St. Oswald in dedications, 104, 106.

Mary the Virgin, St.:
  Figures representing, 113.
  Girdle of, 151.
  Scenes from the Life of: *For the* Nativity, Crucifixion, and other scenes from the Life of Christ, *see under* Christ.
    Alabaster Carvings: Dedication of, 69–70. Betrothal, 70. Annunciation, 53 *n.*, 63. Incarnation, 63. Purification, 70–2, 96. Fainting at the Cross, 57. Assumption, 66–9, 97; representation of 'Heaven' in, 68. Appearance to St. Thomas, 69. Coronation, 66, 68. With St. Michael weighing Souls, 97.
    Religious Plays depicting: Dedication, 69. Betrothal, 70. Annunciation, 68. Purification, 71–2. Assumption and Coronation, 66–8, 97.
Maryport-on-Ellen (Cumberland), Alauna in Ravenna Cosmography, 22.
Masona, unidentified place near Exeter, 17, 40.
Mastaing, arms of, 140.
Matovion, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 40.
Maulion, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 40.
Mautio (probably Mamucio), now Manchester, 5, 9, 18, 40.
Mavia, now river Meavy, 15, 19, 40.
Maximus, a source for Ravenna Cosmography, 1.
Meavy, River (Devon), Mavia in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 40.
Medi[o]bogdo, now Hardknot, 9, 18, 40.
Mediolano, unidentified place in Cheshire, 8, 18, 40.
Mediomano, perhaps now Caersws, 8, 18, 40.
Medionemeton, a fort on the Antonine Wall, 15, 19, 40.
Melamoni, unidentified place in Devon, 17, 41.
Melandra Castle (Derbys.), Zerdotalia in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 34.
Melezo (Meletio), unidentified place in Dorset, 17, 41.
Melford, Long (Suffolk), alabaster carving at, 57, 59 *n.*
Memanturum (probably Nemanturum), unidentified place near Scottish Dee, 15, 19, 41.
Menestrier, C. F., on umbrated charges, cited, 129.
Mestevia, unidentified place in Devon, 17, 41.
Metambala (Nemetambala), unidentified place near Caerwent, 17, 41.
Michael, St., represented clothed in feathers, 67; Weighing Souls, alabaster carving of, 53 *n.*, 97.
Mildenhall (Black Field), nr. Marlborough (Wilts.), Cunetzio in Ravenna Cosmography, 30.
Milidunum, unidentified place in Devon, 17, 41.
Millington (Yorks.), perhaps Devovicia in Ravenna Cosmography, 32.
Minerve, a Western Isle, 20, 41.
Minox, unidentified place in Ravenna Cosmography, 19, 41.
Minster Lovell (Oxon.), Church, arms of St. Oswald in W. window at, 114 *n.*
Mixa, unidentified place in Ravenna Cosmography, 19, 41.
Mona, now Anglesea, 20, 41.
Mondoñedo (Spain), alabaster carving at, 69.
Mons (Belgium), Passion-plays staged at, 61 *n.*
Montpaulbon or Montpaon, arms of, 135.
Moosburg (Bavaria), Ascension Play, 65.
Moresby (Cumberland), perhaps Gabrocentio in Ravenna Cosmography, 10, 35.
Moriduno, unidentified place in Devon, 17, 41.
Morionio, unidentified place in W. Dorset, 17, 41.
Mornay, arms of, 140.
Moucehol, Morholt, or Moinehalt, Sir, Knight of the Round Table, arms of, 147.
Mull (Western Isles), Malaca in Ravenna Cosmography, 50.
Murer, Jos, glass-painter of Zurich, 117.
Murimouth, Brother John, Westminster Abbey recluse, 157.
Mutuantonis, unidentified place in Sussex, 18, 41.

Nantes (Loire-Inférieure), alabaster carvings of the 'Passion' at, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94.
Nantwich (Cheshire): probably Salinis in Ravenna Cosmography, 44; roof-boss carved with Nativity scene, 58 *n.*
Naples (Italy), reredos in Museum, 80 *n.*
Naurum, unidentified river in SW. Britain, 15, 19, 42.
Navarre Roll, cited, 132.
Navimago Regentium (Noviomago), now Chichester, 7, 17, 42.
Navione, now Brough, Derbyshire, 5, 18, 42.
Naworth Castle (Cumberland), alabaster carvings at, 65, 66, 68 *n.*, 77 *n.*
Nelson, D., alabaster carvings formerly belonging to, 66, 73, 79, 82, 83, 100.
Nemetambala, *see* Metambala.
Nemetotatio, unidentified river in Cornwall, 17, 42.
Névéle: arms of, 138; Marguerite de Longueval, arms of, 138.
New York, Metropolitan Museum, alabaster carving in, 98; Pierpont Morgan Library, MSS. from Weingarten in, 112, 115.
Newstead (Roxburghshire), Trimuntium in Ravenna Cosmography, 47.
Nicholas, Brother, anchorite of Westminster, 155.
Nilotic scenes, represented in mosaics in Tripolitania, 180, 192.
'Northern Passion,' The, cited, 84, 85 *n.*
Northwich (Cheshire), Condate in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 29.
Notitia Dignitatum, cited, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12.
Nottingham (Notts.), alabaster industry at, 55, 57, 77; Museum, alabaster carving in, 86 *n.*
Novia, unidentified river in Kent, 20, 42.
Noviomagno, unidentified site in Hampshire, 5, 17, 42.
Noviomago, *see* Navimago.
Novitia, unidentified river in Britain, 20, 42.
Nuremberg (Bavaria), Germanic Museum, alabaster carvings in, 69, 70, 71, 72.

Oberägeri (Switzerland), dedication to St. Oswald at, 121; relics of St. Oswald at, 109.
Odo, Ravenna Cosmography compiled for, 1.
Olcaclavis, unidentified place N. of Hadrian's Wall, 19, 42.
Olerica, probably now Old Carlisle, 10, 18, 42.
Olicana, *see* Alicuna.

Ombre du Soleil, 129 *n.*
Omiretedertis, unidentified place in W. Dorset, 17, 43.
Onna, unidentified place in Hampshire, 17, 43.
Onno, now Halton, 5, 19, 43.
Order of St. Antoine de Barbefosse, nameless coat in Armorial of, 134 *n.*, 147.
Orcades, *see* Dorcades.
Orkney Islands, Dorcades in Ravenna Cosmography, 32.
Oswald, St.: and his Church at Zug, 103–23; arms of, 114 *n.*; connexion with Counts of 's Heerenberg, 119 *n.*; burial and subsequent translations of remains of, 103; cult of, in Switzerland, 103–7; cup and raven symbols of, 114–18; dedications to, in Switzerland, 121–2; festival of, at Zug, 119; legends of, in German poem 'Oswald', 115–16; marriage to daughter of Cynegils of Wessex, 116 *n.*; mystery plays on Life of, 120–1.
  Bust of, on coins and medals, 119. Glass, Stained, representing, at: Basle (from Baden), 117; Wettingen, 117; Zurich, 118. MS. representations, 114, 115. Paintings representing: at Räzüns, 107; at Salzburg, 115 *n.*; at Zug, 109, 118, 119. Relics of, at: Bergues, St. Winnoc, 106 *n.*; Echternach, 103; Frauenthal, 111; London (St. Paul's), 115 *n.*; Lorch, 115 *n.*; Oberägeri, 109; Peterborough, 110–11; Schaffhausen, 105, 111–12, 113; Solothurn, 113; Utrecht, 119 *n.*; Weingarten, 106, 111, 112; Wettingen, 111; Zug, 110–13, 118–19. Statues of, at Petershausen, 106 *n.*; at Zug, 113; (on horseback), 114; (slaying Cadwalla), 114; (on choir stalls), 114.
Overborough (Cumberland), perhaps Caluvio in Ravenna Cosmography, 27.
Overbrakele (Hembize), arms of, 132 *n.*, 133.

Paderborn (Westphalia), alabaster carving in Cathedral, 57, 58, 59 *n.*
Palliot, Pierre, on umbrated charges, cited, 129.
Palm and substitutes, represented in alabaster carvings and on medieval stage, 73–4.
Pampocalia (Cambodunum and Calcaria), site near Dewsbury and Tadcaster, 11, 18, 43.
Panovius, unidentified place-name, 19, 43.
Papcastle (Cumberland), Derventione in Ravenna Cosmography, 10, 13, 31.
Paris, Louvre Museum, alabaster carvings in, 80, 97.
Parliament of Heaven, alabaster carving representing, 63.
Paul, St., *see* Peter, St., and.
Pendrecht, arms of, 139.
Peter, St., alabaster carvings: Trial of, 53 *n.*; at the Gate of Heaven, 98.
Peter, St., and St. Paul: alabaster tables representing, 99; plays of, 99.
Peterborough (Northants.), Abbey of: arms of, 111 *n.*; relics of St. Oswald at, 110, 115; letter to John Eberhard from abbot of, 111, 122.
Petershausen (L. Constance): cult of St. Oswald at, 104, 105, 106; dedication of Chapels at, 104; statue of St. Oswald at, 106 *n.*
Petra Sancta, Silvester, on the ombre, cited, 128.
Petuaria, *see* Decuaria.
Peutinger Map: cited, 3, 4, 15.
Pexa, a fort on the Antonine Wall, 19, 43.
Philadelphia (U.S.A.), alabaster carving in Johnson Collection, 81.
Pilais, unidentified place in Devon or Cornwall, 17, 43.
Pinnatis, unidentified place in Scotland, 15, 19, 43.
Plays, Medieval Religious, Bibliographical Key, 51 *n.* Representation of the Infant Christ in, 61–3. On Life of St. Oswald, 120–1. *See also under* Christ, Mary the Virgin, St., *and* individual saints.
  Armour, 55. Clubs and cudgels used in, 78–9. Costume, 54, 55, 79–80. Dolls and Effigies employed in, 61–5, 67. 'Pageants' used as stages, 52 *n.*, 55, 57, 75, 95.
  Besançon, 68. Chester, 60 *n.*, 61, 84, 85, 88, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98. Coventry, 52, 55, 56, 57, 59, 63, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78 *n.*, 79, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98. Digby, 87, 94. Mons, 61 *n.* Moosburg, 65. Norwich, 80 *n.* Towneley, 55, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 89, 90. York, 55, 56, 69, 77, 78 *n.*, 82, 83, 84, 88, 90, 93, 94, 96, 97.
Plenderleith, D., report on contents of Bohun tomb, 154.
Plumpton or Old Penrith (Cumberland), Bereda in Ravenna Cosmography, 24.
Pompeii, female Satyr suckling a fawn, represented in Villa dei Misteri, 179 *n.*; *testudo* in Stabian Baths, 177.
Poreoclassis, unidentified place in Scotland, 15, 19, 43.
Portu Abone, *see* Punctuobice.
Premarin, arms of, 140.
Presidium, perhaps Camulosessa Praesidium, now Castle Greg, 14, 19, 27, 43–4.
Prior, E. S., on alabaster carvings, cited, 51 *et seq.*
Prison, representation of, in alabaster carvings, 72–3.
Procopius, on Lepcis Magna, cited, 166.
Ptolemy's Geography, cited, 2, 9; and throughout Commentary, 21–50.
Punctuobice (Portu Abone), Avon crossing near Caerwent, 4, 5, 17, 44.
Purocoronavis (Durocornavis), unidentified place in Cornwall, 17, 44.

Qusayr 'Amra, Baths at, 193.

Ramsey, William of, seal of, 111 *n.*
Ranworth (Norfolk), painting of St. Michael at, 67 *n.*
Ratae Coritanorum, *see* Ratecorion.
Ratecorion (Ratae Coritanorum), now Leicester, 4, 9, 18, 44.
Ravatonium, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 44.
Raven, symbol of St. Oswald, 115–18.
Ravenglass (Cumberland), Cantiventi in Ravenna Cosmography, 10, 27.
Ravenna Cosmography: British Section, 1–50; area covered, 1; MSS., 1 *n.*; Parthey and Pinder's edition, 2; no post-Roman influence in, 3; Sources, 1, 3, 13.
Ravonia (Braboniacum), now Kirkby Thore, 5, 10, 11, 18, 44.
Raxtomessa, unidentified river in S. England, 20, 44.
Raymond, Thomas, Autobiography of, passage on Westminster Abbey recluse cited, 159–60.

Räzüns (Switzerland), wall-painting of St. Oswald at, 107.
Rdotalia, *see* Zerdotalia.
Regaina, unidentified island off W. Scotland, 20, 44.
Reliquaries, containing remains of St. Oswald at Solothurn, 113; at Zug, 118–19.
Ribchester (Lancs.), Bresnetenaci Veteranorum in Ravenna Cosmography, 9, 10, 25.
Richard II, Westminster Abbey recluse visited by, 159.
Richborough (Kent), Rutupis in Ravenna Cosmography, 44.
Ripon, Marquess of, alabaster carvings formerly belonging to, 66, 67, 68 *n.*
Ripon (Yorks.), fragment of alabaster table in Cathedral, 100.
Robert of Knaresborough, St., 151.
Rocester (Staffs.), perhaps Veratino in Ravenna Cosmography, 48.
Rochester (Kent), Durobrabis in Ravenna Cosmography, 33.
Rochester, High (Northumberland), Bremenium in Ravenna Cosmography, 25.
Roeulx, Eustace du, marriage with Agnes de Trazegnies, 135.
Rome: Domitian's Palace, 192; Domus Aurea, 192; Hadrian's Villa (Tivoli), 192; Lesser Baths at, 168, 192.
Roscoff (Finistère), alabaster carving at, 73, 96.
Rosenstain, Ulrich, sculptor, 113–14.
Rouen (Seine-Inférieure), alabaster carvings in Museum, 78 *n.*, 80; medieval representation of Hell Mouth at, 89.
Royal Arms of England, on St. Oswald's shield at Zug, 113.
Rudge Cup, The, 4, 13, 23, 24, 47.
Rumabo, unidentified place in Northumberland or Lothian, 19, 44.
Rutchester (Northumberland), Vindovala in Ravenna Cosmography, 49.
Rutland, Duke of, alabaster carvings belonging to, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 82 *n.*, 88, 92, 93, 94.
Rutupis, now Richborough, 4, 18, 44.

Sabratha: 'Oceanus' Baths, 194; Office Baths, *testudo* in, 177; House at, pavements in, 193; Theatre Baths, stucco rosette from, 186 *n.*; *testudo* from, 177.
  Museum, mosaics in, 180 *n.*
St. Albans (Herts.), Virolanium in Ravenna Cosmography, 49.
Saint-Avit-les-Guespières (Puy-de-Dôme), altar-piece at, 74, 82 *n.*, 89, 96.
St. Gall (Switzerland), cult of St. Oswald at, 104, 105, 122.
Saint-Lô (Normandy), alabaster table in Grillo Collection, 71, 72, 96.
St. Maurice, arms of family of, 135 *n.*
St. Sulpice, Ebrard de, arms of, 128 *n.*, 129.
Salinis, probably now (*a*) Droitwich, 5, 7, 17, 44; (*b*) Nantwich, 9, 18, 44.
Salisbury (Wilts.), Cathedral, early heraldic glass in, 161, 162.
Salome, alabaster carvings representing: dancing before Herod, 99, 100; wounding the Baptist's head, 100.
Salzburg (Bavaria), figure of St. Oswald in wall-painting in the Nonnberg, 115 *n.*
Sandonio, unidentified place, perhaps near Chester, 8, 18, 45.
Santiago de Compostela (Spain), alabaster tables at, 98.
Saponis, a Western Isle, 20, 45.
Sardatius, a source for Ravenna Cosmography, 1.
Sarna, unidentified river in Devon, 15, 19, 45.
Satyr, Female, suckling a kid, (?), subject of mosaic at Lepcis Magna, 179.
Scadum Namorum (Isca Dumnoniorum), now Exeter, 3, 17, 35.
Scetis, now Skye, 20, 45.
Schaffhausen (Switzerland), chapel of St. Oswald at, 105, 112; relics of St. Oswald at, 111–12, 113.
Schwarzach, arms of, 140–1.
Scrope: arms of, 141–4; impaling Wells, 141.
  Agnes, daughter of 4th Lord Scrope, *see* Boynton.
  Archbishop, arms of, 141, 143.
  Geoffrey, arms of, 142.
  Sir Henry, 3rd Lord Scrope, bequests to Westminster Abbey recluse in will of, 157; arms of, 141–4; marriage to Philippa de Brian, 144; marriage to Joan Holland, widow of Edmond de Langley, 142, 143, 144; will of, 142.
  Sir Henry (of Bolton), arms of, 143, 144.
  Sir Stephen and Margery his wife, daughter of John Lord Wells, arms of, 142.
  William, archdeacon of Durham, memorial brass with arms of, 142.
Segloes (Locus Selgovensis), unidentified place in Selkirkshire, 15, 19, 45.
Segoing, Charles, on the ombre, cited, 128.
Seguntio (Segontio), now Carnarvon, 4, 18, 45.
Senua, unidentified river on S. coast, 20, 45.
Septimius Severus, and his family, medallion representing, 192.
Serduno, now Wallsend, 19, 45.
Settimo (Italy), reredos at San Benedetto at, 72.
Sha'ârah (Syria), Baths at, 193.
Shadow, or Ghost, as a charge in Heraldry, by H. Stanford London, 125–49.
Shehbâ (Syria), Bath-building at, 193.
Sigismund, Archduke, feud with Weingarten monastery, 112.
Silchester (Hants), Caleba Arbatium in Ravenna Cosmography, 7, 26.
Skye (Western Isles), Scetis in Ravenna Cosmography, 45.
Sligo of Carmyle, arms of, 129 *n.*
Smetri, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 45.
Smetriadum, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 45.
Sobrica, a Western Isle, 20, 46.
Sodisinam, an Irish river, 20, 46.
Solothurn (Switzerland), relics of St. Oswald at, 113, 115.
Spener, P. J., on umbrated charges, cited, 129.
Spey, River, probably Tuessis in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 47.
Statues, in St. Oswald's church, Zug, 113.

Steenhuse: arms of, 130 *n.*, 132, 132 *n.*, 133, 134, 135.
  William, Seigneur de, arms on seal of, 131–2.
Stodoion, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 46.
Stonyhurst (Lancs.), College, alabaster carving at, 57, 58.
Sturm, Dietrich, canon of Zurich, search for relics of St. Oswald by, 111–12.
Subdobiadon, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 46.
Susura, a Western Isle, 20, 46.
Swale (Yorks.), perhaps Durolavi in Ravenna Cosmography, 33.
Sweveghem: Arnoud van, arms of, 130 *n.*; *see also* Steenhuse *and* Zweveghem.
Switzerland: cult of St. Oswald in, 103–23; Dedications to St. Oswald, List of, 121–2.
Syria, King of, arms attributed to, 148.

Taba, unidentified place, perhaps on river Tay, 15, 19, 46.
Tadcaster (Yorks.), formerly Calcaria, 43.
Tadoriton, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 46.
Taff, River (S. Wales), perhaps Tamion in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 46.
Tagea, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 46.
Tamar, River (Devon), Tamaris in Ravenna Cosmography, 13, 15, 46.
Tamaris, now river Tamar, 13, 15, 17, 19, 46.
Tamese, perhaps Thames ferry at Dorchester, 7, 18, 46.
Tamion, perhaps river Taff, 15, 20, 46.
Taniatide, now Thanet, 16, 50.
Temple, The, represented in alabaster carving and on medieval stage, 69, 72–3.
Terdec, unidentified Irish river, 20, 46.
Termonin, unidentified place in Devon, 17, 47.
Test, River, probably Traxula in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 47.
Thanet, Isle of, Taniatide in Ravenna Cosmography, 16, 50.
Thann (Alsace), alabaster carving at, 59 *n.*, 61 *n.*
Thenae (Tunisia), Baths at, 193.
Thomas, St., depicted receiving the Virgin's girdle, 69.
Thomas Becket, St., alabaster tables representing, 99.
Thornborough (Yorks.), Cactabactonion in Ravenna Cosmography, 26.
Tiles, plain, found in Bohun tomb, 154–5.
Tinea, now the river Tyne, 20, 47.
Toulouse (Haute Garonne), alabaster carving in Museum, 80 *n.*, 83.
Towcester (Northants.), Iaciodulma in Ravenna Cosmography, 35.
Towneley Plays, *see under* Plays, Medieval Religious.
Traxula, probably now the river Test, 15, 19, 47.
Trazegnies: arms of, 128, 129, 130–5, 140 *n.*; branches of family, 132 *n.*, 133. Crest of, 133 *n.* Seals of, 133.
  Agnes de, marriage to Eustace du Roeulx, 135.
  Anseau, 134 *n.*; seals of, 132, 133.
  Ansel de, arms of, 131 *n.*
  Gilles I, Gillion le Courageux, 127 *n.*
  Gilles II, seal of, 130.
  Gilles III, 135.
  Michaut bâtard de, arms of, 133–4.
  Otto or Ostes de, arms of, 131.
  Otto IV, arms of, 135.
  Otto VI, seals of, 132, 133.
Treatise on Heraldry, by Archdeacon Woodward, cited, 127.
Tree of Jesse, *see* Jesse.
Trimuntium (Trimontium), now Newstead, Roxburghshire, 14, 19, 47.
Triton, emerging from sea, subject of mosaic at Lepcis Magna, 179.
Tuessis, probably the river Spey, 15, 19, 47.
Turenne, Vicomte de, arms of, 135 *n.*
Tutbury (Staffs.), alabaster industry at, 55.
Tyne, River, Tinea in Ravenna Cosmography, 47.

Ugrulentum, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 47.
Uguesta, unidentified place-name in Scotland, 19, 47.
Upton, Nicholas, on umbrated charges, cited, 126, 135.
Urfé, Armorial d', cited, 133 *n.*
Ushborne, William, Keeper of Westminster palace, and the abbey plumber, lead stolen by, 156.
Usk, River, Isca in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 35.
Utrecht (Holland), relic of St. Oswald's head at, 119 *n.*
Utriconion Cornoviorum (Viriconium Cornoviorum), now Wroxeter, 8, 18, 47.
Uttoxeter (Staffs.), perhaps Veratino in Ravenna Cosmography, 48.
Uxela, unidentified place-name in S. Scotland, 19, 47.
Uxelis, unidentified place in Devon, 13, 17, 47.
Uxelludamo, now probably Castlesteads, 13, 19, 47.

Valteris (Verterae), now Brough under Stainmore, 5, 18, 48.
Van der Straten-Ponthoz, on Trazegnies arms, cited, 129, 130.
Varennes, Marc. Gilbert de, on the ombre, cited, 128, 129.
Vayrac, arms of, 128 *n.*
Vectis, now Isle of Wight, 16, 50.
Velox, unidentified river in S. Britain, 20, 48.
Velunia, probably now Balmuildy, 19, 48.
Velurcion, now Housesteads, 19, 48.
Venice (Italy), Sta. Caterina, alabaster tables in, 98.
Venta Cenomum (Icinorum), now Caistor-by-Norwich, 9, 18, 48.
Venta Slurum (Silurum), now Caerwent, 4, 5, 17, 48.
Venta Velgarom (Belgarum), now Winchester, 5, 17, 48.
Venutio, unidentified place in S. Scotland, 19, 48.
Veratino, perhaps Rocester or Uttoxeter, 9, 18, 48.
Vernilis, unidentified place in Devon, 17, 49.
Veromo, unidentified place in Scotland, 19, 49.
Versailles (Seine), Museum, alabaster carving in, 53 *n.*, 64, 65 *n.*
Verterae, *see* Valteris.
Vertevia, unidentified place in Devon, 17, 49.
Vertis, unidentified place near Droitwich, 5, 17, 49.
Verulamium, *see* Virolanium.
Verviers (Belgium), alabaster carving in, 66.
Veximiel, medieval representation of Hell Mouth, at, 89.

Victoria and Albert Museum: Alabaster carvings in, 62, 64 *n.*, 65, 66, 68, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 91, 93, 94, 95, 97, 100.
Victorie, unidentified place in Scotland, 15, 19, 49.
Vienna (Austria), alabaster carvings in, 67, 73, 101.
Vincent, St., relic of head of, 110.
Vindocladia, *see* Bindogladia.
Vindolande (Vindolana), now Chesterholm, 5, 18, 49.
Vindovala, now Rutchester, 19, 49.
Vinion, a Western Isle, 20, 49.
Vinovia, now Binchester, 4, 18, 49.
Vire (Calvados), alabaster carvings in Museum, 80 *n.*, 81.
Viriconium Cornoviorum, *see* Utriconium Cornoviorum.
Virolanium (Verulamium), now St. Albans, 4, 18, 49.
Vividin, unidentified river in E. Anglia, 20, 49.
Volitanio, perhaps now Cadder, 19, 50.
Voran, unidentified place-name in Scotland, 19, 50.
Vulson de la Colombière, Marc, on the ombre, cited, 128, 129.

Wallsend (Northumberland), Serduno in Ravenna Cosmography, 45.
Ware, Abbot, Customary of, cited, 155.
Wedergrate, arms of, 130.
Weingarten (Swabia), foundation of monastery, 106; enrichment of monastery by Judith, wife of Welf IV, 111, 112; early MSS. at, 112, 114–15; relics of St. Oswald at, 106, 111, 112, 115.
Welf IV, Duke of Bavaria, St. Oswald patron of family of, 107; monastery at Weingarten founded by, 106; buried at Weingarten, 106; *see also* Judith, his wife.
Wells, arms of, *see* Scrope.
Western Isles in Ravenna Cosmography, 16, 20; Anas, 22. Arran (Manna), 39. Atina, 23. Birila, 25. Botis (perhaps Bute), 25. Cana (possibly Canna), 27. Corsula, 30. Cunis, 30. Daroeda, 31. Eirimon, 33. Elaviani, 33. Elete, 33. Esse, 34. Exosades, 34. Grandena, 35. Linnonsa, 38. Longis, 38. Magancia, 39. Maiona, 39. Malaca (Mull), 50. Manna (Arran), 39. Minerve, 41. Saponis, 45. Scetis (Skye), 45. Sobrica, 46. Susura, 46. Vinion, 49.
Westminster Abbey: Some Recent Discoveries in, 151–63; Girdle of the Blessed Virgin Mary, relic in possession of, 151; 13th-century heraldic glass, 160–1; other heraldic glass, 161–2; relief of St. Michael in, 67 *n.*
  Cell of the Recluse, 155–60; two recluses at the same time, 156; allowances later paid to senior brethren in the monastery, 156.
  Chapter House, heraldic glass in, 161.
  St. Benedict's Chapel, entrance to cell of recluse discovered in, 157–60; piscina in, 158; squint from cell of recluse, 158.
  St. Edmund's Chapel, heraldic glass now in, 160 *n.* 161.
  St. Erasmus Chapel, built by Elizabeth Wydeville, 162.
  St. John Baptist's Chapel, Bohun tomb in, 151–5.
  St. Nicholas Chapel, Bohun tomb moved from, 153; heraldic glass in, 161.
  N. Transept, piscina in, 158.
  S. Transept, inscriptions on wall-painting of St. Christopher, 162–3.
Westminster Palace: Jewel House, Abbey recluse buried near, 156.
Westminster: St. Margaret's Church, recluse of, 156 *n.*
Wettingen (Switzerland): altar dedicated to St. Oswald at, 105, 122; glass panels with figures of St. Oswald, 117; relics of St. Oswald at, 111; figure of St. Oswald on choir-stalls at, 118.
Wickedness, symbolized in alabaster carvings, 76, 77.
Wight, Isle of, Vectis in Ravenna Cosmography, 16, 50.
Williams, John, Dean of Westminster and Bp. of Lincoln, arms of, in heraldic glass, 161.
Willibrord, St., cult of St. Oswald spread by, 103.
Winchester (Hants), Venta Velgarom in Ravenna Cosmography, 5, 48.
Winnington, arms of, 147.
Winter, Frederick: journey for relics of St. Oswald by, 110–11; letter brought to Eberhard by, 122–3.
Woestine: arms of, 137, 138; Isabelle de la, arms and seals of, 138–9.
Woodeaton, perhaps Brinavis in Ravenna Cosmography, 7.
Woodward, Archdeacon John, *Treatise on Heraldry*, by, cited, 127.
Workes of Armorie, by John Bossewell, on umbrated charges, cited, 126–7.
Works of Mercy, alabaster carving representing, 72 *n.*
Wroxeter (Salop), Utriconion Cornoviorum in Ravenna Cosmography, 8, 47.

York (Yorks.), Eburacum in Ravenna Cosmography, 11, 33; alabaster tables carved at, 55, 77; *see also under* Plays, Medieval Religious.
  Minster, memorial brass to William Scrope, archdeacon of Durham, 142; arms of Scrope on wall of choir, 143; arms of Scrope in clerestory glass, 141–4.
Ypocessa, *see* Epocessa.
Ystwyth (Cards.), Iuctius in Ravenna Cosmography, 15, 36.

Zacchaeus, represented in alabaster carvings, 74, 77.
Zeiner, Lukas, glass-painter, 117.
Zerdotalia (Rdotalia), now presumably Melandra Castle, 5, 18, 34, 50.
Zug (Switzerland): cult of St. Oswald at, 107–23; mystery-plays on life of St. Oswald at, 120–1; glass panel at Basel with arms of Zug and figure of St. Oswald, 117; on trade-route through St. Gothard Pass, 107–8.
  Chapel of Our Lady, 108.
  St. Michael's church, 107; altar to St. Oswald at, 109.
  St. Oswald's church: building and furnishing of, 109–14; List of Benefactors, 109–10; relics of St. Oswald at, 110–13; relics of Fintan at, 112, 113.
  St. Wolfgang's church, altar of St. Oswald at, 109.
Zurich (Switzerland): architect of Wasserkirche at, 113; dedication to St. Oswald at, 122; glass panels representing St. Oswald in National Museum, 118.
Zürich Roll, cited, 140.
Zweveghem: arms of, 132 *n.*, 133; *see also* Sweveghem.

TRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY,
NEW DELHI
Borrowers record.

913.005/Arc-4014

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY,
NEW DELHI
Issue record.

Catalogue No. 913.005/Arc-4014

Author— Society of antiquaries of London.

Title—Archaeologia or miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity. Vol.93

Borrower No.	Date of Issue	Date of Return

P. T. O.